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A

PROTESTANT DICTIONARY

CONTAINING ARTICLES ON THE

HISTORY, DOCTRINES, AND PRACTICES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

EDITED BY THE REV.

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WITH PLATES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

As the word "Protestant," which occurs in the title of this work, is often misrepresented, a few remarks respecting its meaning may be useful. "Protestant" and "Catholic" are terms which, when rightly understood, are not conflicting. True Protestantism holds firmly to the truths set forth in the Creeds of the Apostolic Church, and protests only against unscriptural additions made to the Primitive Faith. Protestantism is the re-affirmation of that Faith combined with a distinct protest against those errors of doctrine, ritual, and practice which were brought, as St. Peter says, "privily" into the Church of Christ (2 Pet. ii. 2), but which were accepted as "Church teaching" in mediæval times, and are still too prevalent. The word Protestantism stands for the return to Primitive and Apostolic Christianity. It is the re-assertion of "the faith once for all delivered unto the saints" (Jude 3). When Protestantism is negative in its declarations, it is only to preserve and accentuate some truth which is being perverted. Like the great "Ten Words," as the Jews were wont to term "the Ten Commandments," truths sometimes appear to be simply negations, when in reality they are very far from having that character, as our Lord's summary of that Law (Matt xxii. 36–40) abundantly proves.

The present work, therefore, although constructive, is necessarily controversial. Persons who object to controversy ignore the fact that the teaching of Christ and His Apostles was controversial. Truth was set forth by them in contrast with the errors of their times. The first teachers of Christianity were compelled to draw attention to "the weakness and unprofitableness" of the old Mosaic Law (Heb. vii. 18) then passing away, and to oppose the "tradition of men" (Mark vii. 7–9) which had perverted and misrepresented the nobler elements of that Law. The Apostolic Age has been described by the inspired writer as "a time of Reformation" (Heb. ix. 10). The Creeds of the Church were the outcome of controversy. The most brilliant periods of the Church's history were times of controversy. The battle of truth will not be finally won until He that is "Faithful and True" Himself appears on the scene of conflict (Rev. xix. 11, *ff.*), and until that day arrives, it is faithlessness on the part of the soldiers of Christ to lay aside their armour, and to put into its scabbard "the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God" (Eph. vi. 17).

The book now presented to the public may, no doubt, be found fault with both for containing too much and for containing too little. Certain subjects necessarily recur in articles by different writers. The object of providing a *handy* work of reference for Protestants on the Romish controversy had always to be borne in mind. The *Protestant Dictionary* does not profess to be complete as a historical or theological lexicon.

The work, as it is, covers an extensive field of discussion. It is, perhaps, the first attempt made on the Protestant side to deal with the points in dispute by means of a dictionary. But on the Roman Catholic side such aids

have been long ago provided. The *Catholic Dictionary*, which appeared in a revised and enlarged form (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.) in 1897, is a work of considerable merit; and in Germany a new *Kontrovers Lexicon: Konfessionelle Streitfragen zwischen Katholiken und Protestantem*, under the editorship of Dr. Jos. Burg, is now in course of publication.

As the present work has been produced under the auspices of the Protestant Reformation Society, questions connected with the Book of Common Prayer had to be specially treated. Many of those questions had necessarily to be viewed from the legal as well as the theological standpoint. Hence it has been necessary to enter into many details which at the present time interest peculiarly the Evangelical members of the Church of England. The advice often given on liturgical points by Mr. J. T. Tomlinson, who is a well-known expert on all such questions, has been of great advantage, and he has afforded much assistance in the general revision of the work.

The Editors have received valuable help, not only from distinguished personages in the Church of England, but also from many distinguished scholars and theologians belonging to the Churches of Scotland, and to the principal Free Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. The *Protestant Dictionary* thus affords a practical illustration of the substantial unity which exists on all essential points between the great Churches of the Reformation.

Many able writers on the Protestant side have, from no lack of sympathy but from overpressure of work, been unable to contribute articles. Several who had promised larger assistance have found themselves unable to give it. The list of writers is a large one, and the Editors desire to thank them all heartily for their valuable contributions. The writers are to be held responsible only for their own articles.

The Editors, and the Protestant Reformation Society which they represent, earnestly trust that the publication of the volume may in some measure tend to remove that ignorance and uncertainty on the points at issue between Protestants and Romanists, which, alas, is too common at this critical period of our history.

They hope that the work may to some extent arrest the wave of indefinite religious opinion now spreading over the length and breadth of the land, even among Protestant Churches. They trust that it may enable Protestant preachers, lecturers, and Christians unversed in the Romish controversy, to bear witness to the truth with more power, and to testify in a spirit of love against all Romish errors. Those errors confuse divine verities; and they prevent that exercise of private judgment, which Holy Scripture everywhere assumes to be one of the first duties of man. They tend to weaken personal responsibility, destroy Christian liberty, sap "the virility" of the Nation, and imperil the salvation of souls.

LONDON, *Jan. 7th*, 1904.

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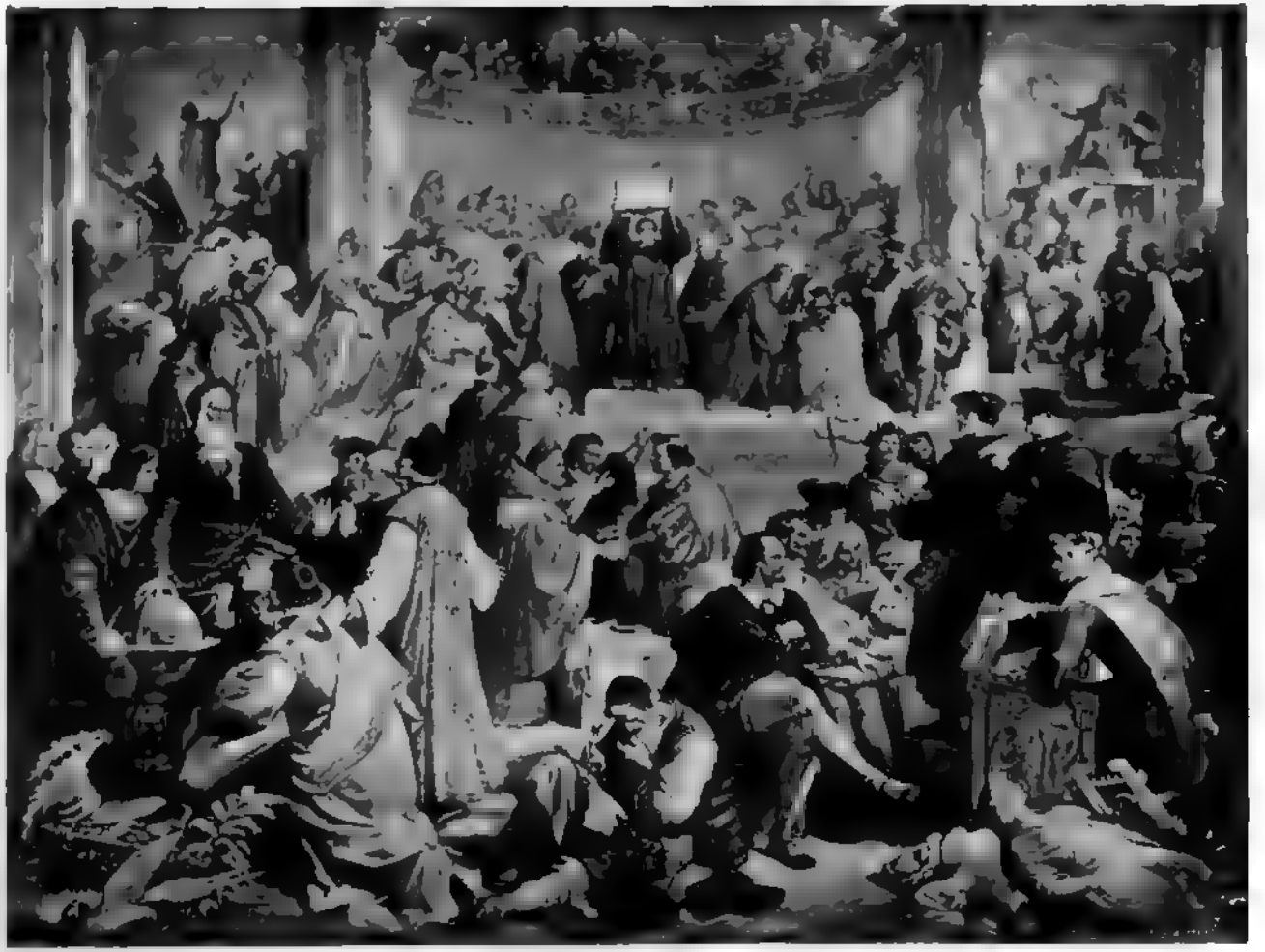

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LIST OF PLATES

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION (*von Kaulbach*) . . *Frontispiece*

DESCRIPTIVE KEY xiii

PLATE

I. CRYPT OF THE EPISCOPOI IN CALLISTUS' CATACOMB . *To face page* 93

II. PRE-LAUDIAN CHANCELS . . . . . „ „ 97
1. HAYLE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
2. WINCHCOMBE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

III. THE ROMAN MASS VESTMENTS . . . . . „ „ 99

IV. TWO COINS OF CHARLES IX. AND ONE OF LOUIS XIV., *commemorating Persecutions of the Huguenots* . „ „ 273

V. COINS OF LOUIS XIV., *commemorating Persecutions of the Huguenots* . . . . . „ „ 275

VI. THE TETZEL INDULGENCE . . . . . „ „ 295

VII. PRE-LAUDIAN CHANCELS . . . . . „ „ 371
1. CHANCEL, LANGLEY.
2. CHANCEL, LYDDINGTON.

VIII. PRE-LAUDIAN TABLES . . . . . „ „ 373
1. DRAWING-OUT, OR TELESCOPIC TABLE, CANTERBURY.
2. SOUTHWOLD, SUFFOLK.

IX. PRE-LAUDIAN TABLES . . . . . „ „ 377
1. HOLY TABLE, OMBERSLEY.
2. STOTTESDON, SHROPSHIRE.

X. THREE PAPAL COINS, illustrating the *Papal Claims to worship and power* . . . . . „ „ 387

XI. THREE PAPAL COINS, illustrating *Papal Persecutions* . „ „ 512

XII. CRYPT OF ST. CECILIA IN CALLISTUS' CATACOMB . „ „ 696

XIII. CRYPT OF ST. CORNELIUS IN THE LUCINA CATACOMB „ „ 700

XIV. THREE PAPAL COINS, illustrating the *Papal Suppression of Heresy by the aid of Michael the Archangel*, 1721, the *Expulsion of the Jesuits*, 1773, and the *Proclamation of the Immaculate Conception*, 1854 . . . . . „ „ 752

DESCRIPTIVE KEY

To the Frontispiece of the Age of the Reformation, from a Photograph of the Fresco of Wilhelm von Kaulbach, born Oct. 15, 1805, *died April* 7, 1874. *The Fresco with the five others by the same Painter is in the Vestibule of the Neue Museum, Berlin.*

Commence on the left-hand side, at the edge of the picture. Behind the bending figure, we see **Harvey** (discoverer of the circulation of the blood, 1578–1657), with white hair and collar, and beside him **Vesalius** (anatomist, 1514–1564).

In front of them **Behaim** (navigator, 1430–1506) leans forward; a seal hangs from his finger. Erect and tall of stature, **Columbus** (the great discoverer, 1447–1506), one hand on the globe. Kneeling, compass in hand, **Sebastian Münster** (Orientalist, author of a Latin version of the Old Testament, 1489–1544). Beside him, holding a book, **Bacon** (Lord Verulam) (philosopher and statesman, 1561–1626). This group is completed by three other figures—**Leonard Fuchs** (physician and botanist, 1501–1566) is on the right, next to Columbus, a spray of fuchsia in his cap; with shaven head and uplifted hands, **Paracelsus** (professor of medicine and natural philosophy, 1493–1541); the conspicuous figure with cap, figured robe, and white sleeves, is **Sebastian Frank** (a man of letters, 1500–1545), one hand seems to point to the robed figure of **Eberhardt von der Tann** (1st Duke of Wurtemberg, Founder of the University of Tübingen, 1445–1496), whose hands are clasped by **Ulrich Zasius** (6th Duke of Wurtemberg, 1487–1550), whilst **Melanchthon** (reformer, 1497–1560), stands behind.

Immediately in front, seated on the ground writing, is **Hans Sachs** (poet, 1494–1576); behind him, the first of a group on the right hand, with folded arms and crossed legs, is **Shakespeare** (poet, 1564–1616). Next him is **Cervantes** (Spanish writer, 1549–1617), with pointed beard. The man with a white head-dress, which almost looks like flowing hair, is **Molinæus** (Dumoulin, jurist, 1500–1566); immediately above him peers the head of **Cusanus** (Nicolaus von Cusa, a cardinal, 1401–1464), wearing a dark cap. That somewhat sinister face almost lost under the arm of the standing figure, is **Celtes** (poet, 1459–1508); above the arm we can see **Ulrich von Hutten** (writer and Poet Laureate, 1488–1522), wearing the laurel crown given him by the Emperor Maximilian. **Bucer** (reformer of Strassburg, 1491–1551), leans his head on his shoulder.

The first of the two dark-robed figures occupying the centre of the right-hand group is **Erasmus** of Rotterdam, who made the earliest edition of the Greek New Testament (1467–1536), with smiling face and uplifted hand. The more portly figure is the great Hebrew scholar, **Reuchlin** (1455–1522). Carry the eye down, that kneeling figure, whose finely cut face stands out in such bold relief, is **Petrarch**, the Italian poet, the first "humanist" (1304–1374). The youthful face above his shoulder is that of **Vives** (tutor to Princess Mary of England, 1492–1540), and look closely, or you will almost fail to find just above it the upturned head of **Ficinus** (a physician and reformer of philosophy, 1433–1499). In front of these two you cannot but see the bent figure of **Pico von Mirandola** (a poet and great classical scholar, 1463–1494);

above his shoulder the hooded **Campanella** (Italian philosopher, 1568–1639); to the extreme right, **Machiavelli** (the great Florentine statesman, born 1469, died 1527). In the near foreground, touching the lyre, almost lost in the shadow, is **Jacobus Balde** (poet, 1603–1668).

Now we must turn to the figures in the background. Immediately behind Columbus is the side face of **Morus** (Sir Thomas More) (Chancellor of England, 1480–1535); he wears a cap, and is looking towards **Queen Elizabeth**, the central figure under the pillar. Go up a step; just over Morus at the extreme left there is an old man wearing a ruff, being helped forward by a younger one who bends over him; they are typical English people of the time. In front of Morus, in bishop's robes, carrying a book, and next to the white-robed English nun, is **Archbishop Cranmer** (1489–1555). Just above these, and looking from left to right, are **The Earl of Essex** (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1567–1601), **Lord Burleigh** (English Secretary of State, 1520–1598), **Sir Francis Drake** (the great commander, 1545-1598). Almost unseen, behind the three last mentioned, with head resting on his hand, **Cardanus** (physician, 1501–1576). Immediately behind the heads of Cranmer and the nun, the head of an English gentleman.

Queen Elizabeth appears to point with one hand to the little group who seem to be receiving the Sacramental bread from the hands of **Calvin** (reformer, 1509–1564), who turns so as to face them. Let us commence with the old man with white beard just above the Queen's arm. He is **Coligny** (the French Admiral, one of the first who was massacred on St. Bartholomew's day, 1516–1572); **Maurice of Saxony** (the Elector, *d.* 1553) wears a winged helmet; a Huguenot gentleman stands next to a peasant of the south of France (*Sud französischer Bauer*). There are four figures facing Calvin, Swiss and Alsatian natives; a peasant Rathsherr receives the bread, whilst the head of another peasant is almost undistinguishable just beneath the hand of Calvin. Carry the eye downward: the two men with backs towards the spectator are **William of Orange** (the Silent, 1533–1584), and **Olden Barneveldt** (a Dutch statesman, *d.* 1619), who looks sideways towards the spectator.

Luther (the great Reformer, 1483–1546) stands with uplifted Bible, the central figure of the picture. To the left of him is **Zwinglius** (the Swiss reformer, 1487–1531), to the right **Justus Jonas** (principal of the College of Wittenberg, 1493–1555). Bending forward, in the act of passing the cup to another little group is **Bugenhagen** (the German theologian, 1485–1558). The two kneeling figures in the group are **John the Constant** (Elector of Saxony, 1467–1534), in front, with flowing robe and ermine cape; next to him, the head of **John Frederick** (the Magnanimous) (Elector of Saxony, 1503–1554). Just under the pillar, occupying the same position to the right of the picture as Queen Elizabeth does on the left, a tall commanding figure with hat in one hand, sword in the other, stands **Gustavus Adolphus** (King of Sweden, 1594–1632), to the left, a little behind him, **Albrecht of Brandenburg** (Duke of Prussia, 1490–1568). The three figures side by side are representative men of the upper and lower classes—and *Hansestädte* = senators, common councillors, or aldermen.

Now look on the same level, the other side of the pillar. **Guttenberg** (inventor of printing, 1400–1467) is about to nail up a notice on the wall; **Lorenz Coster**, (printer, *d.* 1440), **Peter Vischer** (sculptor, 1455–1529), are on a line with his shoulder. The two painters in shadow, apparently conversing, are **Leonardo da Vinci** (1452–1519), with flowing beard; **Raffael** (painter, 1483–1520), folio in hand, looks up at him, whilst the great **Michael Angelo** (painter and sculptor, 1474–1564), with folded arms, appears quietly to be looking on at the scene before him.

On the left-hand side of the picture, half hidden behind the pillar, a dark figure, one hand on the balustrade, is **Giordano Bruno** (philosopher, 1550–1600). **Galileo** (the Florentine astronomer, 1564–1642) carries a telescope; **Copernicus** (who overthrew the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, 1472–1543) is the most prominent figure, with back towards the spectator, inscribing something on the wall; there is **Tycho Brahé** (astronomer of Denmark, 1546–1601) talking to **Kepler** (astronomer and mathematician to the Emperor Rudolphus of Bohemia, 1571–1630); an unknown figure stands between them. Passing the pillar, seated side by side are **Wycliffe** (called "the Morning Star of the Reformation," 1324–1384), with heads together, **Geiler von Kaisersberg** (reformer and German pulpit orator, 1445–1509), **John Wessel** (Dutch theologian, 1430–1489), **John Huss** (of Bohemia, professor of theology, 1369–1415). On the same line, the other side of Luther, are **Peter Waldo** (merchant of Lyons, founder of the sect called Waldenses, *d.* 1179), **Arnold von Brescia** (religious and political reformer, 1105–1155); in monk's cap, **Abalarde** (teacher of philosophy, 1079–1142); **Savonarola** (a Dominican Florentine preacher and reformer, 1452–1498), points upwards; **Tauler** (theologian, 1290–1361). Pass the pillar and we see the colour-grinder passing up some paint to **Albert Dürer** (painter and engraver of Nuremberg, 1471–1528), who is busily at work on the platform. Above all these we see another row of people; perhaps they stand for the numbers unknown to fame, but none the less helpers in the work of the Reformation.

FRANCES H. NEWTON.

ERRATA

Page 280, col. 1. The initial letter of "Iconoclast" has dropped out.
,, 370, ,, 1, line 2, *for* "[F. G. P.]" *read* "[F. J. P.]."
,, 378, ,, 2, *for* "see Bloxam" *read* "see Bloxom."
,, 530, ,, 1. In Select Literature, *for* "Canon J. C. Robinson" *read* "Canon J. C. Robertson."
,, 581, ,, 2, last line, *for* "Worchester" *read* "Worcester."
,, 656, ,, 2, lines 3 and 4 from bottom of page, *for* "raised" and "raise" respectively, *read* "revised" and "revise."

THE PROTESTANT DICTIONARY.

ABJURATION.—A renouncing by oath. In the case of Abjuration of heresy, the penitent, uncovered and kneeling, made his recantation laying his hands on the Gospels. Those so-called heretics who refused to abjure were frequently given over to the secular arm. A form for admitting Romish and other recusants into the Church of England was drawn up by the Upper House of Canterbury in 1714, but did not receive royal or parliamentary sanction. On admission to the Roman Catholic Church a usual form of abjuration is as follows:—"Is it your firm purpose to abandon the ecclesiastical communion to which you have belonged up to this day, and to enter the Church which alone saves and sanctifies" (Wetzer and Welte, i. 22). The form shows the view which the Church of Rome holds concerning the chance of salvation outside its pale. This is also stated with sufficient precision in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., although modern attempts have been made by Roman theologians to explain away the full significance of the statement in that Creed. [B. W.]

ABLUTION.—A word derived from the Latin meaning washing. The cleansing or washing of the sacred vessels used at the Holy Communion is called by Romanists and Ritualists "The Ablutions," and is erected by them into a religious ceremony.

The following is the Ritualist account of it:—

"The Ablutions are small quantities of wine and water which the server pours into the chalice and which the priest consumes. Some take two ablutions, the first of wine, the second of wine and water mixed. Others add a third of water, which was the old English custom.

"The priest revolves the chalice while the server is pouring in the first ablution, in order to let the wine absorb any drops that may have adhered to the inside of the chalice.

"In making the second ablution the priest sets the chalice down on the Epistle corner of the altar, and holds the fingers and thumb of each hand in the bowl of the chalice, while the server pours first a few drops of wine and then a larger quantity of water over his fingers in the chalice. The priest having wiped his fingers, then drinks the ablution.

"These acts are designed to insure the entire consumption of the Sacred Species, this being essential to the integrity of the Sacrifice (compare Exod. xxix. 33), and also to prevent any profane treatment of the Holy Mysteries. Wine is used because it more readily draws to itself anything that remains of the Sacrament of the Blood; water is afterwards added to neutralise the species of wine, whence a considerable quantity is added. Lastly, the second ablution is poured over the priest's fingers, in order that if any fragment or crumb of the Bread of Life adhere to them it may be consumed when the priest drinks the ablution. For the same reason, before the first ablution, he carefully consumes what remains on the paten and wipes it with his thumb over the chalice.

"If the priest is going to celebrate again that morning the priest does not take the ablutions; but putting them into some fitting vessel he reserves them till the end of the second service, when he partakes of both together, in order that he should not break his fast" (*Ritual Reason Why*, 397-404).

Bishop John Wordsworth objects to the use of wine for cleansing the chalice, on the grounds that the wine so used would become itself *ipso facto* consecrated, and "to consecrate fresh wine is to defeat the object of cleansing the vessels" (*Letter to his Clergy*, 1898, p. 82).

The Roman Missal orders that any small fragments be brushed from the paten into the chalice (which Bishop John Wordsworth also advises); that the priest hold out the chalice to the deacon for him to pour a little wine in for the priest to purify himself with; that he wash his fingers, wipe them, and drink the ablution in which he has washed them; and finally wipe his mouth and the chalice, put a covering on the chalice, and place it upon the altar.

St. Alfonso de' Liguori, on the authority of Pope Pius V., advises that so much wine be used in the first ablution as there had been wine consecrated, but he reassures his priestly readers by telling them that their sin is not more than venial if they use water instead of wine in the first ablution; and the second time, when they are washing their fingers, they may use water alone without any sin at all, if they

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tion from sin (as distinct from censure) known in the Church of Christ, but only prayer for the forgiveness of the sinner. For the first six hundred years this prayer was offered publicly by the congregation. Then men began to think—Leo I. (A.D. 440–461) had led the way in thinking—that the prayer of the priest might be regarded as a substitute for that of the congregation; and then there grew up the practice, adopted by some not by others, of confessing to the priest those sins which up to that time used to be confessed publicly, and receiving his prayers in place of those of the congregation, which for the particular purpose he represented. Imperceptibly the idea of the priest as representing the congregation was exchanged for that of the priest representing God, and finally at the end of another six hundred years, during which this change was being matured, the formula of absolution was changed from a prayer for pardon to a conveyance of forgiveness. But twelve hundred years had to pass before so presumptuous a claim could be put forth. One more step followed. In 1215 absolution after confession was declared obligatory on all men and women by the most arrogant of the Popes, at that Lateran Council which also formulated the dogma of Transubstantiation.

In order to show how widely England and Rome differ from one another in regard to confession and absolution, also how the teaching of the Ritualists is more in harmony with the Lateran doctrine (and later the Tridentine) than that of the Church of England, we shall give a brief account of the teaching of each.

The Roman Doctrine.—The Roman Church teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ established a Tribunal of Penance in which the priest is judge, and that it is necessary for every Christian to address himself to that Tribunal for the forgiveness of his sins. History demonstrably proves that that Tribunal was in fact not established by our Lord but by Innocent III. in 1215, and that it was the fourth Council of the Lateran, of that date, not our Lord, which ordered all Christians to submit themselves to it. The Church of Rome teaches further that Penance is a Sacrament, and that this Sacrament consists of four parts—(1) Contrition or Attrition, (2) Confession, (3) Satisfaction, (4) Absolution.

Attrition, which is distress at sin through fear of its punishment in this world or the next, has to be substituted for contrition, which is distress at sin through sorrow at offending God, because Roman Doctors do not dare to deny, in face of the declarations of Holy Scripture, that contrition on the part of man is immediately accompanied by forgiveness on the part of God; and in that case what is the use of confession, satisfaction, and absolution to effect what has been already done? Contrition is allowed to be enough without these; but with them, attrition is pronounced sufficient; from whence it follows that a man may be forgiven without any love of God in his heart if he have a fear of His punishments and submit himself to the priest.

Confession, on the Roman theory, must be made (*a*) in secrecy, (*b*) to the priest, not as in early times before the congregation; and the penitent is ordered to enumerate all grave sins, and to answer any questions asked by the priest, who is instructed to make inquiries on any points which may have been concealed through modesty.

Satisfaction, instead of being regarded as making amends to another who had been wronged, is represented as the satisfying God's justice by suffering or by performing a painful penance imposed by the priest. When God pardons the sinner on the priest's absolution, He is supposed not to be content unless the sinner undergoes some pain, which must be undergone either on earth or in an imaginary place called Purgatory, unless the Pope presents him with an Indulgence which shortens or removes it.

Absolution, instead of being a release from the censures of the Church, or a prayer for God's forgiveness of the trespass committed by the sinner, becomes a judicial pardon of sin by a man acting in the place of God.

Doctrine of the English Church.—At the Reformation the Church of England swept away the whole of the system which was established by the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and is continued still in the Roman Communion. She could not bring back the early Penitential Discipline of the public acknowledgment of great offences before the congregation, but she left each man to the rule of his God-given conscience as had always been the case of old, except in regard to such scandalous offences as those enumerated by Gregory Nyssen. She made conscience the judge whether the man was or was not in a state to attend the Table of the Lord, introducing into the Daily Prayers and into the Communion Service a declaration of God's forgiveness of the penitent, by which each person might judge and reassure himself, and a prayer for His forgiveness after the public confession of sin. For the ordinary Christian life the mediæval and unprimitive practice of private confession and absolution was abolished, and has no more existence.

But yet the Church recognised that there might be souls so overwhelmed by the horror of a sudden fall or by the stings of an awakened

conscience that they could not assure themselves of the possibility of God's forgiveness before Holy Communion (which ought to be received with the quiet mind of a child of God conscious of acceptance by his Father) or before death. In these exceptional cases she allowed and advised the troubled soul to open its grief to the ministering clergyman, or some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, in order to receive from him assurance that his sin did not shut him out from God's mercy, and that he might enjoy the benefits of absolution, which are restoration to the communion of the Church. In these two cases only does the Church of England allow private absolution, and that, not for the removal of sin, but for assurance to the sinner that God certainly forgives or has forgiven him, if he is truly penitent.

Ritualist Teaching.—Ritualists make as little as possible of the public absolutions (*Ritual Reason Why*, p. 325), because they wish to drive people to what they call "sacramental absolution" (*ibid.*), a title which they say is given to private absolution by Bishop Cosin (*Catholic Religion*, p. 269). That the title is given to it by Bishop Cosin is not true. It is employed in an anonymous series of Notes, probably written by one Hayward, which has been without reason assigned to Cosin in the Oxford Edition of 1855, but certainly is not his. The Ritualist teaching on "sacramental absolution" is essentially the same as the Roman. In one respect it goes beyond it, for whereas Roman authorities teach that only grave sins, and such as they pronounce mortal, have to be necessarily confessed in order to obtain absolution, Ritualists require all sins that the ransacked memory can recall to be confessed for that purpose, on pain of the guilt of sacrilege. They have found it necessary to reject the substitution of attrition for contrition, as they could not bear the thought of forgiveness being secured by a man who was without any love towards God; but then they are left in the difficulty, that in that case there is no need of auricular confession, and no place for priestly absolution to release from sin, when that sin has been pardoned already, as it certainly is on contrition. They argue that "God demands confession as a condition of pardon" (*Catholic Religion*, p. 268). That is true, but it is confession to Himself that He demands, which is a necessary part of contrition, not an act subsequent to and apart from it. They further tacitly reject the Roman explanation of Satisfaction, and substitute for it "Amendment." That is well; but "Amendment" is a result of repentance, not a part of an ecclesiastical ordinance. The Ritualist view of the final act of "absolution" does not differ from the Roman.

The Scriptural authority for absolution is commonly declared by Ritualists to be John xx. 23 (*Catholic Religion*, p. 264), which, as we have seen, has nothing whatever to do with "sacramental confession and absolution." (See p. 2, note.) Some are driven into finding "the institution of the Sacrament of Penance" in our Lord's washing the disciples' feet, John xiii. 10 (Mason, *Faith of the Gospel*, p. 335). The word Absolution was also applied to other prayers besides those which besought God for the forgiveness of sinners. The "Absolutions" used at Nocturns, printed on the last page of the preface to the Breviary, are simple prayers or collects. See CONFESSION. [F. M.]

ABSOLUTION (FORMS OF).

1. *Early Church.* The forms of Absolution in the early Church were generally of a precatory or declaratory character, and were always accompanied by the imposition of hands; which ceremony did not imply the transmission of any gift from God, but symbolised that prayer was being made specially to God over the penitent (Augustine, *De Bapt.*, iii. 16). The following specimens of these forms, the first two precatory, the last declaratory, from the Penitential of Johannes Jejunator, bishop of Constantinople, 585, will suffice to indicate their general character:—

(1)

"God, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Ruler and Governor, pardon thee all thy sins which thou hast confessed to me His unworthy servant in His all-seeing presence."

(2)

"God, who by His servant Nathan pardoned the sins of David upon his humble confession; who, moreover, forgave Peter, though he had denied Him, upon his weeping bitterly; and absolved the harlot lying prostrate and wailing at His blessed feet; and showed mercy unto Manasses, and the publican, and the prodigal son; He who also said, Confess your sins to one another; may that same Lord Jesus Christ forgive you every sin which you have here confessed in His sight, to me, His unworthy servant, and present you faultless before His judgment-seat, who is blessed for evermore."

(3)

"God, who for our sakes became man and bore the sins of the whole world, will also relieve thee, my beloved, from the burden of those sins which thou hast now confessed before Him to me His unworthy servant, and will pardon them both in this life and in that which is to come; inasmuch as He wills and longs for and grants salvation to all, who is Himself blessed for ever."

It is incorrect to say with Bingham (*Antiq.*, xix. 2, 5) that there were no instances of the indicative forms of Absolution current before the twelfth century, since we find such forms in the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, 734–767, published by the Surtees Society (vol. xxvii.). In the MS. of this Pontifical there is inserted in an eleventh-century hand a Form of Absolution in Anglo-Saxon, of which the following is a translation:—

"Brethren beloved, we absolve you of the bands of your sins, as representing Peter, chief of the Apostles, to whom our Lord gave the power to bind for sins and to loose again; and so far as the accusation of your sins belongs to you, and the forgiveness of them to us, so far be God Almighty life and preservation against all your sins, forgiven through Him who with Him liveth and reigneth through worlds and worlds."

It is important to notice that this indicative form of Absolution occurs in a Pontifical, which is a bishop's service-book, containing those offices which could only be performed by a bishop, or by a person specially authorised to act in his place. And any indicative forms of Absolution current before the twelfth century were used only by bishops, or delegates specially appointed, to authoritatively pronounce sentence of restoration to those who had been cut off from the communion of the Church.

2. *Mediæval and Roman.* The first writer to defend formally the (judicial) indicative form was the celebrated Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274) in his short work, *De forma absolutionis.* That at this time the practice was a novel one is clear from the account Aquinas himself gives of a certain learned man who found fault with it on the ground that up to within thirty years of his writing, *i.e.* about the year 1220, the only form used by the priests and known to the objector was the deprecatory one, "Almighty God give thee remission and forgiveness" (see Usher's *Answer to Jesuits' Challenge*, c. 5). And Aquinas acknowledges that "in some absolutions, which were even then allowed of, the form was still optative and not indicative" (*Summa Theol.*, iii. 84, 3).

It was in the thirteenth century that we find beginning a mixture of the deprecatory and indicative forms of Absolution; and many contemporary theologians asserted that the deprecatory procured from God the sinner's pardon, the indicative reconciled him to the Church. So Alexander of Hales (*ob.* 1245) the distinguished Franciscan schoolman, speaking of Absolution and of the twofold office of the priest as suppliant and superior says:—

"In the first way, he is qualified for obtaining grace by his supplication on the sinner's behalf. In the second way, his province is reconciling the sinner to the Church. In token of this there is premised to the formulary of absolution a prayer, by way of deprecation; and then absolution itself follows, which is pronounced indicatively. The prayer obtains it; the absolution itself pre-supposes the grace of forgiveness, since the priest would never absolve but on the presumption that the party was already absolved by God."

It was not till 1268 that the indicative form of Absolution was authoritatively ordered to be used in respect to sins against God. The Constitution of Cardinal Othobon in a national council held that year at St. Paul's in London, enjoined that those who heard confessions should absolve in the precise words subjoined, "By the authority vested in me I absolve thee from thy sins" (*Ego te a peccatis tuis auctoritate qua fungor te absolvo*).

The recognised form of Absolution in the Roman Church is, "I absolve thee from thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (*Ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti*); and the sense of this form is defined thus, "I judicially bestow on thee the grace of the remission of all thy sins, or grace of itself remissive of all thy sins, as far as is in the power of my ministry." The interpretation "I declare thee absolved" is anathematised by the Council of Trent (sess. 14, can. 9):—

"Whosoever shall affirm that the sacramental absolution of the priest is not a judicial act, but merely a ministry to pronounce and declare that the sins of one confessing are remitted. . . . let him be anathema."

3. *Church of England.* In our English Prayer Book we have three forms of Absolution, Declaratory, Precatory, and Indicative.

(1) *Declaratory.*—In the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,

"He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His Holy Gospel,"

it is simply a solemn declaration of God's pardon to each penitent believer; and that no forgiveness is conveyed in this absolution is evident from the exhortation following the declaration: "Wherefore let us beseech Him to grant us true repentance, and His Holy Spirit," &c.

Up to the time of the Hampton Court Conference this form was entitled "The Absolution," the explanatory words "or remission of sins" being added at the revision to meet the objections of those who considered the expression "the Absolution" standing by itself to be too popish. The form was probably

based on that in the Liturgy of John à Lasco, whose Absolution is in many phrases identical with our own. (See Procter's *Book of Common Prayer*, appendix to ch. 2.)

(2) *Precatory.*—(α) In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. The former clause of the Absolution in that office runs: —

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power in His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences."

(β) In the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, and in the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea:—

"Almighty God . . . have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins."

It is to be observed that this Absolution is addressed to the *whole* congregation assembled; and so, as is fitting in the case of those who are assembled to join in this solemn act of Christian worship, or of those who are in imminent danger of death, there is a tone of greater assurance and solemnity about it than in the form used in the daily services.

This Absolution, which assumed its present form in 1549, is based on that in the Sarum Missal, and ran: —

"Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and strengthen you in goodness, and bring you to everlasting life."

This Absolution was pronounced by the ministers[1] assisting the priest, after which the celebrant, who had previously confessed to them, heard their public confession of sin, and the same Absolution was then repeated by him with the addition: —

"Almighty and merciful God grant you absolution and remission of all your sins, space for true repentance, and amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit."

It is interesting to note that the absolution given by the Church or congregation *to* the priest furnished the wording which our Reformers selected and retained.

In the "Order of Communion" 1548 the preamble was added:—

"Our blessed Lord, who hath left power *to His Church* to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the Heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ; have mercy upon you, pardon" &c. (as in the present form).

The Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea were inserted in the Prayer Book in 1662. When there is imminent danger, the service consists merely of the Confession and Absolution taken from the Communion Office. The rubric is particularly worthy of notice:—

"When there shall be imminent danger, as many as can be spared . . . shall be called together, and make an humble confession of their sin to God; in which every one ought seriously to reflect upon those particular sins of which his conscience shall accuse him."

Observe that here nothing is said of auricular confession or private absolution.

(3) *Indicative.*—In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. The latter clause of this Absolution runs:—

"By His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The rubric preceding this Absolution lays it down that the sick person is to be moved to make a special confession of his sins *if* he be troubled in conscience by any weighty matter; and that Absolution is to be used *only if* he heartily desire it; and further that the priest has no "judicial" discretion as to refusing Absolution, "if he humbly and heartily desire it." By the Reformers the use of this Absolution was restricted to this particular case; and by Canon 67 the use of the whole service is rendered optional to a clerk who has received a licence from the bishop to preach:—

"When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the minister or curate . . . shall resort unto him or her . . . to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion book if he be no preacher; or, if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient."

This Absolution probably has reference to Church censures, for, in the prayer following, which was itself the original Absolution and is found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius (Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*, 8) the sick man

(α) is described as still "earnestly desiring pardon and forgiveness," which there would be no occasion to do had he already received that pardon;

(β) is prayed for that he may be "preserved and continued in the unity of the Church," which implies that by the foregoing Absolution he had been restored to that unity (*cf.* Article XXXIII.).

If moreover, this Absolution conveyed forgiveness of sins against God, the Church would surely have pressed it earnestly upon *all* men, and not have left it for the benefit of one making "a *special* confession of his sins." See, further,

[1] *i.e.* The minor clergy, or lay quasi-clergy. For much interesting light on the gradual steps by which the Lay Absolution by the Church of the priest came to be obscured, see Simmons *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 257.

Wheatley, *On the Common Prayer*, c. xi., where the view here taken is ably argued. Another view has been maintained—that the Absolution is declaratory, "the declaration of God's will to a penitent sinner, that upon the best judgment the priest can make of his repentance, he esteems him absolved before God, and accordingly pronounces and declares him absolved" (Bingham, *Antiq.* xix. 2, 67; see also his Two Sermons on the *Nature and Necessity of the Several Sorts of Absolution*—well worth study). To this view the difficulty attaches of accounting for the prayer following the Absolution; we should expect first prayer for deliverance, then the declaration of it.

At the Savoy Conference it was proposed that the form should run, "I pronounce thee absolved if thou dost truly repent and believe." The answer of the bishops was: "The form of absolution in the liturgy is more agreeable to the Scriptures than that which they desire, it being said in John xx., 'Whose sins you remit, they are remitted,' not 'whose sins you pronounce remitted'; and the condition needs not to be expressed, *being always necessarily understood*" (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 361).

This form of Absolution, together with prefixed rubric on special confession, is entirely omitted in the Prayer Book of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. It was *permitted* by the Irish Form for Visitation of Prisoners of 1711 in the case of criminals under sentence of death.

In the Church of Scotland the following form was formerly used for the restoration of penitents to Church Communion:—

"Whereas thou hast been shut out for thy sin from the congregation of the faithful, and hast now manifested thy repentance, wherein the Church resteth satisfied: in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, before the congregation, I pronounce and declare thee absolved from the sentence of excommunication formerly pronounced against thee, and do receive thee into the communion of the Church, and the free use of all the ordinances of Christ, that thou mayest be partaker of all His benefits to thy eternal salvation."

4. *Absolution of the Dead.* We have some instances of forms of Absolution in the case of persons who had died excommunicate. A stone coffin was discovered in Chichester Cathedral in 1826, and by it a thin leaden plate on which was engraved a form of Absolution granted to Geoffry, bishop of Chichester in 1088. It ran as follows:—

"Absolvimus te Gode
fride Epē vice Sci
Petri principis
Apto cui Dñus dedit
ligandi atque solvendi
potestatem ut quantū tua expetit
accusatio et ad nos pertineat remisio
sit tibi deus redemptor omps salus omni
peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Amen."

In 1326 a commission was issued from the Archbishop of Canterbury to enable one who had died excommunicate to be buried with Christian rites; and an Absolution is ordered to be pronounced over the dead man. Another was granted in 1369, also by the Archbishop (Maskell, *Monum. Rit. Eccl. Ang.*, 2, clxxviii., 2nd edition). The student may see the text of these commissions in Wilkins's *Concilia* (1737), vol. ii.

5. *Literature.*

Aquinas: *De forma Absolutionis*—Opuscula, xxii.

Morinus: *De Pœnitentia*, viii. cc. 8 *ff.*

Maskell: *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae.*

Martene: *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus.*

Bingham: *Antiquities of the Christian Church.*

Marshall: *Penitential Discipline of the Early Church.*

Pusey's *Tertullian*, pp. 376–408.

Reichel (Bp.): *History and Claims of the Confessional.*

See also the articles ABJURATION, ABSOLUTION, ASSURANCE, CONFESSION, in this Dictionary; and the literature mentioned under these heads. [A. W. G.]

ABSTINENCE.—See FASTING.

ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.—See EASTERN CHURCHES.

ACCIDENTS.—See MASS and TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

ACOLYTE.—A minor order in the Church of Rome. See ORDERS. The acolyte (*i.e.* "follower") has the duty of lighting the lamps, and assisting the priest at mass by handing to him the bread and wine, holding the Gospel for him to read, and in other ways. All such ceremonies were declared unlawful in the Church of England by Judgment of the Court of Arches (Sir Robert Phillimore) in the case of Elphinstone *v.* Purchas.

ACT OF FAITH.—See AUTO DA FÉ.

ADMONITION or Monition is an order of an ecclesiastical judge directing the performance of a certain act—*e.g.* to reside on a benefice, to remove illegal ornaments, &c. The order has to be formally served, and disobedience is punished by inhibition, and ultimately by deprivation or imprisonment. Execution of a monition may be suspended during an appeal. The formalities as to monitions vary under different Acts of Parliament. See Chitty's *Church and Clergy Statutes*, by Lely and Whitehead.

ADORATION OF THE CROSS.—A service of the Church of Rome used on Good Friday, during

which a crucifix is unveiled, kissed, and adored on their knees by the priest and congregation. This service has been of recent years introduced by Ritualists into the service of the Church of England. See CROSS.

ADORATION OF THE EUCHARIST.—The practice of worshipping the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

This is one of the consequences of the dogma of the Objective Presence in the elements. If Christ has entered into the bread and into the cup when the priest consecrated them and thereby made them to be His body and blood, their worship becomes intelligible, though still open to the charge of the Nestorianism which worships a part of Christ instead of His person. If the bread is the symbol of Christ's body and the wine of His blood, and if their participation is an appointed means of conveying to the duly qualified soul the benefits of His passion, to worship them is a superstition as unreasonable as it would be to worship the water through means of which the grace of baptism is conveyed. The first of these views, originating in the ninth century, was authorised for Latin Christendom in the thirteenth century under the name of Transubstantiation, and it was rejected by the Church of England in the sixteenth century. With it fell the practice of Adoration of the Sacrament. When the doctrine of the Objective Presence in the bread and wine, encouraged by Dr. Pusey and taught by Archdeacon Wilberforce, crept back into the Church of England, with it came a doctrine undistinguishable from Transubstantiation, and the practice of Eucharistical Adoration.

Christ said that His absence from earth in His human nature was expedient for His Church, which should be ruled by the Holy Spirit, His only Vicar. But men would not continue to believe this. They would themselves create His bodily presence on earth, as He had not vouchsafed it. In heaven He was too far off; they could not lift up their hearts so high. They could raise them as far as to the altar, but not to heaven. Christ *must* be here in His humanity as well as by His divine Spirit, and they *must* be able to bring Him down (comp. Exod. xxxii. 1), and to cause Him, at their will, to appear under the form of bread and wine, which, however, were not bread and wine but Himself in person. So the weak and timid faith, which was not brave enough to launch itself upwards to the throne of God, called Him down to be within reach, and having Him thus an object of sight felt relieved from making the too great effort that had been demanded of it, and sank lower and lower till it worshipped the Sacrament, outward part and all, as God and in place of God. Image worship arose and justified itself in the same way. Christ in heaven was lost to view, hidden by the intervening clouds, but the crucifix could be seen: there it was—before the eyes—near at hand—and it could be reached by a far feebler effort of the soul. In Eucharistic adoration and in image worship alike spirituality is lost and a superstitious materialism is substituted.

Is it conceivable that when our Lord held out the bread to His Apostles at the Last Supper they prostrated themselves and worshipped it as being Himself that He was holding in His hand? Did they worship the wine that they drank in turn as being Christ in all the integrity of His soul and body, and did the Evangelist say no word of such an act? Could the Corinthians have worshipped the bread and the wine which they confounded with the ordinary bread and wine that they were eating and drinking at a social meal? Could the early Apologists have been full of their scornful taunts of the heathen for worshipping the material representations of their divinities, if they had been open to the retort that they habitually did the same? It was not possible that Adoration of the Sacrament could exist until the doctrine of Transubstantiation, sanctioned in 1215, was admitted. It was hardly possible that it should not arise after that dogma had been adopted. At the Reformation it necessarily fell to the ground, on Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass being repudiated. When this took place there were some that objected altogether to kneeling at reception, lest it should countenance Adoration of the Sacrament. To meet this objection, and at the same time to stamp with condemnation adoration whether of the elements or of Christ in the elements, there was inserted, in 1552, the so-called Black Rubric, declaring the adoration of the elements to be idolatrous and the corporal presence of Christ "here" to be impossible, as He had but one natural body and that was in heaven, while it expressed approval of kneeling as signifying humility and thankfulness and preventing disorder. In 1559 it was thought that this rubric might be safely dropped, but as the objection to kneeling still prevailed in 1662 and the danger of a recrudescence of adoration was discerned, it was reinserted, with a verbal alteration, at the final revision in 1662, and it still stands as the rule of the English Church.

Ritualist manuals have a great difficulty to find authority for Eucharistical Adoration in the Anglican divines. It is easy to find exhortations to worship Christ in heaven while commemorating in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion His sacrifice on the Cross. But these passages not only do not commend the

worship of Christ in the Sacrament but they teach the truth which this practice parodies; yet these words are taken as though they contained an approval of the practice. Even Ridley, though he has distinctly declared that "adoration" in this connection means no more than "reverent treatment" (according to the old signification of the word), is quoted as favourable to the worship of the Eucharist (*Ritual Reason Why*, 359), and Jeremy Taylor is paraded as a supporter of the same tenet (a passage, lending itself to a misunderstanding, being cited) although he has discussed the point at length and condemned the practice unreservedly. The following are some of his words: "The commandment to worship God alone is so express; the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast; the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable, that it is infinitely to be presumed that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Scripture would have called it God or Jesus Christ, or have bidden us in express terms to have adored it. . For concerning the action of adoration this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a *sursum corda*, with our hearts lift up to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father; for *Nemo digne manducat nisi prius adoraverit*, said St. Austin, 'No man eats Christ's body worthily but he that first adores Christ'; but to terminate the divine worship to the sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable and unnatural and withal so scandalous, that Averroes observing it to be used among the Christians with whom he had the ill-fortune to converse, said these words: *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis*, 'Since Christians worship what they eat, let my soul be with the philosophers'" (*Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament*, §13). Again: "We may not render divine worship to Him as present in the blessed sacrament according to His human nature, without danger of idolatry; because He is not there according to His human nature, and therefore you give divine worship to a *non ens*, which must needs be idolatry. . . . He is present there by His divine power and His divine blessing and the fruits of His body, the real effective consequents of His passion; but for any other presence, it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven, for the heaven must contain Him till the time of the restitution of all things. . . . God is a jealous God; He spake it in the matter of external worship and of idolatry; and therefore do nothing that is like worshipping a mere creature, nothing like worshipping that which you are not sure is God; and if you can believe the bread, when it is blessed by the priest, is God Almighty, you can, if you please, believe anything else. . . . If it be transubstantiated, and you are sure of it, then you may pray to it and put your trust in it, and believe the holy bread to be co-eternal with the Father and with the Holy Ghost. . . . But I am ashamed of the horrible proposition" (*Letter to a Gentleman that was Tempted to the Communion of the Romish Church*).

Yet this is the author especially relied upon as an Anglican witness to Eucharistical Adoration (*Ritual Reason Why*, 359; *E.C.U. Declaration* of 1900).

The *Ritual Reason Why* attaches great importance to the priest's adoration and gives its reasons for "the priest worshipping after each consecration," which, professing to describe English practice, it calmly says that he does. "By his twofold adoration he expresses the truth that 'Christ being dead dieth no more'" (*Ibid.* 362). We are at a loss to see how that signification is attached to a second act of worship, done to the wine. The real reason of Roman priests making this "twofold adoration" is that Anselm formulated the tenet (consequent upon Transubstantiation) that the whole Christ is made to exist under each species. Therefore not only is the bread Christ but the wine also is Christ. Why then should not the wine be adored as well as the bread, and separately from the bread? Ritualists often adopt Roman practices without at first apprehending their real purpose, and then the practice leads to the doctrine. [See Lord Halifax in *Lord's Day and Holy Eucharist*, p. 3, and note Ch. Assoc. Tract No. 219 on "*The Gospel of Expiation*."—ED.] [F. M.]

ADVERTISEMENTS, *i.e.* Official Notices.—This name, though used of various public notices given by authority, is now usually connected with the celebrated regulations described in the twenty-fourth Canon as "the Advertisements (*admonitiones*) published anno 7 Eliz." That description, however, was inexact, as the Advertisements were not, in fact, "published" until March 1566, whereas the "seventh year of Elizabeth" ended on November 16, 1565. The explanation is that the *legal* force of the Advertisements depended entirely on the Queen's Letter directing the Primate and his fellow "Commissioners under the great seal for causes ecclesiastical" (in other words, the episcopal members of the High Commission, who formed a quorum for such matters), to publish "Orders or Injunctions" for carrying out the Queen's disciplinary plans. A long time necessarily intervened, because the Commissioners were directed first to inquire into

the existing "varieties" and irregularities then common in Divine service, and after tabulating the returns to lay down such rules as would force the clergy to a more careful observance of uniformity. The Royal Letter is dated January 24, 1565 (New Style), and the title of the Advertisements when published described them as "by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters commanding the same the 25th day of January in the seventh year of the reign.' Thus the date of the Royal authority was the only date specified, because that alone fulfilled the requirements of the provisoes at the end of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity which had authorised the Queen to take "other order" as to ornaments, and to "ordain and publish further ceremonies" besides those prescribed in the Prayer Book. "There was no particular form required by statute or by law in which the Queen was to take order, and it was competent for her Majesty to do so by means of a Royal Letter addressed to the Metropolitan. The Advertisements were issued by the prelates as orders prepared under the Queen's authority" (Judgment of the Privy Council in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton). As, however, the object of the Queen was to secure uniformity, only a very small part of the orders relate to any proposed changes; the only material alteration being that in Cathedrals copes were, for the first time, directed to be worn by the celebrant and by his two assistants. It was at one time thought that the dress of the clergy was simplified by these orders; but no hint of such a change is to be gleaned from any contemporary writer, and the mistake was due to overlooking the fact that the ornaments rubric of 1552, *which ordered the surplice to be worn at Holy Communion*, was re-enacted by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, whereas the *printed* rubrics, substituted in 1559 for those of the Second Prayer Book, were mere illegalities and were treated as such, being never once acted upon or recognised by the authorities in Church and State. The Advertisements, therefore, which contradicted the rubrics of 1549, were nevertheless enforcements of the legally re-enacted rubric of 1552–59, and at the same time were the "publishing *further* orders" as regards cope-wearing in Cathedrals. This last alteration was partially confirmed by the Canons of 1603–4, but only as to the five "principal Feast Days" which have "proper Prefaces" (viz. Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday), the events commemorated on those days being further honoured by requiring the most eminent dignitary in residence to be the celebrant. The disputed questions as to the date and legal warrant of the Advertisements are discussed exhaustively in Tomlinson, *On the Prayer Book*; and the section of the Advertisements relating to ritual is given in Miller's *Guide to Ecclesiastical Law*. See ORNAMENTS RUBRIC, VESTMENTS, COPE. [J. T. T.]

The contents of the Advertisements, so far as they are material, are as follows:—

"In the ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches, the principal minister shall wear *a cope*, with gospeller and epistoller agreeably; and at all other prayers to be said at the Communion Table to use *no copes but surplices*.

"That the dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir; and when they preach to use their hoods.

"*Item*.—That every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church shall wear a comely *surplice* with sleeves to be provided at the charge of the parish."

The importance of the Advertisements depends upon the view taken of the celebrated 25th section of Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (1559) (see ORNAMENTS RUBRIC). The theory of the Privy Council was that the effect of this section was to cancel for the time the Ornaments Rubric of 1552 (which required the surplice only), and to provisionally restore the use *in church* of the Mass vestments of 1549. On this supposition they found it necessary to hold that "other order" had been taken under section 25, and they consider that this was done by means of the Advertisements in 1566. The difficulty of this solution is, that it leaves *seven years* during which the Mass vestments were compulsory and the surplice illegal, and no evidence can be produced to prove what is obviously so contrary to the facts. The other construction of the 25th section (that of Mr. J. T. Tomlinson and others) is, that this section had nothing whatever to do with the wearing of vestments *in church*, but simply had for its object the retention of the illegal Mass vestments until "other order" was taken as to their sale or disposal. This view certainly harmonises law and fact, and under it the Advertisements become merely a directive and administrative enforcement of the Ornaments Rubric of 1552, with a "further order" under the 26th section for the wearing of copes in cathedrals and collegiate churches. It will thus be seen that, according to the *Ridsdale* judgment, the Advertisements *lowered* the ritual standard, while on Mr. Tomlinson's view they *raised* it. The latter view is alone consistent with contemporary evidence and facts. In any case, the royal authority of the Advertisements is undoubted. For details see Tomlinson, *On the Prayer Book*, ch. iv., and article by B. Whitehead in *Churchman*, for February 1899, and see ORNAMENTS RUBRIC. [B. W.]

ADVOWSON (*Jus patronatus*) is the perpetual right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice whenever a vacancy occurs. The person entitled to present is the successor by purchase, or otherwise, of the original founder of the benefice, and is called the advocate, advowee, or patron, *i.e.* the protector of the benefice. He cannot grant the glebe or tithes as a distinct property; these remain inseparably annexed to the advowson, and belong to the incumbent for the time being as a kind of life tenant. The owner of the advowson has simply the right of presenting a duly qualified clergyman on a vacancy. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

In the earliest Saxon times, the government of the churches was exclusively in the hands of the bishop. Bishop and clergy lived together in a convenient centre, and collected what contributions they could from the faithful. The clergy were sent out on circular tours, as occasion arose, according to the directions of the bishop. Then parishes were marked out, and particular curates appointed, although there was still a common fund, "and it was therefore," as Mirehouse says, "not material to what church any parishioner presented his bounty." But later, when affairs became more settled, laymen desired to have a priest to live permanently among them, and consequently undertook his maintenance. The lord of a manor set apart a piece of land for the use of the clergy, upon which he built a church and parsonage, devoting the remainder as glebe land, and sometimes as a burial ground. In return for these gifts, the perpetual right of nominating the incumbent was vested in the donor, and the advowson became appendant to the manor. If afterwards separated from the manor it was called an advowson in gross.

By this time, payment of tithes, originally purely voluntary, had been rendered compulsory by the State, but in what way exactly is not quite clear. They were payable at first by the taxpayer to the central fund or to any church he pleased; but upon the permanent settlement of the parish priest, the tithes arising from his parish were, with the consent of the bishop, allocated to him, and the system subject to appropriation has remained in force ever since.

Advowsons of this kind were called *donative*, because the right of appointing the incumbent was in the *donation* of the patron independently of the bishop. All advowsons were originally donative, but in some cases the right of donation was vested by the lord of the manor or by the tithe-payers permanently in the hands of the bishop. In these cases the advowson was called *collative*. Later, a third class sprang into being, from the fact that some patrons, anxious to stand well with their bishop, presented their nominee to him for his approval before admission. The bishop then put him into possession of the living by institution and induction. If this process was once allowed the advowson thenceforward became *presentative*. The number of donative advowsons consequently gradually diminished, until very few were left, and recently by the Benefices Act, 1898, they have been abolished altogether.

The entire advowson or the next presentation or any number of presentations, being the whole interest of the vendor, may still be sold, subject to the rules against simony, which have been made more stringent by the Benefices Act, 1898 (Whitehead, *Church Law*, pp. 6, 281).

Advowsons may be vested in trustees, and the trust-deed may require the appointment of a clergyman of a particular school of thought. Thus moneys may be given to promote the Evangelical cause by the purchase of advowsons. This is a good charitable gift, and the trustees are bound to present an Evangelical clergyman (Whitehead, p. 68). See BENEFICE, PRESENTATION, &c. [B. W.]

AFFUSION.—The pouring of water on the recipients of Holy Baptism. Trine immersion was the rule of the Primitive Church, as we learn from Tertullian (*De Corona*, § 3). Affusion seems to be justified by the *Didache*, cap. vii. It is permitted by the rubric, which says, "If they certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it." See BAPTISM.

AGAPÉ.—A common meal or feast of brotherhood in the course of which the Holy Communion was originally administered. When giving the Bread and the Cup at the last Passover our Lord instructed His Apostles that they should do as He had done; and His Church has ever done so since that time in obedience to His command. But His first disciples (the Apostles who had been present when He gave the command) were not content with repeating His action merely in the delivery and eating of the bread and in the delivery and drinking of the wine; they re-enacted, so far as was possible, the whole of the Last Supper on the evening of every Lord's Day with only such alteration as circumstances made necessary. They could no longer sacrifice and eat the Lamb—its antitype had been offered, and for it was substituted any other kind of meat; they would no longer use unleavened bread—that belonged only to the Paschal week, and instead of it they used leavened bread "such as was usual to be eaten" (*Rubric*); they would no longer insist on the traditional number of the cups of wine—the one cup of blessing had been substituted for them; the bitter herbs were no longer

suitable—the Lord's victory over death had turned sorrow into joy, and milk, honey, and fruits took their places. But with these alterations the form of the Lord's Last Supper was retained. The greater part of the food eaten was supplied by the richer brethren, but all that could, made their offering or oblation of such simple viands as the bread that they ordinarily ate and the tempered wine that they ordinarily drank; and these provisions, by whomsoever supplied, were shared by all the faithful. At the proper moment—no doubt towards the end of the meal, after the precedent set by Christ—a solemn silence was called, all the guests rose to their feet, a loaf and a cup of the wine, selected from the general oblations, were placed before the presiding presbyter, who set them apart by a joyous prayer of dedication, at first extemporaneous afterwards formal, in which he gave thanks to God for the blessing of the fruits of the earth which supplied men's bodily needs and for the spiritual benefits derived from the sacrifice of Christ's body broken on the Cross and His blood there poured out, of which the bread and the wine were symbols. All the guests responded with an Amen, and then the presbyter or Bishop or Apostle who was officiating placed some of the bread, and the cup which he had blessed, in the hands of the deacon, who carried his portion to each guest for reverent consumption in thankful remembrance of the Master. After a pause, all resumed their seats, and the social meal was continued, and brought to a conclusion by the thanksgiving appropriate to the Eucharist.

When the gathering consisted of men of a coarse spirit this beautiful ceremony became perverted to evil. Selfishness forced its way in. Those who had brought the better foodstuffs were not willing to share them with their poorer brethren; there was noise and clamour; some came early and some came late; so that they did not even "discern" or distinguish by devout behaviour and grateful recollection the sacred elements blessed by the president of the feast, which represented the Lord's body and blood, from the other materials of the feast. This was the case at Corinth, and St. Paul, as we should expect, sharply reproved the Corinthians for their conduct, and ordered any that were so hungry as to misbehave themselves to dine at home before coming to the brotherly meal.

But St. Paul did not abrogate or alter the institution on account of its having been abused by one of his congregations. The Agapé was still held on the evening of every Lord's Day, and the participation of the consecrated elements continued to make a part of it. It was a prohibition of the Empire, not of the Church, which compelled a change in its form and in the hour at which it was held.

Early in the second century the Emperor Trajan sent imperative orders to all the Roman Prefects to forbid all evening meetings of Societies, through fear of the conspiracies which he suspected might be hatched in them. The Prefects issued their Edicts in the year 110, and the Agapai (plural) were caught in the net of their prohibitions. What was to be done? The Church could not abolish the Lord's Supper. The only alternative was to transfer it to the forenoon. This was done, and then it became necessary to adapt its use to the hour at which it was held. It would have been unreasonable to begin by sitting down to a meal in the early forenoon (say, at 9 o'clock A.M.) and therefore the order of proceeding was changed by the transposition of the administration of the Holy Eucharist to the beginning and of the brotherly meal to the end. St. Chrysostom thus describes the practice as it now existed: "When the congregation broke up, after hearing the sermon and the prayers and receiving the Communion, all the faithful did not immediately go home, but the wealthy and better-to-do members brought food and eatables from their houses, and invited the poor, and made common tables, common dinners, common banquets, in the church itself. So from this fellowship of the table and from the reverence of the place, they were bound to one another in love for every reason, and much pleasure and much profit were derived from them; for the poor enjoyed great consolation and the rich reaped the fruit of the kindly feelings of those whom they fed; and God for whom they did this was pleased with them; and so they went home" (*Hom. Op.* t. iii. p. 244, Ed. Ben.). The meal was still made out of the oblations brought by the faithful to the church, from which the Eucharistical elements had previously been selected (St. Jerome on 1 Cor. xi.).

Again another change took place. The vigilance of the Emperors relaxed—a Commodus was not a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius; Trajan's suspicions were forgotten, and evening meetings of clubs and societies were connived at. About the year 185 therefore the Agapé was quietly re-transferred to the evening. But the Eucharistic part, which had already been half-severed from it, was not re-transferred with it. That continued to be celebrated in the forenoon and occasionally was even appended to the Ante-lucan, or before-daylight, service (Tertull. *De Cor.* § 3). Tertullian, A.D. 195, tells us that the Agapé took place in the evening, and describes it as follows:—"Our supper shows its purpose from its very name; it is called Agapé, which in Greek means Love. Whatever it cost

us, it is an advantage to spend it on a pious object, for we give relief and comfort to the poor by it. . . . It does not give occasion for anything vile or immodest. We do not sit down till we have first offered prayer to God. We eat as much as hunger bids us to eat; we drink no more than is good for modest men. We satisfy our appetites as men who remember that they have to worship God by night as well as by day. We talk as men who know that the Lord hears us. When we have washed our hands after dinner, and lights are brought in, every one is urged to chant God's praises either out of the Holy Scriptures, or according as he is able of his own composition—a proof of the measure of our drinking. Prayer concludes the feast as well as opening it. Then we go away, not to insult or quarrel with those we meet, nor to give way to lasciviousness, but still having care for modesty and chastity, as men who have not so much supped as been to a school of philosophy" (*Apol.* xxxix.).

But the character of the Agapé was lowered when the sacred part had been severed from it. In its new form it was no longer a re-enactment of the Lord's Supper, but merely a common or public meal; similar to those customary among the Essenes, and not unknown in Greece and other countries. Its religious character gradually fell out of sight; and it became in some places a social meeting of the well-to-do, in others a charity dinner to the poor. In either form it was too degenerate to last. In the north of Italy St. Ambrose's authority abolished it at the end of the fourth century, and St. Augustine followed his master's example in North Africa. Here and there it still lingered on till the seventh or eighth century, and then it disappeared totally.

Romanists and Ritualists have great difficulty in dealing with the Agapé, because it proves that in the first century the Holy Communion was administered (1) in the evening, (2) to recipients who were not fasting, and (3) that St. Paul did not teach that an objective presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine was wrought by consecration. Had he done so the Corinthians could not have been guilty of an irreverence which carelessly failed to distinguish between the consecrated and unconsecrated elements of the feast. On the contrary, they might easily have paid such respect to the elements as to have fallen into the superstitions which did in fact spring up when that doctrine had arisen, but they could never have treated them with such irreverence as they displayed.

To confine within as narrow limits as possible the evidence derived from the joint celebration of the Eucharist and Agapé, it has been suggested (*Congregation in Church*, p. 47) that St. Paul transferred the Eucharistical service to the morning and ordered fasting reception, on his next visit to Corinth, to which he referred in his Epistle. Had this been so, it could not take away the witness of the Church from A.D. 30 to A.D. 60; but the suggestion has no basis or evidence on which to rest. It is disproved by St. Paul's own words, the *Teaching of the Apostles* (ch. x.), and by Ignatius's *Letter to the Church of Smyrna* (ch. viii.), which show that the Agapé and the Eucharist were still combined. This carries us down to A.D. 110, the very year in which Trajan's command compelled their transfer to the forenoon.

The Agapé then proves (1) that the Church of the first century did not believe in an Objective Presence in the elements, and that St. Paul did not teach it; (2) that it did not regard fasting either as a necessary or as an appropriate preparation for communicating; (3) that it saw no objection, under the circumstances of the day, to Evening Communion. Therefore, that Objective Presence is not an Apostolic or Primitive doctrine. Fasting Communion is not an Apostolic or Primitive practice. The hour at which the Holy Communion should be administered is in itself indifferent, and is left to the discretion of the Bishops and Presbyters of the Church in each age. (See Bp. Kingdon, *Fasting Communion.*) [F. M.]

AGNUS DEI is the name given

I. To the well-known prayer which occurs both in the Litany and in the "Gloria in Excelsis" in our present Prayer Book: "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us," or "grant us Thy peace." It is one of our oldest prayers, being adapted from John i. 29. It is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book vii. as an evening hymn, and in the Codex Alexandrinus it is described as a morning hymn; and its original use had no connection with Holy Communion. Pope Sergius I. (in A.D. 688) is said to have been the first to insert the "Agnus Dei" in the Mass. He placed it between the "Pater" and the "Communio." The original direction was that it should be chanted by clerks and people. At the beginning of the ninth century it was chanted by the choir alone, and in some churches with the threefold repetition. After the doctrine of Transubstantiation began to be received, the place of the "Agnus Dei" in the Mass, *i.e.* between the consecration of the elements and their reception by the people, became fraught with danger, for the wafer itself was addressed as a living person under this title. From about the fourteenth century the "Agnus" was said in a low voice by the priest, and later the third petition was changed into "*dona nobis pacem*" probably on account of

the then troubled condition of the Church. The present practice in the Roman Catholic Church is for the priest to strike his breast three times, pronouncing as many times the "Agnus Dei." The practice in the Romish Church at date of the Reformation is thus described by Preb. Becon, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer: "Then do ye say the 'Agnus,' which Pope Sergius also commanded that it should be said at mass a little before the receiving of the host. And here again ye play the abominable idolaters. For looking upon the bread ye look yourselves and worship it, saying in Latin 'Agnus Dei,' &c. Thrice do ye call that bread which ye hold in your hands 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.' O intolerable blasphemy, was there ever an idolater who worshipped a piece of broken bread for God?"—"a piece of thin wafer cake for God?" (Works, iii. 278; *cf.* Jewel's Works, ii. 586).

By the first Prayer Book of King Edward (1549) the "Agnus Dei" was retained in the Romish position, but with a rubric directing that the clerks should sing it as a hymn "during communion time." And in 1550 Bishop Ridley issued an injunction forbidding the *minister* to counterfeit the Romish Mass by saying the "Agnus" *before* the communion.

By the second Prayer Book (1552) the "Agnus Dei" was omitted altogether from this place, no doubt on account of the difficulty there was, so long as the words remained, in preventing some ministers from counterfeiting the Romish Mass by mumbling the "Agnus" and idolatrously adoring the bread as if it were the Lamb of God. For the same purpose—*i.e.* the prevention of idolatry—"the prayer of access" and the "Gloria" were transposed, so that the former should precede the consecration while the latter was removed from its place near the beginning of the service to its present position at the end. It is thus said after the elements have been consumed or at any rate hidden from sight.

Some have thought, however (like Archbishop Benson), that the omission was simply due to the desire to prevent repetition, the "Agnus" (as we have seen) occurring also in the "Gloria." But that would hardly have been the reason, as the repetitions in the "Gloria" were actually increased in 1552. At any rate the "Agnus" has been omitted from the Romish position since 1552. In 1661 a proposal to reinsert the "Agnus" was carefully considered and deliberately rejected. It was actually proposed and adopted by the committee, but struck out again afterwards. Therefore the courts of law held that it was illegal to sing the "Agnus Dei" *during* the partaking of the Communion. In 1892, however, in their *Lincoln* judgment, the Privy Council changed their opinion, and sanctioned the interpolation of the "Agnus Dei" *as a hymn* (in spite of the fact that it had been expressly omitted for good reason) on the ground that "a hymn may be sung at any convenient time" in a service, provided that such service is not thereby "let or hindered." This would not cover the case of the "Agnus Dei" being merely said by the minister. It is just possible that the Privy Council may on some future occasion return to their earlier, and in our opinion, more correct judgment. (See Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;* Whitehead, *Church Law*, article "Singing"; and Tomlinson, *Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment*, 6th ed. pp. 69–73.)

II. The name "Agnus" or "Agnus Dei" is also applied to the figure of the Holy Lamb, *i.e.* a lamb with a nimbus bearing a cross or flag with the sign of the Labarum. Wax medallions bearing such figures were anciently blessed and given to worshippers on the first Sunday after Easter. They were considered to have magical virtues and gave rise to much superstition. In modern times such medallions are still used in the Church of Rome but are blessed by the Pope only—first of all on the first Sunday after Easter after his consecration and every subsequent seventh year. The number of persons to whom the distribution is made is now much restricted. (See Smith, *Dict. of Christian Antiq.;* and Larousse, *Dict. Univ.*). [B. W.]

ALACOQUE (Margaret Mary).—See SACRED HEART.

ALB [Lat. *tunica alba*].—A tight-fitting cassock of linen which used to be worn by the officiating clergy at the celebration of the Holy Communion and other offices. In later times it was of silk and sometimes coloured, but always was a close-fitting garment, because originally intended to be worn underneath other vestments. The 58th Canon prescribes a surplice, which was a loose-fitting dress with sleeves, not worn underneath vestments and never worn at "Mass." In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., the alb was directed to be used at the Lord's Supper, and the rubric after the Communion office ordered that at the Wednesday and Friday services the priest should wear "a plain alb or surplice," as there was no communion, and then might have "a cope." The cope and the surplice were not used at Mass in England before the Reformation. See ADVERTISEMENTS, COPE, ORNAMENTS RUBRIC.

ALBIGENSES.—The origin of this name is uncertain. Roger of Wendover supposed the derivation to be "Albi," the city where the Albigenses were first condemned. Others derive it from the district of the Albigeois, and say that it was Simon de Montfort's crusaders, in 1208, who first called the sec-

taries, whom they were destroying, by that name.

In the first year of the thirteenth century, the Albigenses formed the larger part of the district of Provence in Southern France, whose inhabitants retained traces of the ancient Roman civilisation, and were on a higher level of civilisation than those who lived farther to the north. Opposition to the doctrines and hierarchy of the Church was very rife among the people, and was fostered and encouraged by the nobles. Innocent III., soon after his accession, commissioned Simon de Montfort to carry out a crusade for the extermination of the whole heretic population, and this, as is well known, was ruthlessly executed. There are three points of great intricacy connected with this subject :—

(1.) Whence did the inhabitants of Provence derive their "protestant" opinions?

(2.) What relation do the Albigenses bear to the Paulicians of the East and the Waldensians of the Alpine valleys?

(3.) What opinion are we to hold respecting their doctrines?

(i.) We may suppose that inasmuch as the twelfth century exhibited in many parts of Europe a spirit of revolt from Rome, missionaries from various quarters found their way to Provence, as it was from many causes a soil eminently favourable for the circulation of opinions hostile to the dominant ecclesiasticism.

(ii.) The Paulicians had been driven out of Asia Minor into South-Eastern Europe, owing to the repressive policy of the Byzantine Emperors. In Thrace or Bulgaria they would be on the confines of Greek and Latin Christendom, and many would emigrate to the ports of Europe or follow the course of the rivers. The Waldensians had in very early times a law that all who took orders in their churches should work for three years as missionaries. They would travel far and wide, disguised as merchants or as troubadours, with MSS. of the Scriptures copied out by themselves. In 1200, there were scattered communities of Waldensians as far as the provinces of Russian Poland. Peter Waldo of Lyons had, about this time, been labouring energetically at a similar work.

(iii.) With regard to the doctrines of the Albigenses, after making allowance for differences of opinion amongst them, the existence of several distinct currents of thought, due to the widely sundered districts from whence their teachers had been derived and the tendency of extreme persecution to engender fanaticism and undue enthusiasm, we have yet certain facts which cannot easily be explained away. And the chief of these is the fact that the knowledge which we possess respecting their doctrines comes from hostile sources, either from the polemical writings of their bitterest opponents, or from confessions alleged to have been made by individuals in the prospect of a terrible death. It has been well remarked that if we had only the pagan authorities in our hands, we should find it difficult to clear the early Christians from the very similar moral accusations brought against them. There is also the fact, that the parallel movement in the Waldensian valleys can be clearly proved guiltless of any heresy against the common truths of Christianity. The Reformers very soon accepted both the Hussites and the Waldenses as brethren, and the Church of Rome branded them equally without drawing any distinction. It would be strange if one particular stream of opposition to the Papacy should exhibit totally different principles. G. S. Faber in his *Inquiry into the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses* strongly maintains their orthodoxy. [C. J. C.]

ALL SAINTS' DAY.—A festival of the Church which falls on November 1. It was originated in 607 in place of the heathen festival "To all the Gods" celebrated in the Pantheon at Rome. This temple was then dedicated as a Christian Church "To all the Martyrs," and the last word was subsequently changed to "Saints," for in the early Church "Saint" was equivalent to "Christian." The collect appointed in the Prayer Book for All Saints' Day is beautiful, and essentially different from that in the Roman Missal. The Epistle and Gospel in the Missal are the same as in the Common Prayer Book, which tends to show that the festival was not exclusively a commemoration of martyrs.

ALL SOULS' DAY.—A day (November 2) in the Calendar of the Church of Rome for the commemoration of all the faithful departed. The Mass used is that for the dead, and the Office for the dead is added to that of the day. It has no place in the Prayer Book Calendar. Early traces are no doubt to be found of the observance of some such day for commemoration of all those who died in communion with the Church. But the earliest mention of the special day (November 2) cannot be traced higher than the tenth century, when Odilo, Abbot of Clugny, having heard of an awful dream seen by a pilgrim from Jerusalem, in which he beheld the suffering of souls in Purgatory, set apart this day of intercession for them. If All Saints' Day be observed All Souls is superfluous, unless superstitious doctrine be held respecting the state of the dead.

ALTAR.—A high place [Lat. *altus*] on which sacrifices were anciently offered.

The first altar spoken of was that erected by

Noah after the Flood (Gen. viii. 20). The altars of early times were generally built for sacrificial purposes, though in a few cases they appear to have been intended mainly as memorials. They were probably originally made of earth, in some cases the earth being enclosed in a chest of wood. It was permissible, under the Mosaic Law, to make altars of unhewn stones (Exod. xx. 26), but no iron tool might be used in their construction. This was ordered to avoid the figures with which they were generally adorned. Under the Mosaic dispensation there were two altars belonging to the Tabernacle and the Temple—the Altar of Burnt Offering, and the Altar of Incense on which nothing else than incense was offered.

In Christian worship there can be, properly speaking, no place for any altar, the one "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world" having been once for all offered in and by our Lord Jesus Christ as the Founder of Christianity. On this point Protestants and Romanists differ widely. "Altar" is thus defined and described by the latter: "Place of sacrifice; an altar for Mass must be of stone, duly consecrated, and contain relics of martyrs; portable altar-stones are also used." In the Greek and Russian Churches the name altar is given to the entire chancel or "sanctuary," and is not applied to the "Holy Table."

The word "altar" is a favourite one with Ritualists. Yet it is plain the Church of England knows nothing of any altar, since the word never occurs in the Prayer Book, while the word "Table" is found fourteen times. The English canons require that the Communion Table shall be of "joiner's work," evidently as contradistinguished from an altar, which is of mason's work. It is true that in Ezekiel xli. 22 and Mal. i. 7, 12 an altar may *possibly* be called the table of the Lord, though that is open to serious doubt; see Abbott's *Reply to Supple*, Preface to Second Edition, pp. vi, xv, ff. It would, however, not therefore follow that a table can be rightly called an altar. The name altar, as applied to the Lord's Table, springs from a total misconception of the meaning of one text, Heb. xiii. 10, in which reference is made to Jewish, and not to Christian usage. That fact is clear from the context, in which the services of the Day of Atonement are spoken of. The Jews of our Lord's time assigned much value to the participation of "meats" offered in sacrifice to God. To disprove that superstition, the Apostle points to the fact that in the case of the sacrifices on the Day of Atonement not even the priests (those who served the Tabernacle) were permitted to eat, although it might have been regarded as of peculiarly sanctifying power. There is no emphasis on the pronoun "we" in the Greek. The expression "we have" is in the Greek ἔχομεν. That identical expression is used of the Jews, *i.e.* of Christian Jews, in reference to Jerusalem (which was probably then compassed with armies) in v. 14. "We have here no continuing city," where similarly no emphasis is placed on the pronoun.

Further no one really can eat of an altar, or off an altar. Hence altar must be (as in 1 Cor. x. 18) a metonym for the sacrifice offered thereon. What that special sacrifice was is plainly stated in the context in Heb. xii. 12, 13. The sacrifice on the Day of Atonement, offered for the whole nation, was considered so contaminating (even that for the High Priest himself) and so sin-defiled, that no part of the one or the other was permitted to be eaten, but both bullock and goat (Lev. xvi.) were "burned without the camp." There can be no doubt that the Lord's Supper was instituted when the Apostles were reclining at a table, not at an altar.

The early Christians had no desire for material altars. Clement does not allude to an "altar." Ignatius indeed uses language liable to be mistaken. He speaks sometimes of "the altar" figuratively in the sense of the whole "altar enclosure"; compare Rev. xi. 1. Polycarp (*Ep.* c. lv.) speaks of Christian widows as "God's altar." The *Didache* does not mention the word. Nor does Justin Martyr. Aristides (*Apol.*) says, "God asks no sacrifice and no oblation"; and Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, x.) states that the Christians had "no altars, no temples, and no acknowledged images." Origen, replying to a charge that they were without one, says: "Every one of them has his own soul and thought for an altar" (*Contra Cels.*, Lib. viii. p. 389); and Ambrose writes: "As our sacrifice, which is no other thing but our prayers and thanksgiving, is not visible but invisible, so our altar also is not visible but invisible" (*Epist. ad Heb.* c. viii. ad. x.). In the fifth century, when the Eucharist began to be considered an actual sacrifice, altars of stone were considered necessary. A decree of the Council of Paris in 509 ordered stone altars to be made, and they were ordered in England by Egbert, Archbishop of York, in 705. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester (1062–1095), is said to have destroyed the wooden tables still remaining in his diocese, and in 1076 Lanfranc, Bishop of Winchester, condemned them. By an Order in Council, November 12, 1550, letters were sent to every Bishop to "pluck down the altars"; and Archbishop Grindal in 1567 asked, in his Visitation Articles, "whether all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed even unto the foundation, and the place where they stood paved,

and the wall whereunto they joined whitened over." Even before Bishop Grindal's Articles, Archbishop Parker's of 1563 were to the same effect. In Bishop Goodriche's Register is a memorandum of the Injunction issued by the Commissary of the Bishop, "sitting judicially," to various rural deaneries to "thoroughly and utterly (*penitus et funditus*) destroy and overthrow all altars and super-altars erected in former times and made or constructed of stones or in any other manner (*ex lapidibus seu alioquocunque modo constructa*), whether in their churches, or in chapels, oratories, or other places within their parishes; and to devoutly and solemnly set up and put in the room thereof *one* honest and decent Table or Board (*Tabulam vel Mensam congruam et decentem*) for administering the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ there in each parish church."

As Bishop Goodriche had been Lord Chancellor, his Commissary may be supposed to know what the law required. Dr. Matthew Parker, who preached the sermon at the Visitation (December 7, 1550) was afterwards the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and publicly destroyed all "altars," as did the other Elizabethan Ordinaries. In our own days, by the decision of the Judicial Committee (1857), a stone structure in place of an ordinary table of wood was declared illegal, and the same judgment records that "the Reformers considered the Holy Communion not as a Sacrifice but as a Feast to be celebrated at the Lord's Table."

ALTAR CLOTHS.—The altars were always covered with some decent cloth, used for ornament not for mystery as in after ages. Optatus, pleading against the Donatists that the altars could not be polluted by the Catholics touching them, as the Donatists vainly pretended, uses this argument to confute them: "That if anything was polluted, it must be the coverings not the tables, for every one knew that the tables were covered with linen cloth in time of Divine service, so that while the Sacrament was administering, the covering might be touched but not the table. And for this reason they pretended to wash the palls, as he calls them in another place, in order to give them an expiation. . . ." Isidore of Pelusium takes notice also of the "sindon" or fine linen upon which the body of Christ was consecrated. But sometimes they were of richer materials and more sumptuous. Palladius speaks of some of the Roman ladies, who, renouncing the world, bequeathed their silks to make coverings for the altar. And Theodoret says of Constantine, "that among other gifts which he bestowed upon his new-built church of Jerusalem, he gave βασιλικὰ παραπετάσματα, a royal pall, or piece of rich tapestry, for the altar." Bingham, however, notes that this may refer to the adjacent curtains and hangings (Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book viii., c. 7, sect. 21). [C. J. C.]

AMBO.—The ambo (Greek ἄμβων), *centre* or *rim*, is applied (*a*) in the Russian Church to the middle point of the raised platform (*solea*) before the Holy Door in what we might call the chancel in Russian churches. At that step the people receive the Eucharist. It is also (*b*) more generally used for the reading-desk or pulpit, which does not stand in that place.

AMERICAN CHURCH is the name commonly given to the Church whose correct designation is "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

It owes its origin to the Church of England, a fact acknowledged in the Preface to its Prayer Book as follows: "The Church of England to which the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection." It still remains in almost entire accord with the Mother Church, being "far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or further than local circumstances require."

Its origin is usually dated from the year 1606, when the Virginia Company obtained its charter, and the Rev. Robert Hunt ministered to the earliest settlers. Protestant Episcopalianism also had followers in the Carolinas and Georgia, and for a time was the Established Church of some of the southern States founded by England; a favoured position which did the Church no good and led to trouble. But it never gained the hold upon the people which Protestant so-called "Dissent" achieved, and it always was (except in certain localities), as it is now, the Church of a small minority. In the north the colonies were chiefly founded by the English Puritans, who first arrived in the *Mayflower* in 1620, and formed a New England; and by the Dutch, who planted the settlement of New Amsterdam, now known as New York. In these States the Church of England was barely tolerated. However, in 1695, Christ's Church, Philadelphia, was founded, and in 1696 Trinity Church, New York.

Congregationalism was the Established Religion of the State of Connecticut, but a body of Protestant Episcopalians gradually grew up who were tolerated as "dissenters."

At the date of the Declaration of Independence the adherents of the Church of England found themselves much in the position of the Roman Catholics in England during the reign of Elizabeth. A considerable number of the clergy considered themselves bound by their

bishops, including missionary jurisdictions. The presiding bishop at present is the Bishop of Rhode Island. It numbers nearly 5000 clergy, about 700,000 communicants and 1,600,000 adherents. To appreciate the numerical position of the Church it must be, however, stated that the population of the United States in 1900 was returned at 76,295,220.

Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States are allowed to officiate and hold benefices in the Church of England under the provisions and restrictions of an Act of Parliament "respecting colonial and certain other clergy" passed in 1874 (see Colonial Clergy Act). Its bishops also attend the Pan-Anglican Conference which is now held every ten years at Lambeth. [B. W.]

AMICE.—An oblong piece of linen worn by Roman priests and some Ritualists. It is first placed over the head, then round the neck, next on the shoulders beneath the alb, and finally turned back to form a kind of collar. It is generally explained to mean the cloth with which the Jews blindfolded our Lord in the house of Caiaphas. According to the Roman Missal it typifies the "helmet of salvation"! See *Catholic Dictionary*. The amice is an illegal ornament in the Church of England, but has not yet been brought before the law courts.

AMULETS.—These are superstitious emblems or charms used by Roman Catholics. They are of many kinds, and are supposed to protect from temporal dangers, and to promote the spiritual welfare of the wearer. Such is the "Scapular," a word derived from "scapula," the shoulder-blade. It is mentioned in the rule of St. Benedict as worn by monks over their other dress when at work, and it now forms a regular part of the religious dress in the old Orders. But the Scapular is best known amongst Roman Catholics as the name of two little pieces of cloth, worn out of devotion over the shoulders under the ordinary garb and connected by strings. It has a legendary origin, and was first common amongst the Carmelites. The Blessed Virgin, it is said, appeared to Simon Stock, General of the Carmelite Order, and gave him a Scapular that by it the Order might be known and protected from the evils which assailed it; and it is asserted that "no one dying in the Scapular will suffer eternal burning." These and other like fables about it are, however, questioned by many Roman Catholic writers of great weight. See *Catholic Dictionary*, sub voce. See SCAPULAR.

ANABAPTISTS.—See INDEPENDENTS.

ANACLETUS.—Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3) makes Anacletus the successor of Linus as Bishop of Rome, but the name is very dubious. It is Anencletus according to the Greeks. But there is considerable confusion respecting this matter. For there is another list followed in many popular Roman Catholic books, *e.g.* Di Bruno's *Catholic Belief*, according to which Anacletus was the *fifth* (instead of the *third*) Pope. It has been conjectured, too, that *Cletus*, an otherwise unknown name, arose out of a corruption of *Anencletus*.

ANATHEMA.—The original meaning of this word in both its Greek and Hebrew form signified "devoted." "Scripture spoke of two ways in which objects might be holy, set apart for God, devoted to Him. The children of Israel were devoted to Him, God was glorified *in* them: the wicked Canaanites were devoted to Him; God was glorified *on* them" (Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 17, sect. v.). In the Old and New Testaments, an anathematised person denoted one in a state of spiritual separation as distinct from the later patristic and ecclesiastical use of the word "excommunicated"—the state of one alienated from God by sin, and not of one lying under a state or sentence of alienation from the Church (see Bishop Lightfoot on Galatians i. 8, 9). In the Roman Pontifical in the service for the Benediction and Consecration of Virgins, the Pontiff publicly pronounces Anathema on any who may draw them away from the service to which they have devoted themselves, purloin their goods, or disturb them in the possession of them. Not only are the curses of the Law of Moses invoked upon the offender, but unless he make restitution, his soul is consigned to everlasting fire.

There are 125 canons that stand connected with the Council of Trent, and every one of these closes with the words "Anathema sit."

In the archives of the diocese of Rochester may be seen a form of anathematisation used in England in the thirteenth century. This probably represents the most extreme instance that could be placed on record. Nearly every power in heaven and earth, including the Virgin Mary herself and the Cross upon which Christ was crucified, is bidden to take part in the malediction. Nearly every part of the man's body is separately marked out for malediction, and the curse is specifically instanced as that of eternal damnation and not merely of loss or suffering in this life.

Denouncing from the altar, or cursing with bell, book, and candle, is still practised in Ireland, and the forms which are used are generally of the same sort as those in the Roman Pontifical and in the archives of Rochester. The bell is tolled and the tapers are extinguished to signify the spiritual darkness and ruin to which the accursed person is consigned. The curse denounced upon John Hus involved the suspension of all divine service in any town or village which he might pollute by his

presence. Persons were directed to cast stones at any house in which he might lodge. (See Blakeney, *Popery in its Social Aspect*, pp. 124–128; Wratislaw, *Life of John Hus*, in the Home Library Series, S.P.C.K.) [C. J. C.]

ANCHORITES.—See MONKS.

ANGELS, THE.—An order of beings called into existence by the will and power of God before the creation of man. They were created pure; but, when put upon their trial, a number of them fell into a state of apostasy from God in which they have ever continued, and they are "kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6). At their head is Satan, and they are called "his angels" (Matt. xxv. 41); he is "the prince of the power of the air," and they are "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph. ii. 2 and vi. 12). On the other hand, the "elect" angels remained steadfast under probation, and came forth from it perfect in holiness with heaven's glory for their portion and God's service for their everlasting joy. Mention is made in Daniel (x. 13, 21 and xii. 1) of Michael, who is there called "one of the chief princes" and "the great prince"; and his name appears again in the New Testament (Jude 9 and Rev. xii. 7), where he is spoken of as "the archangel" and as the leader of the hosts of light in their conflict with the powers of darkness; so that he may be regarded as occupying among the holy ones much the same position of authority as the devil does among the fallen and the evil.

With respect to the nature of the angels and their place in the economy of God's providence and grace, we can only make a few passing remarks in an article of such limited scope. They are immeasurably inferior to the Lord Jesus both in essential being and in regal power (see Eph. i. 21, Phil. ii. 9-11, Heb. i. and ii., and 1 Peter iii. 22); but they are superior to man on earth in wisdom, strength, ability to do God's service, and, of course, in spiritual purity. The risen saints, however, will be equal to them in holiness and glory (Luke xx. 36), and will even surpass them in authority (1 Cor. vi. 3). Besides this, hints are given to us in the Word of the control over the forces of Nature which these mysterious servants of the Almighty are allowed to exercise. And, also, the veil is at times drawn aside a little, and we obtain glimpses of the glory beyond; and there we behold them offering due homage and adoration to their eternal King.

But as our main purpose is to consider them in their relationship to man, we shall now proceed to discuss (1) *the titles accorded to them in the Bible*, (2) *their ministry unto the heirs of salvation*, and (3) *their invocation as taught in the Romish system*.

1. In the Old Testament the usual designation for angel is מַלְאָךְ, which simply means a *messenger*. Out of some 215 passages in which it occurs in the Hebrew Bible about one half refer to human agents, and have the rendering "messenger" in our version; while the other half refer to angels properly so called, and have the translation accordingly. Other words are occasionally found, as אֱלֹהִים, *gods* (compare Ps. viii. 5 and xcvii. 7 with Heb. ii. 7, 9 and i. 6);[1] קָדוֹשׁ, קְדֹשִׁים *holy one, holy ones* (see Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. iv. 13, 23 [chald כַּדִּישׁ], and viii. 13, possibly Job v. 1, xv. 15, and Ps. lxxxix. 5, 7); צָבָא, *host, army* (see 1 Kings xxii. 19, Ps. ciii. 21, and cxlviii. 2, with which may be compared 2 Kings vi. 17, Ps. lxviii. 17, Matt. xxvi. 53, and Rev. xii. 7); מְשָׁרֵת, *one who serves, a minister* (see Ps. ciii. 21 and civ. 4, and such passages as Matt. iv. 11, and Heb. i. 14, which speak of angelic ministrations).

In the New Testament their regular title is ἄγγελος, which is expressed in our English version by *angel*. We must bear in mind, however, that, like its Hebrew equivalent, it simply means *messenger*, and is so translated when it describes human agents (*e.g.* Matt. xi. 10, Luke vii. 24, 52, and James ii. 25). Qualifying epithets are often found in connection with this word, as "of God," "of the Lord," "of heaven," "from heaven," "of the Son of Man," "of light," "holy," "elect"; and they all serve to set forth more clearly the kind of messenger (ἄγγελος) to which the text refers.[2]

2. Having briefly reviewed their Scriptural titles, we are in a better position to examine their office and ministry towards the people of the Lord. Probably the most important revelation which the Holy Spirit has been pleased to make upon this subject is Heb. i. 14. "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to do service for the sake of them

[1] The use of this word (אֱלֹהִים) does not imply that the angels are endowed with Divine capacity and should receive Divine honour, for it is similarly employed to denote men of distinction (see Exod. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 9, 28, and Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6, as explained by John x. 34-36).

[2] It may be well to state, without entering into any detailed discussion of the subject, that the angels of the Churches (Rev. ii. and iii.) are generally interpreted to be the presiding ministers of those Churches, though some commentators understand by them heavenly beings severally charged with the guardianship of each Church.

that shall inherit salvation?" They are *spirits*, able to come and go unseen, and to work without making their presence known; able, also, to communicate with human spirits without the intervention of bodily agency. They are *ministering* spirits, serving God, for so we understand the word λειτουργικά. They are *sent forth*, messengers from the presence of the Almighty to fulfil His behests. They have a distinct mission, namely, to *do service*, or administer help (see this meaning of εἰς διακονίαν in Acts xi. 29). They render this service on behalf of them that shall inherit (possess) salvation (salvation in its perfect glory), *i.e.* on behalf of the ransomed saints. And they are *all* sent, whatever degrees of rank or authority there may be among them, they *all* are God's messengers, doing His commandments and hearkening to the voice of His words.

Many examples are given of how they exercise this ministry for the sake of believers. They bring messages to them from God (*e.g.* Gen. xviii. 9, 10, Matt. i. 20, Luke. i. 13, 28, and Acts v. 20). They defend them from dangers and enemies (*e.g.* 2 Kings vi. 16, 17, Dan. vi. 22, Acts v. 19, and xii. 7-10). They guide their path and course of action (*e.g.* Exod. xiv. 19, xxxii. 34, and Matt. ii. 13, 19). Under exceptional circumstances they may supply bodily wants (*e.g.* 1 Kings xix. 4-8 and Matt. iv. 11). They bear the spirit after death to its blissful resting-place (*e.g.* Luke xvi. 22). And at the Saviour's second coming they will sever the wicked from the just and gather the glorified saints together unto Him (*e.g.* Matt. xiii. 39, 41 and xxiv. 31).[1]

Under this head comes the question of *guardian angels*. Has each believer one angel specially appointed to take care of him? We cannot say that there is anything necessarily wrong in this theory, for God is free to assign and limit angelic duties as He pleases; but we must admit that it has been made the excuse for much superstition and creature-worship. It has suggested the idea of a spiritual being ardently devoted to his human protégé, on whose behalf he acts spontaneously without the restrictions of specific Divine commands. It has imagined in this spiritual being a mediator and intercessor between the soul of man and God. And it has, further, regarded this supernatural protector as continually hovering above his earthly charge, and therefore as one to whom appeal may be made, at any moment and directly, for guidance and for help. Arguments in favour of this theory have been drawn from Acts xii. 15 and Matt. xviii. 10; but it can hardly be maintained that these passages afford conclusive evidence. In the first instance, as the form and voice were those of Peter, and as they had not strong enough faith to believe that their prayer had been actually answered, that company of Christians in Mary's house seem to have caught at the notion that a supernatural apparition of the imprisoned Apostle was before them. And they exclaimed in their trepidation, "It is his angel."[2] As to the second instance (Matt. xviii. 10), it is to be carefully noted that our Lord was not dealing there with an individual case, but with a general truth respecting His "little ones." Their angels, *i.e.* those who serve them by God's appointment, have the glorious privilege of beholding the face of God continually in heaven; seeing then, that these "little ones" have such exalted ministers, men are to beware of despising any one of them. In fact, the Saviour's words may be taken to endorse the doctrine of Heb. i. 14, but they cannot require from us the belief in individual angelic guardianship.

On the other hand, as against this theory, it is to be observed that many angels may be sent to one man (Gen. xxxii. 1, 2), one angel may be sent to several men, and the same angel may wait upon different persons (Dan. viii. 16 and Luke. i. 19, 26); and that the general tenor of Holy Scripture concerning these heavenly beings presents them as not restricted in their services to special individuals, but as ready and waiting to speed upon God's errands separately or collectively, whenever and wherever the occasion may require.

Here, too, we may fitly glance at another point upon which there has been much speculation, viz. *angels in the Christian assemblies*. Among St. Paul's directions for the proper observance of public worship is one that the women ought to have their heads veiled. And after assigning as reason that the woman was created for the man and was in subjection to him, he goes on to say, "For this cause ought the woman to have a sign of authority upon her head, because of the angels" (1 Cor. xi. 10). Many suggested explanations of this passage may be passed over as practically impossible or purely imaginative; but we must briefly notice two main lines of interpretation: (1) that the angels are present in the congrega-

[1] These passages are merely given as instances of angelic ministry: they do not by any means exhaust the Scriptural references to this great subject.

[2] Even if any one thinks that they meant, "It is his guardian angel," their supposed ideas on the subject form no sufficient foundation for a doctrine which has no other warrant.

tion, and they see and mark all which occurs; in consideration, then, of their august presence everything should be done decently and in order—the men should uncover their heads for prophesying and praying, while the women should wear veils as tokens of modesty and subordination. Or, (2) that the earthly congregations should bear resemblance to the heavenly; as then the angels show becoming reverence and humility in the courts above, so should the women in the church below.

There is another subject of the greatest importance which demands attention under this head, namely, *The Angel of the Covenant.* This title (מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית) is applied in prophecy to our Lord Jesus Christ (Mal. iii. 1). Again, in Hosea xii. 3, 4, it is said of Jacob, "in his strength (manhood) he had power (שָׂרָה) with God, yea he had power (וַיָּשַׂר, same word) with the angel and prevailed," so that the angel with whom he wrestled was God Himself. Again, in Exod. iii. 2, we read that the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses in the flame of fire in the midst of the bush; while the rest of the chapter shows that this angel was the Lord Himself. A comparison of Gen. xviii. 10 with 22, of Josh. v. 13 with vi. 2, of Judges vi. 12 with 14, of Zech. iii. 1 with 2, and of other similar passages, will satisfactorily prove that this angel is the Son sent forth from the Father, "the Word before He was made flesh," "Christ in His preincarnate or eternal spirit."[1] In this way may be explained Gen. xlviii. 16, Judges xiii. 17-22, Zech. i. 12, or any other reference which would, if understood of a created angel, contravene either the Divine command, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve" (Matt. iv. 10), or the emphatic statement, "There is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."[2]

3. The invocation of angels. As the fictitious distinctions of worship, Latria, Hyperdulia, and Dulia, are dealt with elsewhere (WORSHIP), and as the Ritualistic imitations of Romish devotions belong to another article (RITUALISTIC MANUALS OF DEVOTION), we omit any detailed reference to them here.

By the decree of the Council of Trent (Sess. xxv.) the faithful should be diligently instructed that "the holy ones,[3] reigning with Christ, offer their prayers for men to God;" and that "it is good and profitable to invoke them suppliantly, and to betake oneself to their prayers, aid, and assistance for the purpose of obtaining benefits from God through His Son Jesus Christ." Numerous examples of the practical effect of this doctrine may be culled from authorised devotional books. Here are a few from the *Garden of the Soul*: —

"O angel of God, who, by Divine appointment art my guardian, to watch over me in all my ways, be pleased this day to illuminate, preserve, rule, and govern me, whom the goodness of our God has committed to thy charge, and to defend me from all the powers of darkness" (Extract from *A Morning Exercise*).

"Blessed St. Michael, defend us in the day of battle, that we may not be lost at the dreadful judgment. Amen."

"O my good angel, whom God by His Divine mercy hath appointed to be my guardian, enlighten and protect me, direct and govern me this night. Amen" (Extract from *Night Prayers*).

"All ye blessed angels and saints of God, pray for me, a poor miserable sinner, that I may now, for good and all, turn from my evil ways, that so henceforward my heart may be for ever united with yours in eternal love, and never more go astray from the Sovereign Good. Amen" (Extract from *Devotions for Confessions*).[4]

"Glorious St. Michael, Prince of the Heavenly Host, and thou, my angel guardian, and you, my blessed patrons, intercede for me and assist me in this my last and dreadful passage" (Extract from *The Holy Viaticum*).

Such are a few of the examples of creature-worship which forms so large a part of the practice of the Church of Rome. We have already answered by anticipation (when treating of the Angel of the Covenant) the excuse for it which some try to adduce from Holy Scripture; we shall therefore conclude this article with the statement of a few solid reasons against it.

1. As in the case of Mariolatry, so it supposes that Michael and the other angels are endued with omniscience, and can receive myriads of petitions addressed to them from all parts of the globe at the same time.

2. It is nowhere enjoined in the Word of God, and consequently it comes under the category of the "commandments of men" (Matt. xv. 9 and Col. ii. 22).

3. On the contrary, it is distinctly con-

[1] See *Scripture Proofs*, p. 29, by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D.

[2] For the incarnate Saviour as the channel of angelic communications see Gen. xxviii. 12 and John i. 51.

[3] So I render *Sancti*, as the doctrine applies to both canonised saints and angels.

[4] It is also to be noted that in the form of confession occur the words, "to blessed Michael the Archangel, ... to all the saints."

demned in the Bible (see Col. ii. 18, 19 [R.V.],[1] Rev. xix. 10, and xxii. 8, 9).

4. It detracts from the unique glory of our ascended Lord, who is the alone Mediator between God and men; and sends the suppliant to seek other intercession than His. Among the Colossians the effect of this heretical doctrine of angelic mediation was that they ceased to "hold the Head"; and the same effect must ever follow from the same cause. And what, indeed, has He done to us that we should turn away from Him to others? His heart is still touched with the feeling of our infirmities, His patient love still bears with our frailties, His ear is attentive to our sighs and cries, His tender voice calls the weary and heavy-laden to Himself, and His Hand is ever outstretched to succour the tempted and the tried. As long, then, as our great High-Priest lives in the heavens to make intercession for us, as long as His infinite treasures of grace and power are open to us, as long as His unwearied loving-kindness bids us welcome, let us come boldly to the Throne of Grace that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need. [F. J. H.]

ANGELUS.—See AVE MARIA ANGELUS.

ANGLICAN COMMUNION, or Anglican Church, is generally considered to include the Church of England and the other Protestant Episcopal Churches which are modelled upon the constitution of the English Church, viz. the Church of Ireland, the Protestant Episcopal Churches of Scotland, the United States, Spain, Canada, India, South Africa, Australia, and other colonies. The bishops of the Anglican Communion now number about 250, and its nominal adherents about 25,000,000.

The Churches of England and Ireland formed one Protestant Episcopal Church from 1800 to 1869, but with the other Protestant Episcopal Churches our Church has never had any formal legal connection (except in a limited degree with the Indian Church). They are all free autonomous churches; and in Scotland the Protestant Episcopalians are a dissenting body.

They have, therefore, none of the privileges and disabilities of established churches. Their bishops are not "lords," and their ministers have no precedence over those of other churches. However, by virtue of various Acts of Parliament (particularly the Colonial Clergy Act, 1874, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 77, and the 27 & 28 Vict. c. 94), clergymen ordained in Episcopal churches (other than those of England and Ireland) are allowed to officiate in Church of England churches in England and Wales under certain conditions. There are no restrictions upon the clergy of the Church of Ireland. Pan-Anglican conferences of bishops are now held every ten years. See Whitehead's *Church Law*.

These Churches are more fully described under separate headings. See IRELAND, CHURCH OF, &c. [B. W.]

[It may be well to note that by several Acts of Parliament, such as 22 George II. c. 30, passed in 1749, and by divers earlier "Orders in Council," the Moravians are recognised as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," and moreover, that the National Lutheran Churches of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland are Episcopalian and not Presbyterian.—C. H. H. W.]

ANNATES.—The claim of the Pope to the first fruits (*i.e.* one year's income) of all benefices throughout Western Christendom was partly based on his feudal rights as the over-lord of the clergy, partly as furnishing a source of revenue to aid the Crusades. Their payment was limited and restricted by the English Parliament from time to time, as by the Statute of Carlisle, 1307, and the 6. Hen. IV. c. 1. in 1404. Owing to this resistance, annates in England could not be collected from the benefices of the inferior clergy (see *Platina, in vitâ Bonifacii IX.*); but the exactions from the English bishops were loudly complained of. Henry VIII. utilised this discontent by getting passed a remarkable statute, reducing the Pope's claim to five per cent. of its original amount, but enabling the king either to postpone the execution of the Act, to vary its terms, or even to suppress it altogether. Great secrecy was observed in order to give to Henry's "orators" at Rome a free hand in working upon the fears and hopes of the Roman Court. "This hope, however, or despair," said the king, "ye shall so increase according to the reason of the moment, that it may be free to us to pronounce freely whenever the time comes." The king also suggested that other nations would probably follow his example if the Pope and his advisers should "oppose us in their ingratitude, so that we publish to the world what is now hid." This letter is printed in the *Church Intelligencer*, xii. 172, and it is remarkable that both in that letter and in Ghinucci's reply the pressure was said to come entirely from the Lords and Commons, and that Convocation was not even referred to. The bribe, however, was ultimately declined by the Pontiff, who refused to grant the divorce, and thus annates were finally

[1] "There was an officious parade of humility in selecting these lower beings as intercessors, rather than appealing directly to the Throne of Grace." (From Bishop Lightfoot's comment on the passage.)

abolished as payments to Rome, July 9, 1533. In a State paper still extant the first rough draft of this proposal, though unsigned and unfinished, is of great interest because it contains the first hint of "withdrawal of the obedience from the See of Rome." This draft was presumably drawn up by Cromwell, or some other of the king's advisers, and it speaks of an Act "of *this* his Grace's High Court of Parliament." Mr. Gairdner accordingly catalogues it in his *Calendar of State Papers*, as a petition emanating from Parliament, which was then the customary form of bills in Parliament. In the *Cotton Collection* the MS. is headed simply "CAPITA RERUM" (heads of things). Unfortunately, Strype, who first published the paper, took into his head that it might have originated in Convocation, and boldly inserted a heading to that effect. He has been followed by a whole host of copyists. J. H. Blunt (while professing to copy from the original) reproduces every one of Strype's numerous mistakes and adds some of his own. Canon Dixon (*Hist.* ii. 114) alters the words "by act of *this* his high court" by leaving out the word "this." The unaltered document is given in full in the same number of the *Church Intelligencer* as above cited, and it will be seen that Strype's guesses, two hundred years after date, are shown to be simply "impossible." The Church legislation of "the great Reforming Parliament" of Henry sprang for the most part from the king and his political advisers. Nor was this question of annates any exception. A comparison of dates shows that the bill was introduced into the Lords during the third week of February 1532, for Chapuys wrote to the emperor on February 28: "Since writing last (February 14) the king has proposed to Parliament to reduce the annates paid to the Pope." Up to that time no bill directed against the Pope had been brought forward, yet on February 24 Archbishop Warham (though ill at home) lodged his formal written protest against any statute "*in derogation of the Supreme Pontiff, or of the See Apostolic*" (Burnet, III. ii. 48). This collation of dates suggests the relation of cause and effect, because the remaining anti-Papal legislation was *not brought in until after* the passing of the Annates Bill, and after the subsequent adjournment of Parliament. It was in spite of this protest from the primate that the bill passed on March 19, and Chapuys, in reporting what had happened, added, "*The prelates would not consent.* The king sent to tell the Nuncio that these measures were not taken by his consent, but were moved by the Commoners" (*Gayangos' Letters, &c., from Simancas*, vol. iv. p. 390). The bill passed on March 20, and M. de la Pomeroy wrote on March 23, 1532, to Cardinal Tournon, "The clergy in Convocation have consented to nothing, nor will they, till they know the pleasure of their master the Holy Father; but the other estates being agreed, the refusal of the clergy is treated as of no consequence" (Froude, i. 354, Gairdner's *State Papers*, H. 8. v. 71).

Such was the history of the 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20. Apart from their Papal leanings, the clergy had good reason to dread Henry's protection, for he obtained from Parliament shortly after a grant of these same first fruits (by 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3, 1534), not only from the bishoprics, but from every benefice in the kingdom, adding also a yearly tenth from each benefice. After being restored to the Church by Mary, these first fruits and tenths were resumed by the Crown under Elizabeth (1 Eliz. c. 4), and were finally handed over by Queen Anne in 1703 to the fund for augmenting poor livings, which is still known as Queen Anne's Bounty.

[J. T. T.]

ANNE, or ANNA.—The name given to the mother of the Virgin Mary in the Apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* and in the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*. Her husband is, in the first-named Apocryphon, called Joachim, in the other Cleophas.

ANNUNCIATION.—By this term is meant the announcing to the Virgin Mary by the Angel Gabriel that she was to be the Mother of our Lord. On what day this occurred Holy Scripture does not inform us, but the date of Christmas having been already decided upon, the day for the Annunciation was appointed probably about the seventh century. This same day had been dedicated among the ancient heathen to Cybele, the mother of the gods, and this may have been one of many cases of the adaptation of pagan festivals to Christian use.

Some have claimed the authority of Athanasius or of Gregory Thaumaturgus for an earlier origin; but Bingham considers the passage in their writings as doubtful. It was only in the seventh century that sermons began to be delivered on the occasion. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book xx. 4.

Wheatley, *On the Prayer Book*, observes that: "Whereas some Churches keep four holy-days in memory of the Blessed Virgin, viz., the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption, the Church of England has only two: the Purification and the Annunciation—which, though they may have some relation to the Blessed Virgin, do yet more peculiarly belong to our Saviour. The Annunciation hath a peculiar respect to His incarnation; the Purification is principally observed in memory of His presentation in the Temple."

ANOINTING.—See EXTREME UNCTION.

ANTEPENDIUM.—The frontal which hangs before the communion table. In Ritualistic churches it is of cloth, in different colours adapted to the Christian seasons. These colours are generally five: white, red, violet, green, and black. But according to old English use, olive, brown, grey, and yellow were also employed. See COLOURS.

ANTHEM.—A hymn originally sung antiphonally or in alternate parts. The word "anthem" indeed appears to be a corruption of "antiphon." The term was formerly applied to certain detached verses appended to the Psalms and Canticles. In the Eastern Church an anthem is an alleluia psalm sung after the psalms of the day. In the modern sense "the anthem" (See rubric before the "Venite") is, in the Church of England, a passage of Scripture or a collect set to music for use after the third collect in the Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer. Anthems are said to have been first introduced in the reign of Elizabeth to supply the loss of the hymns, which Cranmer wished to have translated for the reformed services but could not obtain. The present rubric about them was added at the last Revision in 1661.

ANTICHRIST.—The name Antichrist occurs only in two Epistles of St. John. It is not found elsewhere in the whole range of Biblical literature—not even were we to include in that designation the Apocryphal writings of the Old Testament. There are no doubt passages of the Scriptures which have been popularly supposed to refer to something of similar import. But popular expositions are seldom accurate, and this is no exception. It is necessary to carefully observe the sense in which St. John uses the name.

The word occurs *five* times in his writings. The first two instances occur in 1 John ii. 18. The Revised Version is here the more accurate: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as ye heard that antichrist cometh, even now there have arisen many antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they are not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us: but they went out that they might be made manifest how that they all are not of us."

This passage is the only instance in which "antichrist" is found in the singular number, without the article—that is, "antichrist" in place of "the antichrist." But several important Greek MSS. actually supply the article.

The word occurs again three verses further on in the same epistle: "I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and because no lie is of the truth. Who is the liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This is the antichrist, even he that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: he that confesseth the Son hath the Father also" (1 John ii. 22).

The fourth instance is 1 John iv. 1, 2, 3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove (test) the spirits, whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know we the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God: and this is the *spirit* of the antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it cometh; and now it is in the world already."

The fifth and last case is 2 John vii.: "For many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist." The last passage conclusively proves that St. John did not employ the term "the antichrist" to indicate a single individual person, but as a collective designation of the false teachers who in the name of Christ taught doctrines contrary to the truths of Christ and His Gospel. In the Psalms "the wise man," "the perfect man," "the righteous" and "the godly man" are frequently contrasted with the fool, the wicked man, the ungodly, and the transgressor. St. John states that the man who—instead of believing the testimony of the Father and the Son, and setting his seal to the acknowledgment that God is true (John iii. 33, R.V.)—denies that Jesus is the Christ, or Messiah predicted by the Prophets, places himself in the ranks of those that fight against God, as "the liar," or "the Antichrist."

In other places of the New Testament mention is made of "the spirit of the world" (Cor. ii. 12), the spirit of cowardice (2 Tim. i. 7), and the spirit of error (1 John iv. 6). Similarly St. John speaks of the "spirit of the antichrist"—of which the prophets had predicted before that it was to come, and which the Apostle was inspired then to announce was "in the world already." For St. John was constrained to testify that "even now" in Messianic days, there have arisen "many antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last time."

The fact, however, must not be lost sight of that St. John in speaking of "the antichrist" refers to earlier prophecies. While the anticipations of the Prophets of Israel concerning the Messianic age were generally of a bright character, there were not a few indications given by some of them that there would be much darkness intermingled with the light that should then eradiate the world.

The prophet who spake most clearly of the

days of Messiah as days of storm and conflict was Daniel. In his exposition of Nebuchadnezzar's dream the four empires are depicted which were to last until the times of the restitution of all things. In that remarkable picture the Kingdom of Messiah was represented as a stone cut out of the mountain quarry without human interposition. In the days of the fourth kingdom that stone was to smite the metallic image upon its feet of iron and clay, break it into pieces and become a mountain, which would fill the whole earth. No indication, however, is given in Daniel's prophecy of any long struggle between the kingdom of darkness, and the kingdom of light. Had his prophecies stood alone one might suppose that there would be one tremendous collision and the power of evil would be broken and crushed for ever.

In a later vision new details are given (Dan. vii.). The same four kingdoms are represented under the figure of four wild beasts which came up, one after the other, from the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Those four world-powers are noticed because they were severally brought into contact with the ancient people of Jehovah, and trode it under foot "upon the mountains of Israel."

By God's sovereign decisions one after the other of those world-powers were cast down. The dominion of the three first wild beasts was taken away on account of their abuse of power. Their lives, or their existences, however, as subjugated nations, were prolonged for a season and a time (Dan. vii. 12). Zechariah throws light upon the statement of Daniel. The former saw in vision four horns belonging to some wild animals scattering Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem. And while he contemplated the ruin the horns were causing, he saw four "smiths" (R.V.) raised up by God to check the ravages of those wild animals. The smiths cut off the horns of the animals, and thus rendered them powerless for evil, though their lives were still preserved.

When Daniel in vision beheld the fourth wild beast coming up from the western sea, about in turn to extend his dominion over the lands of the rising sun, he saw "one like unto a son of man," that is, one in human form, coming in the clouds of heaven, who as he came before the throne set in heaven, upon which the Ancient of Days was sitting, was brought near amid acclamations and rejoicings. To him was accorded power and dominion over all, although for a while he was to "rule in the midst of his enemies." In Ps. cx. where the phrase just quoted occurs, Messiah is represented under two distinct characters: (1) as the priest-king like Melchizedek sitting on the throne at the right hand of Jehovah, and (2) as the champion warrior toiling in the conflict below, and refreshing himself, like Samson of old when wearied in battle, by drinking of the brook in the way. The picture presented in Dan. vii. is somewhat similar to that in Rev. xii., where also under two aspects Messiah is pictured, first as a child just born, and saved from the great red dragon; then, under another character, as Michael the warrior-prince, putting to flight the great dragon and his army. In the vision of Daniel Messiah is not represented as personally engaged in the battle. The enemy of the Lord's Christ was, however, there seen making war with the saints and overcoming them, until the Ancient of Days came, and the time arrived that the saints possessed the kingdom.

We cannot here discuss the interpretation of that prophecy of Daniel. All we want to call attention to is that the saints are represented in it as engaged in a bitter struggle during the Messianic age. In all ages the Lord's people have been, and are to be, "a poor and afflicted people." Hence with true spiritual intuition St. John perceived that Daniel's prophecy was being fulfilled before his very eyes. He accordingly designated the false teachers who then manifested themselves as "the Antichrist." Those false apostles were the vanguard of the vast army of deceivers, liars, and Antichrists, who by force or fraud, even up to the time of the Second Advent, are to be persistent in efforts "to withstand the truth; men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith" (2 Tim. iii. 8).

We can only glance at the particular form of error to which the Apostle John specially alludes. The Church of Christ had to contend in that day on the one hand, against attempts on the part of Judaisers to place the Gentiles under the bondage of the Mosaic Law, and against the encroachments of Greek philosophy. The Greeks were not altogether unwilling to accept new light, and were somewhat disposed to welcome Christ as a teacher, and Christianity as a new power in the world. They were ready to admit that God might appear among men in the likeness of man. But that the Word should "become flesh" (John i. 14), and "being found in fashion as a man, humble himself" (Phil. ii. 8), even to "the death of the cross" was opposed to all their ideas. Hence some of them maintained that on the cross of Calvary some person was substituted in place of Christ. Others regarded the crucifixion as a mere illusion; and some imagined that the Divinity which dwelt in the man Christ Jesus was withdrawn from Him on the cross. Greek philosophy could not conceive it possible that one who was both God and man could die; and hence men trained up in that philosophy denied

that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh. All such teaching was contrary to "the truth as it is in Christ Jesus." The apostle John in the opening of both his Gospel and First Epistle emphatically proclaimed the Divinity of the Redeemer. With equal emphasis he asserted the reality of Christ's incarnation, for the union of the Divine and human in one Person is a fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith.

The Church had, however, to fight for centuries a hard battle on the question of the Person of Christ, because men were unwilling to accept Christianity as taught by those who "from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Their minds were pre-occupied with the ideas which they had learned under other masters (2 Cor. iv. 4, R.V.). The Greek, by conclusions drawn by "the wisdom of the world," was led to transform "the Christ of the Gospels" into a being in harmony with his philosophy.

As men were led to reject the Christ of the Prophets and of the Gospels and to invent a Messiah of their own devising, so it was with regard to Antichrist. They first conveniently ignored the fact that St. John had applied the term "the Antichrist" to the false teachers of the time in which he lived, although early Fathers like Cyprian, &c., often employed the term as applicable to all opponents of the Gospel. "The spirit of truth" given to the people of God was to "guide them into all truth" (John xvi. 13), and they had an anointing from the Holy One whereby they might know all things (1 John ii. 27) concerning truth and godliness. But there was also another spirit, the "spirit of error" ready to lead aside the unwary, If Christ was with His people, Antichrist was with them also.

Fantastic notions, introduced by good men, concerning an imaginary Antichrist by degrees became popular. The Antichrist was incorrectly identified with St. Paul's "man of sin" (2 Thess. ii. 1-8). "The Antichrist" spoken of by St. John was a collective term for the false teachers of that apostle's time, and the name was applicable to false teachers of a later age. See MAN OF SIN.

Early Christian writers preserved for a considerable time the correct sense of St. Paul's prophecy, and interpreted it of an apostasy in the visible Church. Tertullian (who died A.D. 220) says: "We (Christians) are temples of God, and altars and lights, and sacred vessels" (*De Corona*, cap. 9.) Hilary of Poictiers (who died A.D. 366) protests against the false interpretation which was then coming in, and says: "Because of that Antichrist ye do wrong to attach importance to the walls of temples, or to regard a building as the Church of God. Is then (he asks) it doubtful that Antichrist may not establish his throne there?" Theodoret (who died A.D. 457) says: "The Apostle calls the Churches the temple of God in which endeavouring to show himself as God he (the man of sin) shall seize the pre-eminence."

We cannot here discuss St. Paul's prediction. We may safely, however, draw the following conclusions: (1) St. Paul's "Man of Sin" is not to be identified with St. John's Antichrist; and (2) that St. Paul like St. John speaks of an apostasy within the professing Church of Christ.

"The Antichrist" was thus detected by St. John within the Church of his day; while the "man of sin" was not to usurp authority over the Church until the Roman Empire was broken up into separate kingdoms.

It should be remembered that men in all ages have likened their enemies to wild and ravenous animals. Such comparisons may, perhaps, be traced back to the days when men had everywhere to contend in deadly contest with the wild beasts of the earth. In the Old Testament Scriptures those comparisons abound; nor are they wholly absent from the New Testament writings, in which Satan is compared to a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; and Christ is described as the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

Victories over hostile nations were often represented by the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians under the figures of such symbolical contests. The idea can be traced in the earliest Hebrew Scriptures, but it is common in the book of Daniel. It was quite natural that Daniel's writings should exhibit traces of the allegorical pictures sculptured in stone in the palaces and temples of the great city of Babylon.

The student of folk-lore and the investigator of comparative religion may be justified in tracing the Babylonian dragon-myth back to the early times of mankind, and of their struggles with huge monsters. Those struggles, handed down by tradition and magnified by frequent recital, may after centuries have formed the basis for allegories. But that possibility does not justify the attempt now being made to dissolve into mythical legends prophecies constructed on ideas drawn from such common events of human history. In John Bunyan's allegories ordinary incidents, as falling into a quagmire, being attacked by a dog, robbed on a highway, eating of forbidden apples, ascending a steep mountain, falling asleep in an arbour, are related alike side by side with supernatural events such as combats with Apollyon, fights with giants, and battles with a seven-headed monster. Bunyan's pictures are not to be traced back and explained as legends of contests in pre-historic ages, but, as is well known,

represent spiritual experiences and spiritual struggles.

We ought then to be on our guard against permitting the modern sceptic who enters upon the path of Biblical exposition to unite passages which, when honestly interpreted, are not to be united; or, by what he chooses to term a "felicitous combination," resolving into fable the prophecies of Scripture.

An able German Professor well observes: "The temptation to yield to fancy flights is all but irresistible." His own work is, however, a striking example of the truth of the saying.[1] He endeavours to show that the prophecies concerning Antichrist are simply "a legend," "a chapter in Christian and Jewish folk-lore," an "anthropomorphic transformation of the Babylonian dragon-myth," which is "doubtless one of the earliest known to primitive man." The author constructs his imaginary "legend" by weaving together passages which have no connection with one another. From the Futurists he borrows the misinterpretation that St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, was thinking of the unbelieving Jews and of Antichrist as seated in their material temple. He affirms that of this "there can scarcely be any doubt" (p. 133), and that our Lord's words in John v. 43 refer to Antichrist. Both statements we regard as fanciful. With equal dogmatism he erroneously identifies the Antichrist with the "abomination of desolation," which our Lord refers to in the prophecy on the Mount of Olives. The Babylonians in their story represented the dragon as warring against the gods. The writer therefore argues that St. John in Rev. xii. repeats that legend. In St. Luke's Gospel we read that when the seventy disciples told their Lord the success which they had experienced in their mission, the Master exclaimed, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Luke x. 18). Those words of Christ are similarly explained to refer back to the old legend. The grotesque fancies of some of the Fathers that the tyrant Nero would be raised from the dead to war a second time against the saints of God, that Satan would become incarnate in the person of a man, are all adduced as interesting fragments of the same story.

The misinterpretations of passages in Daniel in Professor Bousset's work are as numerous as "the poisonous flies," which according to the wise man make the oil of the perfumer to stink and ferment (Eccl. x. 1). His caricatures of the book of the Revelation are painful reading. The solemn parables and discourses of Christ in Matt. xxv. 15 ff., are, without a scintilla of evidence, supposed to be fragments of some lost Apocalypse of the Antichrist (p. 214). If the Master's words are thus misrepresented, it is not strange that the Apostles' writings are subjected to similar treatment. [C. H. H. W.]

[1] *The Antichrist Legend. A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folk-lore.* Englished from the German of W. Bousset, with a prologue on the Babylonian dragon-myth, by A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S., late Vice-President Anthropological Institute, author of *Ethnology*, &c. London: Hutchinson & Co., 34 Paternoster Row; 1896.

ANTIMENSIUM.—A Grecised Latin word meaning a *pro-table* or *pro-altar*. The upper cloth placed upon the Holy Table in the Greek Church, specially consecrated by the bishop. In this cloth a relic is generally inserted in order to recall the fact that the Christians were wont in early days to hold Divine Service at the graves of the martyrs.

ANTIPHON.—A hymn or song one part of which is a response to another. Antiphonal singing is alternate singing, *i.e.* first by the voices of one side of the choir and then by those of the other. It is of very great antiquity, since Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, describes the early Christians as singing a hymn by parts or in turns to Christ as God. An antiphon is a verse generally of Holy Scripture, which was sung in the Middle Ages before and after the Psalms and Canticles, and, like the Invitatory, gave the keynote to the Psalm. See Wheatley, *On the Prayer Book*, p. 158. See ANTHEM.

APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The designation Apocrypha (*concealed*, or *hidden*) is the title under which "the other books" mentioned in Article VI. of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England are generally known. It is often forgotten that three of those books, namely, the "*Prayer of Manasseh*" (Manasses), with "*Third*" and "*Fourth*" *Esdras*, were not regarded as canonical by the Council of Trent, although they were appended to the Latin Vulgate in order to prevent their being lost, which was considered undesirable, because they are often cited in the writings of the Fathers. Those three books are, therefore, not included in the Roman Catholic accredited English Translation of the Bible, popularly termed the Douay Version.

Several books in the list given in Article VI. are not found under the same titles in the Greek (LXX.), Vulgate, or Douay Versions. For (1) "*the Rest of the Book of Esther*" consists of portions which in those Versions are appended to different chapters. These portions, disconnected enough in their original shape, are still further damaged in the English Apocrypha by being severed from their connection and placed together. Those ad-

ditions are, indeed, later than the canonical Esther, and are marked by a highly religious tone. (2) The three small books in the English Apocrypha, severally designated as the *Song of the Three Children*, the *Story of Susanna*, and *Of Bel and the Dragon*, are similarly additions to the Book of Daniel, and in the Greek, Latin, and Douay Versions are to be found in various parts of that book.

Following the order of these books given in Article VI. we proceed to give a brief sketch of them. Not one of them belongs to an age higher than B.C. 150. Not one of them was ever included in the threefold division of the Jewish Scriptures referred to by our Lord in Luke xxiv. 44. They are never quoted in the New Testament, and were never recognised by the Jews as inspired books. Most of them were included in the old Greek Septuagint Version. They were generally derived from Egypt, in which country the Jews were not so strict as those living in Palestine. The Egyptian Jews had a Temple of their own, in which sacrifices were offered contrary to the Law of Moses, and which was served by a rival High Priest and priesthood. When the Christian Church lost contact with the Jews, the knowledge of Hebrew became rare, and hence many of the Fathers believed that all the books included in the Greek Septuagint Version belonged to the Sacred Scriptures. Our Reformers, however, soon returned to the faith of the Primitive Church, and refused to acknowledge any Old Testament books not recognised by Christ and His Apostles.

"*Third*" *Esdras* (called "First" in the LXX. and Syriac and by A.V., but called "Third" in the Vulgate) is probably a production of the century before Christ. It is partly compiled from the canonical Ezra, termed in the LXX. "*Second Esdras*," is apparently an unfinished work, and was known to Josephus. The earliest form in which it has come down to us is the Greek, in the LXX. Version. Both author and exact date are unknown.

"*Fourth*" *Esdras*, styled in the A.V. and R.V. "*Second*" *Esdras*, is a composite work, probably belonging to the first century after Christ, but possibly founded upon earlier writings. It is sometimes termed the *Apocalypse of Ezra*. Its original language appears to have been Greek, but the work is now extant only in translations, the earliest of which is the Latin. There are also translations in Syriac, Arabic, &c. Some sixty-nine verses belonging to chapter vii., and not found in the authorised Vulgate editions, were discovered by Professor Bensly of Cambridge, in 1875, in a ninth-century MS. at Amiens, and since that time in other MSS. also. The page which contained those verses was deliberately cut out of the Latin MS. from which the majority of Latin MSS. in Europe were copied, no doubt owing to the fact that the doctrine taught in those verses concerning the state of the dead was opposed to that of the Roman Church. The verses are not to be found in the Authorised English Translation of the Apocrypha, but are duly given in the Revised Version of the Apocrypha.

Fourth Esdras is a work of considerable importance, written originally by a Jew, although it contains not a few interpolations, some of which seem to have had a Christian origin. The book was regarded as a genuine book of prophecy even by the writer of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (ch. xii. 2), who does not seem to have been acquainted with Hebrew. The main portion of the work, which consists of seven visions alleged to have been seen by Ezra in Babylon, is to some extent modelled on the Book of Daniel.

The *Book of Tobit* is probably a composition of the century prior to the Christian era and may even be older. It is extant in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic. None of the extant versions appear to be the original. It is uncertain where the book was composed. It contains a romance, possibly resting on some historical basis, the angelology and demonology of which is interesting, and which occasionally contains valuable information. Owing to its teaching concerning justification by works, and its assertion of the intercession of angels, it is a book much valued by Roman controversialists. Its ethical teachings have given it also considerable popularity. It is never referred to in the New Testament.

The *Book of Judith* may be as old as B.C. 135, but by many scholars is assigned to B.C. 50. The story it contains of Holofernes, chief captain of Nebuchadnezzar, his siege of Bethulia, and his assassination by Judith, a noble Jewish widow, is unhistorical, and may be a historical fiction composed with a moral object. It has been maintained by some scholars that the work is to some degree of an allegorical character (partially founded on some facts of history), even though the allegory is not sustained throughout; and this is the view we are inclined to adopt, though it is not the view generally accepted by scholars. The vivid character of the story and the earnest religious tone of the work has rendered it popular throughout many ages. The original of the book was probably Hebrew or Aramaic, though it has come down to us only through the Greek version contained in the Septuagint Version.

The *Book of Wisdom* was written at some time between B.C. 150 and B.C. 50. Its author was an Egyptian Jew, and it was written originally in Greek. The writer assumed the name of Solomon, partly to counteract false

teaching ascribed to that king. The book describes the influence and power of wisdom in the history of man. Although the patriarchs and leading characters of the Old Testament are noticed, no proper name occurs in the book. Their works are spoken of as those of the righteous. The general teachings of the book concerning the life to come are excellent. It teaches the immortality of the soul, but does not mention the resurrection, nor speak of the Messiah. Many passages are remarkable for their beauty and force of expression.

The *Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, or *Ben Sira*, is more popularly known as the *Book of Ecclesiasticus*, and was so termed because it was widely used as an ecclesiastical reading book. It is also termed the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*. Its original language was Hebrew or Aramaic. Fragments of the book in both languages are found embedded in the Talmud. Large portions of it in Hebrew have been lately discovered, but whether they belong to a Hebrew translation of the tenth century, or are remains (in a more or less mutilated form) of the original Hebrew, is a matter at present under the serious discussion of eminent scholars. The Greek translation of the book was preserved in the LXX. Ancient translations are extant in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. The Greek text has been translated into English in the Authorised Version and the Revised Version. The Greek translation professes to have been made by the author's grandson in Egypt, and cannot have been later than B.C. 132. Consequently the original work cannot be assigned to a later period than B.C. 170. Scholars, however, have maintained that those dates ought to be fifty years earlier. The book contains a remarkable collection of sententious proverbs, closing with a section in praise of the great men of Israel, followed by a short epilogue with a final chapter containing a prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach.

The *Book of Baruch the Prophet* is formed of three distinct parts written by different authors. (*a*) Ch. i. to iii. 8 professes to have been written by Baruch in Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. That portion may have been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic. The prayer it contains was evidently based on Daniel ix. 7 ff. (*b*) Ch. iii. 9 to the end of ch. v. is an exhortation to Israel to return to God. It contains some fine passages, especially that in ch. iii. which several of the Fathers considered to be a prophecy of Christ. Whether its original language was Hebrew or Greek is much disputed. (*c*) The so-called *Epistle of Jeremiah* or *Jeremy* given in ch. vi. is a pungent description of the folly of idolatry. This part of the book was written in Greek, and probably composed by some Hellenistic Jew in the first century after Christ. This third part in the Greek Septuagint is regarded as a separate book, and is placed after the Book of Lamentations. The present arrangement of that chapter as the closing portion of the book is derived from the Latin Vulgate.

The three additions made in the Apocrypha to the Book of Daniel are of no historical value. The *Prayer of Manasseh* is also unhistorical, and is not regarded as canonical by the Church of Rome. It is extant in Greek and Latin, the former being possibly its original language.

The *First Book of the Maccabees* is a work of great value, containing a history of the Jews in Palestine for forty years, from B.C. 175 to B.C. 135, during the great Maccabean struggle. It was probably written about B.C. 105. Its original language was Hebrew, as Origen and Jerome testify, but it is extant only in Greek.

The *Second Book of the Maccabees* is much inferior to the first. It is divisible into two distinct parts. (*a*) The first contains two fictitious documents, one (ch. i. 1–10) purporting to be a letter from the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt concerning the Feast of the Dedication; the second (ch. i. 11–ch. ii. 18) is an epistle which gives a portentous account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. (*b*) The second part (ch. ii. 19 to the end of the book), in the Revised Version rightly divided off from the former by a considerable space, professes to be an epitome of a lost work by Jason of Cyrene. This portion contains the history of sixteen years from B.C. 176 to B.C. 160. It is the work of an Egyptian Jew, and was originally composed in Greek some time in the first century before Christ. The story of the martyrdoms related in ch. vii. made the work popular among the Christians of the early ages; and the approbation of prayers for the dead expressed in ch. xii. has rendered the book popular among Roman Catholic controversialists. But it is, however, more than doubtful whether the narrative in the latter chapter has been correctly explained. See Dr. Wright's book on the *Intermediate State*, ch. ii. § 3.

The above-mentioned books are popularly "the Apocrypha." There are, however, a considerable number of other books which might fairly be for the most part comprehended under the same heading, though usually known as Pseud-epigraphal—that is, books falsely ascribed to the persons whose names they bear. Many of them have been described in Dr. Wright's work. The following may be mentioned:—(1) *Third Book of the Maccabees*, which is not a history of the Maccabees, but of a professedly earlier attempt to destroy

the Jewish nation in the days of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 221–204). The book can scarcely be regarded as historical. It is in Greek, and is included in several editions of the Septuagint. It was composed at some time prior to A.D. 70. (2) The *Fourth Book of the Maccabees* was written in Greek about the same period, and like it is included in several editions of the Septuagint. It praises Jewish martyrs, and gives another narrative of the martyrdoms recorded in 2 Macc. vii.

(3) The *Book of Enoch* is a still more important work. It is composed of fragments, some large and some smaller, belonging to different ages. The most important parts of this work are:—Section i., which comprises some thirty-six chapters, and was written not later than B.C. 170. This portion contains the prophecy of Enoch quoted by St. Jude (vv. 14, 15). Section ii. extends from ch. xxxvi–lxxi, and is assigned to B.C. 94–79 or B.C. 70–64. This part is specially interesting because of its angelology and demonology. Section iii. is of ten chapters, and is termed the *Book of Celestial Physics*. Its date is unknown. Section iv. embraces seven chapters of *Dream-Visions* written before A.D. 64. Section v. embraces some thirteen chapters written before B.C. 94. The book was long supposed to have been lost, but was discovered in an Ethiopic Version in Abyssinia by the traveller Bruce in 1773. Fragments have since been discovered of the Greek and Latin Versions. The original language was probably Hebrew or Aramaic. The best English translation, with critical notes and commentary, was published in 1893 by Rev. Prof. R. H. Charles.

(4) The *Psalter of Solomon*, or the *Psalms of the Pharisees*, containing eighteen Psalms, is extant only in Greek, but probably was originally in Hebrew. These Psalms were composed not later than B.C. 40, and may belong even to a much earlier period. They express the belief in a coming Messiah. (5) The *Books of the Sibyllines*, extant only in Greek, contains many Jewish portions, with some passages of Christian origin. Their dates are wholly uncertain. (6) The *Book of the Ascension of Isaiah* in its present form is a composite work which was put together in the second century after Christ. It was, however, based on older works. Professor Charles has also published an English edition with valuable commentary and introduction, but which needs to be read with caution. (7) The *Assumption of Moses* is extant only in an incomplete Latin version. Fragments are to be found in Greek but the work was probably originally in Hebrew. It is supposed to have been written between B.C. 7 and A.D. 30. The best edition, with an English translation, is that of Rev. Professor Charles.

(8) The *Apocalypse of Baruch* was originally in Hebrew, but the original has been lost, and also the Greek translation. There is, however, a Syriac translation made from the Greek. The work is of some interest, and has been edited with an English translation by Charles. (9) There is also an important Christian work, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, a *Christian Apocalypse* of the year A.D. 136, which has been edited in Greek, with English translation of part, by Professor J. Rendal Harris, 1889. (10) The *Testament of Job* is based on the Book of Job, and is an Essenic book, probably much older than the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. (11) The *Book of the Jubilees*, or the *Little Genesis*, was known to the early Fathers. Professor Charles, who has published the Ethiopic text (1895), and an English translation with notes (1902), considers the book written prior to B.C. 105. Fragments are extant in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin. The book gives the narratives of Genesis and the opening chapters of Exodus with some additions and strange omissions. (12) The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a curious book, extant in Greek and Aramaic, which has been edited by Dr. Sinker (1869, 1879) and translated into English by him in Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xxii. (13) The Greek *Epistle of Aristeas* which gives the story of the LXX. version (partly perhaps historical) is possibly as old as B.C. 96, and is translated into German in the second vol. of Kautzsch's great collection (1900). [C. H. H. W.]

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—Under this heading it is convenient to group a number of writings, written some of them with the view of supplementing the New Testament history; and other works not composed with that special object, but pretending to be the writings of Apostolic men. These may be classified under the sub-divisions of Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses.

1. *Gospels.*—These are from a historical standpoint of no importance, and they are acknowledged by all scholars to be transparent forgeries. They are useful, however, to have for comparison with the genuine gospels, and in tracing the growth of legends. Some of them go back possibly to the second century, and show how the corruption of Christianity began. The larger portion of these works will be found translated into English in the volume of Clark's Ante-Nicene Library entitled *The Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelation*. The account given in Hone's Apocryphal New Testament is antiquated and unreliable. The *Protevangelium of James* describes the history of the Virgin and of the birth of Christ. The *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew* goes partly over

the same ground, and describes the infancy and boyhood of Jesus. The *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *Arabic Gospel of the Saviour's Infancy*, all write on the same theme. These gospels contradict St. John's teaching (ii. 11; iv. 54), by stating that a number of prodigies were performed by Christ in His infancy and boyhood. The character of Jesus as a boy is in them pictured as that of a self-willed and passionate wonder-worker. The real growth of the humanity of Christ as described in Luke's Gospel (ch. ii. 52) is wholly ignored. The newly-discovered *Gospel of Peter* exhibits marked traces of that Docetism which denied the true humanity of Christ. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* professes to give an account of what occurred in the other world between Christ's death and resurrection. There are numerous fabulous stories about Pontius Pilate contained in documents bearing his name.

2. *Acts and Apocalypses.*—These are somewhat better than the Gospels, but are all fictitious. The best is that of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*—a very ancient romance. The *Acts of Peter and Paul* contain the legends connected with the closing scenes of those apostles. The *Acts of Barnabas, Philip, Andrew, Thomas*, and other apostles, are all late and legendary. The *Acts of John*, published by Dr. James in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, is strongly Docetic and denies the reality of Christ's death, which is represented as having been a delusive appearance. It is not necessary to give a full list of these works. The number of *Apocalypses* is very numerous. Some have been mentioned in the article on the APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* recently discovered is interesting from its description of hell and paradise.

3. The fragment of papyrus containing eight *Sayings of our Lord*, now commonly known as the *Logia*, discovered very recently, is older than any other document mentioned above, and has some claim to be acknowledged as partly independent of our well-known gospels. The *Sayings* are of a different stamp and importance, but may perhaps conveniently be mentioned under this heading. [C. H. H. W.]

APOLLINARIANISM.—Apollinarianism derived its name from Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, who died A.D. 390. In his zeal to uphold the Divinity of Christ, the Unity of His person, and the Sinlessness of His character, Apollinaris fell into the denial of the perfect human nature of our Lord. He taught that man's nature was divided into body, Animal Soul, (ψυχή) and Rational Soul or Reason (νοῦς), and affirmed that there was no Rational Soul in Christ, its place being supplied in Him by the Divine Logos. Apollinaris believed it was impossible that a complete human nature could be united with a perfectly Divine nature in one person. He conceived that the Rational Soul owing to its necessarily possessing freewill has a tendency to evil. According to his doctrine the Rational Soul dominates the Animal Soul and through it the Body, and thus leads both these parts of man's nature into sin. Hence he regarded it as impossible that Christ could have taken upon Him that part of man's nature, otherwise His sinlessness might have been destroyed. The Divine Logos which according to his view took the place of the Rational Soul was able to control the sinful tendencies of the Animal Soul.

Apollinaris was a learned and pious man, and the author of several books. Athanasius held him in high esteem—His heresy was condemned at the second general Council, which was held at Constantinople, in the year A.D. 381, which affirmed both the perfect humanity and the perfect Divinity of Jesus. [E. A. W.]

APOLOGY OF BISHOP JEWEL.—This work, published originally in Latin in 1562 by Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, and translated into English by Lady Bacon (mother of Lord Bacon) in 1564, may almost be regarded as one of the authorised books of the Church of England. It is referred to in Canon 30 of the Canons of 1603, and Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. commanded a copy of "Bishop Jewel's works in defence of the Church of England to be had in all Churches." See Bishop Cosin's *Works*, iv. 508.

APOSTASY.—The renunciation of the Christian religion formerly punishable by civil penalties by the law of England. It can still be punished by excommunication.

APOSTLE.—The word ἀπόστολος in Greek, and its equivalent שְׁלִיחַ in Hebrew, means simply *a messenger*. The term is found in the LXX. Version, and in the translation of Aquila, to designate the prophet Ahijah in 2 Kings xiv. 6, and by Symmachus also in his translation of Isaiah xviii. 2. The Hebrew term was used to denote any delegate of authority, and specially after the destruction of Jerusalem for persons deputed to collect the dues paid by "the dispersed" to the Jewish Patriarch in Palestine (see Schürer, *Gesch. des Judischen Volkes*, ii. 532, 548). The title is not restricted in the New Testament to the Twelve. Barnabas was an apostle (Acts xiv. 14). St. Paul speaks of "all the apostles" in 1 Cor. xv. 8, and as the mention of "the twelve" in verse 5 proves, the latter body was larger, and probably even included James the Lord's brother. "Apostles of the churches" are mentioned in 2 Cor. viii. 23. False apostles are referred to in 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14, and in Rev. ii. 2. This shows that the statement is mythical that out of respect for

the twelve Apostles nominated by our Lord those who succeeded later to their office and ministry assumed the lower title of "bishops," *overseers*, which was originally identical with "presbyters." The discovery of the long-lost book known as the *Didaché* has proved that "apostle" was in common use in the sub-apostolic age to designate what we would term itinerating missionaries. The itinerants spoken of in the *Didaché* were not "lords over God's heritage," but some of those who aspired to that position were "not examples to the flock," and the Church had to be put on her guard against such who said they were apostles and were not (Rev. ii. 2). The Twelve held no doubt a pre-eminent position in the early Church as having been chosen by Christ as His companions in trials (Luke xxii. 28–30). They were also special witnesses of His resurrection (Acts i. 22). So no doubt were many others (1 Cor. xv. 6–8), but in the case of the first Apostles this was regarded as a necessary qualification. But the powers delegated to them, and the signs wrought by them under the power of the Holy Spirit, can scarcely be proved to have been greater than were exhibited by the great prophets of Israel. Matthias, who was by lot selected to fill the gap left by the apostasy of Judas, is never afterwards mentioned, and the far greater number of the Twelve do not seem to have greatly distinguished themselves in the apostolic age. The legendary account of their work and miracles transcends indeed all ascribed to the greatest wonder-workers in the New Testament, just as the miracles of St. Patrick ascribed to him by legend-mongers of later age far transcend all the miracles wrought by Moses, or by Christ Himself. St. Paul was specially delegated by Christ when He appeared to him as an apostle, and in mighty deeds, signs, and in trials and sufferings for Christ excelled all the apostles that were before him.

Not one of the preceding remarks must be so construed as if it were intended to deny the fact that the Twelve occupied a pre-eminent position in the Christian Church. Their position of pre-eminence was, however, quite undefined. The Twelve Apostles had no "successors" in the mediæval sense of that term. The "powers" for the office were imparted as the Holy Spirit vouchsafed to bestow. The office of apostle was not like that of the patriarchs or bishops in the later Church, one chiefly of rule, or an office necessarily possessing the power of conferring grace. The circumstances recorded in Acts viii. 15–18 were altogether peculiar, and the Holy Ghost was imparted only in consequence of the prayer that preceded. St. Paul's statement in 1 Cor. xii. 7–13 ought carefully to be noted. The office of apostle belonged to the Twelve because they were appointed by Christ Himself. But James the Lord's brother and Barnabas soon occupied a very similar position. St. Paul, who was not inferior to any of the Twelve, and who, on account of the peculiar character of the work performed by him, stood on the same level as St. Peter (Gal. ii. 7-10), had an able helper in the person of Barnabas spoken of also as an apostle. St. Paul indeed speaks of the apostleship as something peculiar in its character and authority, and claims that he had been endowed with its full powers (see 1 Cor. ix., &c.). But when we remember the powers of insight imparted to the prophet Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 5, 6), to Elisha (2 Kings v. 25 ff.), the wonders performed by both Elijah and Elisha and other of the prophets of Israel, it is strange that those facts of Old Testament history are so often left out of sight when discussion turns upon the position and authority of the Apostles. God raises up men as He chooses, and a man in an inferior official position like Ezra was made the second Lawgiver over Israel and its Church. [C. H. H. W.]

APOSTOLIC FATHERS.—Under this head are generally grouped the following Patristic writings:—1. *The Epistle of Barnabas* (sometimes classed among New Testament Apocrypha), which is a writing probably of the first century, though not by Barnabas the fellow-traveller with St. Paul. The writer does not seem to have been acquainted with Hebrew, and makes serious mistakes respecting the ritual of the Day of Atonement. Sometimes he exhibits a mystical tendency, and spiritualises too much, but his theology is on the whole evangelical. Though he speaks much of baptism, he never refers to the Lord's Supper. 2. *The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* now completed by Archbishop Bryennius' discovery in 1875, is a very important letter from the Church of Rome to that of Corinth, in which only presbyters and deacons are mentioned. The letter is on the whole highly evangelical. 3. The so-called *Second Letter of Clement to the Corinthians* is now proved to be part of an ancient Homily, and has no real claim to be classed among the Apostolic Fathers. It may be older, however, than A.D. 200. 4. *The Epistles of Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, who was martyred between A.D. 100 and 118. These seven letters exist in a larger and shorter form, the former much interpolated. Ignatius is the first writer who speaks of "the Catholic Church" (*Smyrn.* viii.). His language is often extravagant, his burning anxiety was to uphold the unity of the Church; hence his struggle for episcopacy. He earnestly opposed the Docetic heresies. The language of Ignatius is often highly allegorical. There are extant also some nine confessedly spurious

letters. 5. *The Epistle of Polycarp*, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred between A.D. 155 and 160. 6. *The Epistle to Diognetus* which used to be ascribed to Justin Martyr (A.D. 114–165), but is now generally thought to be older. The letter is a gem of early writing, which gives an account of the manners of the early Christians and of the revelation of Jesus Christ. 7. *The Pastor or Shepherd of Hermas*, a writing in three books—(*a*) Visions, (*b*) Commandments, and (*c*) Similitudes. The work is allegorical, somewhat ascetic in its tendency; it holds extreme views about baptism, even teaching the administration of that rite beyond the grave (*Sim.* ix. 6), but it never alludes to the Lord's Supper. Its date is not certain, although it is referred to by writers as early as Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. 8. *Fragments of Papias*, a hearer of St. John, are preserved in the writings of Irenæus and Eusebius. Papias is most unreliable. The saying of the Lord found in Papias about the future fertility of the earth is apocryphal, and is found in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* which is probably of the first century after Christ, and in that book (xxix. 5) in such a manner as to prove that the idea is far earlier. See Professor Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 54, 55. Papias' account of the death of Judas contradicts that in the Gospels and Acts.

Modern discoveries have presented us with other writings which are genuine works of Apostolic Fathers. These are: 9. *The Apology of Aristides*, a philosopher of Athens. His defence of the Christians must be ascribed to some time prior to A.D. 140. He disclaims all sacrifices and makes no reference to baptism or the Lord's Supper. 10. The *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, is probably as old as A.D. 120, is evangelical in its teachings, and casts much light upon early Church government. It shows that "apostles" were at that time simply itinerant preachers. The book has no reference to episcopacy; it gives the earliest liturgy of the Eucharist, and it is entirely free from sacerdotal and sacrificial elements.

[C. H. H. W.]

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.—The following extracts from Whitehead's *Church Law*, pp. 17–19, may suffice on this point, in addition to what has been stated under APOSTLES: "All Christian ministers may be said to be successors of the Apostles, inasmuch as they are trying to do the same work; but the question which has been so much debated is, Under what circumstances do they receive a valid commission? Extremists on one side say the spiritual call is sufficient; extremists on the other, that a particular form of ordination is absolutely necessary. The Apostolic Succession may therefore be said to be of two kinds: (1) spiritual, (2) ceremonial, or "tactual." Again this "tactual" succession may be of two kinds: (1) through a succession of bishops, or episcopal, (2) through a succession of priests, or presbyterian.

"The argument of the Greek and Roman Churches is, that Christ founded a Church, and gave his Apostles power to ordain bishops with Apostolic powers in a continuous succession, and that only persons duly and episcopally ordained (*i.e.* priests of their communions) can effectually celebrate the sacraments, so as to convey grace and forgiveness of sins.[1] But assuming that an unbroken episcopate is an essential, it is necessary for these Churches, in order to maintain their position, to prove to demonstration the Apostolical pedigree not only of their Church, but of every one of their priests; for evidently, in a matter of such alleged importance, nothing can be assumed. This is most difficult, and it is still more difficult to show that there is no "grace" in other Churches.

"The Church of England teaches that there have been from the Apostles' time these orders of ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons[2]; and since 1662 (when about 2000 non-episcopal ministers were ejected) it has insisted on episcopal ordination within the limits of its own body[3]; but it does not deny that men chosen in other ways are lawfully called to the ministry, and, in fact, from 1559 to 1662, presbyterian ministers often officiated and held dignities in the Church.[4] It has, however, always been laid down that it is not lawful for a man to preach or minister the sacraments before he is "lawfully called."[5] What the Church of England maintains is that episcopacy is necessary to the "well-being," but not to the "being" of a Church; in other words, that it is the best form of ecclesiastical polity.[6]

"The Apostolical succession of the Church of England is said to be derived through three main sources: (1) the long line of our Welsh bishops, culminating, as tradition says, in Aristobulus, one of the seventy said to have died in A.D. 67; (2) through the bishops of Rome, commencing, as tradition says, in Clemens;[7] (3) through the

[1] Yet Roman Catholics admit that lay baptism is valid.

[2] Preface to Ordinal.

[3] 13 & 14 Car. 2, c. 4, ss. 13, 14.

[4] See 10 Cl. & Fin. p. 789.

[5] Art. XXIII.

[6] See Bishop Lightfoot's *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry*, and the Bishop of Worcester's address at Birmingham Church Congress.

[7] See list in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, and in G. E. Tarner's *Concise Tabular View of Christian History* (Oxford University Press: 1891), in

Irish Church, which sent its missionaries to Iona, and thence to the north of England. But it must be admitted that all these lists of bishops are broken in the early times, and more or less apocryphal,[1] especially the British, and there is some doubt as to the exact position and function of the bishops of those days.[2] At any rate, the succession of our bishops is as good as that of any Church of the West; but the most authentic successions of early bishops are those of the Greek Churches of Antioch[3] and Alexandria.[4] There is, however (in the eyes of those who adhere to strict ecclesiastical order), a fatal flaw in the English succession (and, consequently, in English orders), inasmuch as it lacks patriarchal confirmation. Another fatal flaw from the Romish point of view, is that at the Reformation the clergy ceased to be "sacrificing priests," the ordinal being altered to suit the change of doctrine.[5] Greek and Roman orders are everywhere admitted as valid."

APOSTOLICAL CANONS, THE.—A body of eighty-five canons, purporting to have been issued by the Twelve Apostles, through Clement of Rome, to the bishops of the Church. They may be seen textually in the Greek, with a Latin translation, by Gentianus Hervetus, 1561, in Mansi's *Collection of the Councils*,[6] in Beveridge's *Collection*,[7] in Hefele's *History of the Councils*,[8] and elsewhere. The literature of the subject is very copious.

Historically these canons are first met with in 494, when a synod of seventy bishops at Rome, under Pope Gelasius, decreed their rejection as apocryphal.[9] About the year 449[10] (about 530, others) a learned monk at Rome, Dionysius Exiguus, desired by Stephen Bishop of Salona, a see of the Western Church, translated from Greek into Latin a number of canons, placing at their head a set reported (he said) to have been given by the Apostles, though very many doubted. They are given by themselves in Mansi (i. 49), Latin only, fifty in number, the final one being on trine immersion. Dionysius in some subsequent issue of his collection suppressed those fifty.[11]

Towards the middle of the sixth century there was practising at Antioch, as an advocate in civil law and church canons, one John surnamed Scholasticus (Lawyer),[12] who for his business classified the canons according to subjects, assigning eighty-five, which he placed at the head, to apostolic origin. This digest of the canons originated that department of professional knowledge understood by the name canon-law, in Greek *νομο-κανών*.

While John Scholasticus was thus employed at Antioch the Emperor Justinian was reigning at Constantinople (527–565), much engaged in systematising the civil law of the empire, and it was between 534 and 545 that those new laws of his named Novellæ, or Novels, for the most part appeared. The sixth novella must have issued in 534 or 535, as the preface to it was addressed to the Patriarch Epiphanius, who died in 535; and by this law the distinction assigned to the eighty-five canons in the classification of John Scholasticus was confirmed, their direct origin from the Apostles being asserted.[13]

In April 565 John Scholasticus was advanced, on a vacancy, to the See of Constantinople by the Emperor Justinian, who died six months later, and now the eighty-five canons appeared with Patriarchal sanction added to the Imperial. Synodical confirmation followed in 692, when the Trullan Council at Constantinople accepted in its second canon the apostolic origin of the eighty-five canons.[14] Some time about A.D. 750 John of Damascus, a monk of the widest Oriental fame, formally pronounced for them in his treatise *Concerning the Orthodox Faith*, the chapter of it concerning Scripture, after an enumeration of the books of the Old and New Testaments, ending thus: "The Canons of the Holy Apostles by Clement."[15]

In 787 the finishing touch of conciliar authority was added, when the Seventh Synod (second Nicene), reckoned Ecumenical in the

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which lists are given of the Patriarchs and Popes of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow, with dates, &c.

[1] See Macaulay's Essay on "Gladstone and Church and State."

[2] See BISHOP, and Dr. Hatch's Bampton Lectures.

[3] See list in Neale's *Patriarchate of Antioch*, and in Tarner, *ut sup.*

[4] See Le Quien, ii. 386; and Tarner, *ut sup.*

[5] See SACRIFICE.

[6] Mansi, i. 29.

[7] Beveridge, *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Vindicatus*, 1678.

[8] Hefele, i. 458, Eng. ed.

[9] Decree v., Mansi, viii. 151 B.

[10] Hefele, i. 449, Eng. ed.

[11] A letter to this effect from Dionysius to Bishop Stephen in Mansi, i. 3.

[12] JOANNES (125) in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

[13] Novella vi., *in situ*, may be seen in Kriegel's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, 1849, pt. iii., p. 34, the passage, beginning *τοῦτο δὲ ἐσεσθαι*, occurring in the above-mentioned preface, near the end, It is quoted in Beveridge's Works, xi. 89, *Anglo-Cath. Lib.*

[14] Mansi, xi. 939; Hefele, i. 450, Eng. ed.

[15] Joan. Damasc. *De Fide Orthodoxa*, lib. iv., cap. 17, in *P. G.*, xciv., 1180 C.

East, confirmed, by its first canon, the canons of the previous six synods,[1] and by consequence the canons of the Trullan (692), which are involved in the sixth. From that time the canons called apostolical have remained firmly established in the Eastern Church.[2]

Their fortune in the West was very different. The condemnation by the Roman synod of 494, and the eventual suppression by Dionysius Exiguus, were followed by other slights. None of the subsequent western original collections include the eighty-five Apostolical Canons among them. In the Middle Ages they were lost to view in the West.

The question as to their actual origin brings us first to their own account of themselves, and unless they were a fabrication, the Apostles were personally their authors. In the 29th Canon occurs the expression—"by me Peter"; in the 82nd, "our Onesimus"; in the 85th, "of me Clement." At the Reformation their apostolic source was powerfully controverted in 1562 by the Magdeburg Centuriators, whose arguments have been repeated, with additions, by later objectors.[3] In 1572 the Spanish Jesuit Turrianus combated the Centuriators, maintaining that the canons were a genuine production of the Apostles.[4] In 1653 D'Aillé, the French Protestant, supported the Centuriators.[5] He again was shortly followed by Beveridge, arguing for the apostolic authority of the canons, a surprising line for a son of the English Reformation to have taken. It was apparently a devotion to Oriental studies, then rising in England, which moved Beveridge in this direction. In 1672 appeared his *Synodicon*,[6] comprehending all groups of canons received by the Greek Church. In 1678 arrived his *Codex*[7] of canons singling one of the groups in particular, the *Apostolical*, for a more special and elaborate treatment, with the aim already mentioned. These publications of Beveridge, combining with other circumstances of the period, led the sympathies of a school of Englishmen in the direction of the Greek Church, until in 1848 the *Codex Canonum* was adopted entirely by the promoters of so important a series as the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, greatly augmenting attention to these canons in England. As an illustration of this remark, the article "Beveridge" (in *Dict. National Biography*), referring to Beveridge claiming apostolic origin and sanction for canons that were long post-apostolic, much regrets that the *Anglo-Cath. Libr.* should have included this work of Beveridge in their reprint of his writings.

It is now time to refer to some principal reasons for which the apostolicity of these canons is denied. It has been argued, for instance, that they were nothing but adaptations from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, in which work nineteen of the canons are traceable, implying an origin probably not earlier than about A.D. 250. It has also been urged that the *Apostolical Canons* were a reproduction of those of various known Councils, five being found among the Canons of Nicæa (325), twenty among the twenty-five Canons of Antioch (341) five among the Canons of Ephesus (431). Altogether sixty of the eighty-five can thus be traced.[8] The argument from resemblance alone is inconclusive, for the question remains, which were the borrowers? It has been further reasoned, then, that the canons could not have preceded Bishop Basil's treatise *On the Holy Spirit*,[9] wherein it is stated (1) that no written church authority for trine immersion in baptism was known,[10] whereas Canon 55 expressly orders that ceremony; and (2), that no authoritative written form of consecration in the Eucharist was known,[11] whereas Canon 85, by sanctioning the *Apostolical Constitutions*, does virtually give such forms.

From this reasoning the conclusion is that the *Apostolical Canons* reached their present shape late in the fourth century at the earliest. How much sooner they may have begun to gather form can for the present be only uncertain.

Professor Harnack has pointed out that the original editor of the eighty-five canons had before him the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*,[12] the publication of which document in 1883 he considers as having shed much light upon this

[1] Mansi, xiii. 748 A.

[2] So Beveridge, Works, xi. 93, in *Angl. Cath. Lib.*

[3] *Centuria I.*, lib. ii. cap. vii. in its last heading, "Judicium de Canonibus." In the Basel fol. ed. 1562, the place is in col. 544 of lib. ii.; in ed. 1564 col. 418.

[4] In his *Adversus Magdeburgenses Centuriatores*, a folio in five books devoted to the refutation of the *Centuriators*, in the opening passage.

[5] In his *De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis*, dealing with the *Apostolical Canons* in lib. iii., and the *Apostolical Constitutions* in i., ii.

[6] *Συνοδικόν, sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Græca receptorum*, 2 vols. fol.

[7] *Codex Canonum Primitivæ Ecclesiæ Vindicatus ac Illustratus*, reprinted in vol. xi. of his works edited for the *A. C. Lib.*

[8] Hefele, i. 454 (Eng. ed.) gives particulars.

[9] Written during his episcopate, A.D. 371–380.

[10] *De Sanct. Spir.*, cap. 27, *P.G.*, xxxii. 187 C.

[11] *Ibid.* 187 B.

[12] Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1893, p. 193.

important fragment of the canon-law previously so enigmatical.[1]

In the present state of knowledge, then, the best conclusion seems to be that the eighty-five canons certainly lacked the apostolicity asserted for them, Justinian's decree resting on no proper foundation. If they had some elementary existence in the period of the *Teaching*, *cir.* 120, they were not completed as we now know them earlier than about 380 when Basil died. They must be considered as having originated in the East, probably Syria.

A point of much practical interest to ourselves may be noted in conclusion. The 85th Canon, as Dr. Salmon has pointed out,[2] associates certain apocryphal writings with the canonical books of the Bible. Were it capable of demonstration that these eighty-five canons were in any sense apostolic the conclusion would be fatal to current views of Scripture canonicity. It is assuredly, then, of some importance that the result of historic research and the weight of modern argument have drawn, as it can confidently be said they have, the *Apostolical Canons*, and with them a body of untenable literature, quite away from apostolic or even sub-apostolic times, and entirely beyond the reach of apostolic sanction.

[C. H.]

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, THE —a Greek work in eight books, preserving to us, in a volume of two hundred and eighty-four solid pages of modern Greek print,[3] a body of liturgic forms, customs, church official titles, and homiletic teaching once prevalent in the East. The standard editions, with Latin version and accompaniments, are those of Cotelerius[4] and Migne.[5] There is also an English translation by Whiston. The book has been adequately examined both on the Continent and in England, from the sixteenth century. An article upon it in the *Christian Remembrancer* of April 1854 introduced it to a wide circle of present-day English readers.

These *Constitutions* assert in the most direct manner the authority of the Twelve Apostles, who are represented as assembled together, St. Paul included, with Clement of Rome for their amanuensis, delivering the various ordinances which the Church must observe to all time. Each Apostle dictates in the first person his separate constitution, Peter first and Paul last; "I Peter say," "I James say," "I Philip," "I Bartholomew," &c.[6] Were all these the genuine utterances of the Twelve they would be so much additional Scripture, doubling the New Testament in bulk. They are, in fact, so regarded in the Apostolical Canons, where Canon 85 reckons these *Constitutions* among the books of Scripture, which they truly are if not a fabrication.

In 1653 the French Protestant D'Aillé maintained their apocryphal character, declaring them tainted with Arianism.[7] In 1711 Professor Whiston of Cambridge, who was then lapsing into Arianism, claimed to have demonstrated[8] that the Constitutions were "the very doctrines, rules, laws, and liturgies, which our blessed Saviour Himself delivered to His Church by his Holy Apostles." Whiston's main argument for Arianism was that the theology of the Church before the Council of Nicæa (325) was to be found in these *Constitutions*, which reflected the teaching of Arius, Athanasius being "that grand corruptor of the Christian faith."[9] The *Constitutions* reveal their own attitude to Arianism in a passage wherein they formally expound the Catholic faith to be a belief in One Almighty God, who must be worshipped through (διά) Christ our Lord, in (ἐν) the All-holy Spirit.[10]

The date of the work in its present form is undetermined; but the impossibility of an apostolic date is sufficiently obvious from a mention made[11] of the post-apostolic Gnostics, Cleobius, Dositheus, Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides, Saturninus. The *Christian Remembrancer* added to its proofs of the spuriousness of these *Constitutions* such a gross anachronism as the following, taken up also by Mr. Benjamin Shaw (*Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, i. 12): "Apostles," these two articles say, "are brought together who never could have been together in this life. St. James the greater (after he was beheaded) is made to sit in council with St. Paul (lib. vi. c. 14), though elsewhere he is spoken of as dead (lib. v. c. 7)."

The publication in 1883 of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* gave fresh interest to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, one-half of the seventh book of which was seen to be simply an

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[1] Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolical Canons*, 1895, p. 1.

[2] In his General Introduction (p. xxv.) to Dr. Wace's edition of the *Apocrypha*.

[3] Ueltzen's edition, 1853.

[4] In his *Apostolic Fathers*, 1672, 2 vols. fol.

[5] In his *Patrologiæ Græcæ*, 4°, vol. i. 1857.

[6] *Apost. Const.*, viii. 4, 12, 16, 17, &c.; *De Ordinationibus*, *Patr. Gr.*, i. 1070.

[7] "Ariană labe infectum," Dallæus, *De Pseudepigraphis*, p. 411.

[8] Whiston's *Essay*, p. 673.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[10] *Apost. Const.*, vi. 14, *P. G.*, i. 945. Migne's note observes that the language here is that customary with Arians.

[11] Lib. vi. 8, *Patr. Græca*, i. 924.

expansion of the *Teaching*.[1] The forger of that book, writes Salmon, was evidently acquainted with the entire *Teaching*, which he may have used so early as 350, as suggested by Harnack. Hefele[2] thinks the work may have originated in the second half of the third century.

Perhaps then, in the present state of opinion, the safest conclusion is that the *Apostolical Constitutions* gradually took their present shape within the period of about A.D. 260–360, and the reader learns from them what Eastern church life and worship were like within that hundred years which beheld in the important see of Antioch an unsaintly despot like Paul of Samosata, the terrible persecution of Diocletian, the conversion of Constantine, and the Arian dispute convulsing the whole Christian world. Amid her many dangers the Church of Christ was upheld by the presence of Holy Scripture, with trained readers to voice it in the sacred assemblies. There was her hope of continuing her existence; teachers and disciples were born of the incorruptible seed; the martyr spirit lived on. Yet, as these *Constitutions* witness, a fatal leaven was working present and future ill. Human tradition was getting a standing-ground; superstitious worship was creeping in; the servants of the congregation were coveting a sacerdotal exaltation; an artful and endless elaboration of ceremonies, requiring a multiplicity of subordinate ministers, was practically turning the helpers of men's salvation into authors of it.

For such weighty accusations there should be, and there are, some definite materials.

1. More insidiously than in the constituting Synod, but no whit less inexcusably, tradition thus mingles its voice with the familiar record of our Lord's action in the Supper: "In like manner also He took the cup and mixed it of wine and water, and sanctified it, and delivered it to them."[3]

2. For an instance of in-creeping superstition: the catechumen, after his renunciation of Satan and profession of belief, but before actual baptism by water, has to be anointed with oil,[4] the oil being first "blessed by the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) for the remission of sins and the first preparation for baptism; for he calls thus upon the unbegotten God . . . that He would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and impart to it spiritual grace, and efficacious strength, the remission of sins, and the first preparation for the confession of baptism, that so the candidate for baptism, when he is anointed, may be freed from all ungodliness, and may become worthy of initiation, according to the command of the only-Begotten."

3. The aggrandisement of the ministerial office is thus pressed upon the people[5]: "Why do not ye also esteem the mediators (τοὺς μεσίτας) of the Word to be prophets and reverence them as gods? For now the deacon is to you Aaron and the bishop Moses. If therefore Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishop be honoured among you as a god and the deacon as his prophet." Referring to the honour due to parents[6]:—"How much more should the Word exhort you to honour your spiritual parents and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God,[7] who have regenerated you by water and endued you with the fulness of the Holy Spirit; who have fed you with the Word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you by their admonitions, who have imparted to you the saving body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred Eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promise of God; reverence these and honour them with all kinds of honour; for they have obtained from God the power of life and death, in their judging of sinners, and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also of loosing returning sinners from their sins and of restoring them to a new life; account these worthy to be esteemed your rulers and your kings,[8] and bring them tribute as to kings." It was a scheme of ministerial domination here weaving; and the Apostles, notwithstanding the solemn warnings they received from their Lord, are audaciously made to be the very weavers of it.

Regarding the book before us as a mirror of visible church-life in the East, within the period that has been indicated, we note the following office-bearers in the congregation:—High priest and priest[9]; subdeacon[10]; reader[11];

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[1] Dr. Salmon's article on the *Teaching* in the *Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. 809. In his Introduction to Dr. Wace's *Apocrypha*, p. xxv., the conclusion is nearly the same.

[2] In his *History of the Councils*, i. 454, Eng. ed.

[3] Lib. viii. 12.

[4] Lib. vii. 42.

[5] Lib. ii. 29, 30.

[6] ii. 33, 34.

[7] πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Θεόν.

[8] ἄρχοντας ὑμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς. In another chapter (lib. ii. 26), the bishop is the people's mediator with God (μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν); their prince and leader (ἄρχων καὶ ἡγούμενος); their king and lord (δυνάστης); next to God their god on earth (ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος θεὸς μετὰ Θεόν.)

[9] *Apost. Const.*, ii. 25; viii. 12. Ἀρχιερεύς, ἱερεύς.

[10] viii. 13, 21.

[11] ii. 25; viii. 13, 22.

singers[1]; exorcist[2]; door-keeper[3]; deaconess.[4] The high priest and the priest minister at an altar.[5] There are prayers for the dead[6]; and commemorations of the dead, at which gifts to the poor are made out of the goods of the dead.[7] There are prayers for the Church, including the faithful departed.[8] The baptism of infants is enjoined.[9] In baptism submergence (*κατάδυσις*) and emergence (*ἀνάδυσις*) symbolise dying with and rising with Christ[10]. The baptized are anointed with chrism by the bishop.[11] The "Gloria in Excelsis"[12] (substantially), the expressions[13]—"Lift up your mind. We lift it up unto the Lord; Let us give thanks to the Lord God; It is meet and right so to do," occur among these early Greek formularies. In the administration of the Lord's Supper the minister delivers the elements with the following form of words: "The body of Christ"; "The blood of Christ, the cup of life"; the recipient in each case responding with "Amen."[14] [C. H.]

It may be observed that eminent scholars like Bishop Pearson, Bishop Lightfoot, Kraus, and Lardner, regard the *Apostolical Constitutions* as considerably later than the date which the writer of the foregoing article assigns to that production. The ordinary reader will find in the No. of the *Church Intelligencer* for May 1884, at p. 62, some useful proofs of the fraudulent character of the Liturgy embodied in the eighth book. See also the *Church Intelligencer* for April 1889. An excellent translation into English of the whole work is given in the *Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xvii. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

APPARELS.—Small pieces of embroidery in use among Romanists and Ritualists, sewn on albs, amices, and other vestments.

APPARITOR.—An officer of the ecclesiastical courts (so-called from his summoning persons to appear) whose duties are to attend in court to receive the judge's commands, to convene, and cite defendants, to admonish or cite the parties to produce witnesses and the like. The 138th canon relates to such officers. See Hook's *Church Dictionary*, sub voce.

APPEALS.—Under pre-Reformation Canon Law, appeals went, theoretically, to the Pope, who had also a concurrent jurisdiction in this country. But, in fact, as Professor Maitland has shown, where the charge was one of heresy, the appeal was useless, because the "criminal" was burnt before the "appeal" could be heard, and this by express provision of the Canon Law itself (see *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1901, p. 40, &c.). The struggle of our English parliaments and sovereigns with the Papacy was not, as is sometimes represented, to abolish papal jurisdiction, but to confine it within limits properly ecclesiastical, and to prevent its interference with secular matters, such as matrimony, inheritance, bastardy, and the like. Heresy was appellable to the Pope, but for reasons above explained such appeals were necessarily abortive. The Reformation, as regards jurisdiction, consisted in giving an appeal from *all* courts of the archbishops in *all* suits. This, of course, included both ritual and doctrine, and such appeals have, ever since Henry VIII., been carried to the Crown as the supreme Ordinary. Of late years the priest party have succeeded in eliminating this remedy. For example, under the Pluralities Act there is no appeal from the archbishop except from his *own* refusal to grant a dispensation for holding two livings. Under the Clergy Discipline Act of 1892 the Provincial Court or the Privy Council are open as *alternatives* to the appellant. Under the Benefices Act of 1898 there is no appeal beyond the re-constituted Archbishop's Court. Thus the appeal to the Crown is being gradually filched away, in order to rehabilitate hierarchical pretensions to an *exclusive* possession of judgment, justice, and truth, in all matters concerning the "Church." (See Professor Maitland's *Canon Law in the Church of England* (Methuen); Tomlinson's *Lay Judges in Church Courts;* and Whitehead's *Dictionary of Church Law*, sub voce.) [J. T. T.]

APSE.—The recess at the end of the church in which the holy table was usually placed.

AQUILA.—The writer of a very literal Greek translation of the Old Testament, fragments of which have been preserved in the remains of Origen's *Hexapla*. Some connected leaves of Aquila's *Translation of the Book of Kings*, in Greek in uncial characters, discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*, have been published in 1897 at the Cambridge Press, by F. C. Burkitt, M.A., with a preface by Dr. C. Taylor.

AQUINAS.—See THOMISTS.

ARCHBISHOP.—The title seems to have come into vogue about A.D. 400 to denote the chief ecclesiastic of a province in the Roman Empire. It is due to the organisation of the Church on Imperial lines, and cannot be traced to the Apostles. In Roman times there were probably three archbishoprics in our country, viz., London, York, and Caerleon (afterwards transferred to Menevia or St. David's). Lists of names have been handed down to us which are no doubt mainly apocryphal, but that of "David, Archbishop of Menevia," mentioned under 1st March in the Prayer Book Calendar,

[1] ii. 25; viii. 13. [2] viii. 26.
[3] ii. 25. [4] ii. 25; viii. 13, 20.
[5] *θυσιαστήριον*, viii. 12, freq. [6] viii. 41.
[7] viii. 42. [8] viii. 13. [9] vi. 15.
[10] iii. 17. [11] iii. 16. [12] vii. 47.
[13] viii. 12. [14] viii. 13.

is of a more historical character. He is said to have died about A.D. 540. London and York and all the British bishops, and indeed the entire organisation of the Church in eastern Britain, were swept away during the Anglo-Saxon invasion. When the conversion of the Saxons commenced in the sixth and seventh centuries two new archbishoprics were founded, viz., Canterbury and York, and placed under the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome, St. David's continuing a more or less independent course until its amalgamation with Canterbury about A.D. 1147. Lichfield also was for a few years in the eighth century the seat of an archbishopric, but was merged in Canterbury. The latter province is consequently much larger than that of York, and now comprises no fewer than twenty-five dioceses, viz., twenty-one English and four Welsh. York now consists of ten dioceses. The jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York formerly extended over part of Scotland.

In Ireland there were originally four archbishoprics, viz., Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. These have all been kept on foot by the Roman Catholics, but the Protestants have reduced the number to two, viz., Armagh and Dublin. The Protestant Episcopal Churches of Scotland and the United States have no archbishops, nor were there any in the colonies ten years ago. But recently several of the leading colonial Protestant bishops have taken the title, *e.g.* Rupert's Land, Ontario, Cape Town, Sydney, and Jamaica. The duties and privileges of an English archbishop over and above those of a bishop are to *visit*, *i.e.* to inspect the bishops and inferior clergy of his province and to deprive them on notorious cause; to confirm the election of bishops; to call meetings of Convocation upon receipt of the Sovereign's writ but not without; to hear appeals from the bishops; when a see is vacant to provide for the ecclesiastical administration of the diocese; to present by lapse to livings if the bishop neglects to do so for six months. The peculiar privileges of the Archbishop of Canterbury are to crown the sovereigns of England, to grant special marriage licences, and to confer the academical titles known as "Lambeth degrees." The Archbishop of York is said to have the privilege of crowning the queen consort and to be her chaplain.

An archbishop of the Church of England is addressed as "His Grace" and "Most Reverend." The Irish archbishops are also entitled to be styled "Most Reverend." The Bishop of Meath, in Ireland, has precedence over the other Bishops, and for centuries has borne the title of "Most Reverend" which is still legally retained. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is styled "Primate of All England," ranks immediately after the Royal Family; the Lord Chancellor comes next, and then the Archbishop of York, styled Primate of England. Formerly the Protestant Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin had precedence immediately after his Grace of York, but they have now no civil rank. In all cases ecclesiastical titles assumed by ministers of religion not belonging to the Established Churches of England or Scotland give no precedence to the holders. Thus Irish, Scotch, or colonial archbishops and bishops, the Presidents of the Wesleyan Conference and Congregational Union, the archbishops and bishops of the Roman Catholic and Free Churches, have none of them any civil rank as such nor are they entitled to be addressed as "My Lord." In a similar way most foreign prelates have a certain civil status. Thus in Austria some of the (Roman Catholic) archbishops, viz., Vienna, Salzburg, and Prague, have the title of "Prince," in some parts of Germany that of "Excellency" and the right to speak of themselves as "we." In Prussia they are or were styled "Your Grace." In France "Grandeur" and "Monseigneur" (Wetzer and Welte).

The two English archbishops are quite independent of each other and are of equal and co-ordinate authority and alike subject to the Crown. The legal decisions of the Archbishop of Canterbury are therefore not binding on the province of York. But the same lay official (who is commonly known as the Dean of Arches) acts as judge of both Provincial Courts so that uniformity is secured. In special cases only has an archbishop taken the law into his own hands, as in that deplorable decision known as the *Lincoln Judgment*, in which Archbishop Benson set at defiance the rulings of the superior Court, the Privy Council, on various points of ritual. This was followed by the lamentable spectacle of an ultimate court of appeal reversing its own decisions and meekly supporting the judge below on nearly every point. See Whitehead, *Church Law*, sub voce. [B. W.]

ARCHDEACON, or chief deacon, was originally, as the name implies, a deacon only, and was no doubt inferior to the priests in dignity He watched over the education of young clerks and supervised the inferior church officers, and eventually his office became one of great importance; he was called "oculus et manus episcopi" and no one was admitted to orders without his testimonial. At the present time in the Church of England, a clergyman is not qualified for the office unless he has been six years in priest's orders. By the common law an archdeacon is in all things the bishop's vicegerent. He is usually appointed by the bishop himself, and has a kind of episcopal authority originally derived from the bishop,

but now independent of and distinct from his (Burn, *Ecc. Law*). His duties are to hold visitations of parochial clergy (when the bishop is not there); examine and present candidates for ordination (see ORDINAL); institute, induct, excommunicate, inspect, and reform abuses among the clergy. He can either in person or by his official (who is usually a lawyer), hold a court, and he has special statutory powers as to parish clerks. He also admits churchwardens and sidesmen, receives their presentments, and is legally entitled to visitation fees, and also in some cases to certain fees called procurations.

An archdeacon is styled "The Venerable." In dignity he is inferior to the Dean.

The income of an archdeaconry is small, so another benefice is usually held with it, but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have power to raise the income of any archdeaconry to £200 per annum. In most cases an archdeaconry is a division only of a diocese, but it may comprise the whole.

An archdeacon must reside in the diocese for eight months in every year unless he has a licence. He is entitled to a seat in the Lower House of Convocation. See Whitehead, *Church Law*. [B. W.]

ARCHES, COURT OF.—This was so called from the arches of Bow Church ("Sancta Maria de Arcubus") where the Dean of Arches used to hold his Court. It is a Court of first instance by Letters of Request from a suffragan bishop, and the Court of Appeal from all the Diocesan Courts of the province of Canterbury, and till 1532 was a Court of first instance in all ecclesiastical cases. The Dean had jurisdiction over thirteen peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the city of London. Since the Public Worship Act, 1874, the official principal or judge of the Court has been appointed by the two Archbishops subject to the approval of the Crown, or in default by the Crown alone. He hears appeals from the Consistory Courts of both provinces. The judge must be a member of the Church of England, and either a barrister who has practised for ten years, or a retired judge of the Supreme Court. An appeal lies to the Queen in Council.

ARIANS.—See HERESIES.

ARMENIAN CHURCH.—See EASTERN CHURCHES.

ARTICLES, THE XXXIX.—The Confession of Faith promulgated by the Church of England. They are thus unhesitatingly designated by such authorities as Bishop Andrewes (*Sermon before Frederick the Count Palatine*) and Archbishop Laud (*Conference with Fisher*, § 24). Andrewes says that "our Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles" shows "that nowhere does there exist a religion more in accord with the true Zion, that is, with the institutions of the Gospel and of the Apostles, than ours." Laud says that "the positive truths delivered in the Synod of 1562 are more than the polemics," though "true it is, and we must thank Rome for it, our Confession must needs contain some negatives, for in a corrupt time or place it is as necessary in religion to deny falsehood as to assert and vindicate truth; indeed, this latter can hardly be well and sufficiently done but by the former, an affirmative verity being ever included in the negative to a falsehood."

There are two ways in which attempts are made to overthrow or undermine the authority of this Confession of our belief: (1) It is urged that the XXXIX. Articles are not a Creed, and it is left to be inferred from thence that their authority is inconsiderable. (2) The Articles condemnatory of Rome are represented as not intended to condemn Roman doctrine, but as opposing some extravagant tenets condemned by Rome as well as by ourselves.

1. It is true that the Articles are not a Creed in the same sense that the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian symbols are Creeds; for they have not been promulgated by the whole of the Catholic Church as the exposition of the Christian Faith like the Nicene Creed in its original and authentic form, nor have they been generally accepted like the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds. But they have been promulgated and accepted by the Church of England as the exposition of her faith on the points with which they deal; and consequently they are as morally binding on members of the Church of England, because they express the faith of the Church of England, as the Creeds are binding upon them, because *they* express the faith of the Church Catholic. The *Congregation in Church*, after stating that "the Articles were first published in 1549 and then numbered forty-two," and "after undergoing several revisions they were settled in their present form by the Canons of 1604," both of which statements are incorrect, continues: "The Articles, although containing an account of certain leading doctrines, are in no sense a Creed, and it is to the Prayer Book that Churchmen go for an expression of their faith" (p. 170). On this passage we have to say that "containing an account of certain leading doctrines" is not synonymous with "declaring the faith of the Church on certain doctrines," which is what the Articles do, and that there is no justification for depreciating the Articles in comparison with the Prayer Book as an expression of a Churchman's faith. The English Churchman "goes for an expression of his faith" to the Prayer Book and to the Articles alike, and he finds no contrariety between them. The inference intended to be drawn from the Articles

being "in no sense a Creed" is plainly that they may be disregarded as a statement of Anglican belief; but that inference does not follow from their not being a Creed. In the sixteenth century the different reformed Churches were charged by their Papal opponents with being solely destructive and having no positive faith of their own. To obviate this calumny and to give stability to their own members, who might easily be carried too far in their hostility to Popery, each put forth its own Confession of Faith. The most important of these was the Confession of Augsburg, A.D. 1530, in which the positive teaching of Protestants was laid down, and especially that cardinal doctrine of St. Paul, revived by Luther after long sleep, of free Justification for Christ's merits grasped by our faith, which constitutes the most fundamental distinction between Popery and Protestantism. On the Confession of Augsburg our Confession, known as the XXXIX. Articles, was founded, with some variations from that of Augsburg which adapted it to English use, but essentially the same with it, not only on the question of "justification by faith only," the Article *stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*, but also on almost all the other points of the faith of Protestants. Just as Lutherans are bound by the Augsburg Confession and Romanists by the Tridentine Confession, embodied in the so-called Creed of Pope Pius IV., so Anglican Churchmen are bound by the XXXIX. Articles, which are their Church's Confession of Faith, though not, like the Romanist Confession, thrown into the form, and called by the name of a Creed.

2. The more specific method of doing away with the force of the anti-Papal Articles is to represent them as not aimed at Romish or Papal doctrines, but at some extravagant tenets which it is presumed that some one, often unknown to history, held. This sophism, first suggested by Dr. Newman in Tract XC., is employed in dealing with Articles XXII., XXVIII., XXIX., and XXXI.

On Article XXII., the manual called *Catholic Religion* says: "This Article is not meant to condemn the Catholic doctrine of the Intermediate State, as we have stated it, but only the Romish doctrine *which so largely obtained at the time* we are speaking of, and which could claim no support from the teaching of antiquity" (p. 185). And again: "The English Church in Article XXII. condemns what is called the Romish doctrine of Invocation of Saints; that is to say, what was put in practice *by the people at the time* of the Reformation" (p. 211). This is a mere subtle evasion of the force of the Article; "the practice by the people at the time," "the doctrine which so largely obtained at the time" were the practice and the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, gathered up and expressed almost contemporaneously by the Council of Trent: and what is condemned in the Article is the doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic Church on the subject of Purgatory, Pardons, Images, Relics, and Invocation of Saints—nothing less than that.

The weapon forged by Newman is used most frequently for invalidating the condemnation of the Sacrifice of the Mass in Article XXXI. The Article condemning in the plainest manner the Romish Church's doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass as "a blasphemous fable" (namely, that a man could, by a formula of words, place Christ on the altar and then sacrifice and eat Him) "and a dangerous deceit" (that is, an imposture to which men trusted for their salvation, to the great peril of their souls, instead of to faith in Christ, working by love), Dr. Newman performs some acts of logical legerdemain over it and then claims that we shall acknowledge that the Article "neither speaks against the Mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sins; but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of or distinct from the sacrifice on the Cross, which is blasphemy, and on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition" (p. 63). Disciples follow in the master's steps. "A moment's reflection will serve to show that the XXXIst Article does not condemn the Mass," says the *Ritual Reason Why* (No. 284). "The Church could not condemn the Mass, without condemning the Institution of Christ" (*ibid.*). "The Article could not have been aimed against the term Mass, nor against any doctrine involved in the term" (No. 285). "The Sacrifice of the Mass," says the *Catholic Religion* (p. 252), "must be distinguished from the Sacrifices of Masses, of which the Article speaks. The latter expression refers to the erroneous idea that it was the *number* of Masses which was the source of benefit to the departed. The idea condemned is that of cumulation and repetition independent of the one and only availing Sacrifice of Calvary. When the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is more perfectly understood amongst us, the term Mass from its very convenience will probably reassert itself." Similarly, the *Congregation in Church* declares the Article "directed against the heretical," (and therefore not the Roman) "doctrine of reiteration." This *method* of argument is borrowed direct from the Roman Casuists, who meet any condemnation of a doctrine which they favour with a *distinguendum*. If they have to allow

that A. B. is condemned, they divide A. B. into A. B. and a. b. Then say they, 'You may condemn A. B. (*e.g.* 'the Sacrifices of Masses') as much as you please, but we may still hold a. b. ("the Sacrifice of the Mass").

Rev. F. W. Puller, of Cowley, in his correspondence with the Ultramontane French priests of the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, assures his friends that the Church of England never intended to condemn the Roman doctrine in Article XXXI., which "was expressly drawn up to repudiate a monstrous doctrine touching the Eucharistic Sacrifice which had been widely spread abroad in England during the first years of the sixteenth century." The author of this doctrine was Catharinus; so it must be understood that it was Catharinus and his doctrine that were condemned, not Rome nor Roman doctrine. Mr. Puller's Ultramontane correspondent, Dr. Paulus, laughed in his face; he was quite sure that Catharinus had not taught "the monstrous doctrine" attributed to him. It was "the Catholic doctrine" which "the innovators of the sixteenth century" were condemning; and instead of "justifying their apostasy," the only thing for Mr. Puller to do was to repudiate the Article.

One more instance of the method may be taken from the same correspondence. Article XXVIII. condemns Transubstantiation. Yes, says Rev. T. A. Lacey, Vicar of Madingley, but it is only what Bishop Ridley meant by Transubstantiation that it condemns, and Ridley did not mean Transubstantiation at all, but Metaphysiosis—that is, a visible and tangible change of substance. It is true that Ridley thought he rejected Transubstantiation, and so did his Roman Catholic judges, and therefore the latter sentenced him to be burnt, and he himself gladly underwent death by burning for his faith. But it was all a mistake. He was mistaken, they were mistaken, everybody was mistaken, till the year 1896, when Mr. Lacey invented the word Metaphysiosis to express what it was Ridley really rejected. This singular mistake of Ridley, Gardiner, Pole, and every one else, except Mr. Lacey, has led to the idea that Article XXVIII. denies Transubstantiation, which it does not do, for "the Englishmen who deny Transubstantiation do it through resting on the opinion of Ridley, and for the same reasons that he had" (*Revue*, p. 646). As Ridley when he said that he rejected Transubstantiation, did not reject Transubstantiation but only Metaphysiosis, which he mistook for Transubstantiation, and was, in fact, only "maintaining what we are all agreed upon" (*ibid.*), so the Church of England in rejecting Transubstantiation, does not reject Transubstantiation, but only the monstrous misconception of Transubstantiation, which, according to Mr. Lacey's brand-new discovery, Ridley entertained. What she denies is not, must not be, shall not be Transubstantiation, which Mr. Lacey calls "the doctrine of the Church," but only Metaphysiosis. It is true that Ridley never said that he had such an ignorant conception of the doctrine of Transubstantiation or of the meaning of the word "substance"; but he *must* have had it, or he would have denied, and the Church of England after him would have denied, "the doctrine of the Church," which, of course, they cannot have done. The Article states that Transubstantiation "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament." Mr. Lacey acknowledges with surprise and apparent pity that "a number of Anglicans still think the expression well founded," but *he* knows that when the Article says Transubstantiation it means Metaphysiosis, the condemnation of which is unobjectionable in his eyes because it is a tenet unknown to the Roman Church.

There is another application of the method looming before us. It has got over the difficulty caused by the denial of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics, Invocation of Saints, Transubstantiation, and the Mass. There remains Papal Supremacy and Infallibility. The modern formula for the evacuation of "Anglican negations" may be applied here too. Some one answering to Catharinus may be found (no doubt, he is at present being anxiously searched for), who has promulgated some extraordinary exaggeration as to the Papal power and omniscience, and we shall be gravely assured that it was that doctrine and not the Roman doctrine that the Church of England has rejected. Then, the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility will be no longer the obstacle to union that it now is.

We thank God that we have the XXXIX. Articles to serve as a permanent breakwater against the inrush of Mediaevalism and Popery. The last twenty years have proved to us more clearly than ever how great and how constant is our need of them. Though they are not a Creed of the Catholic Church, yet because they unequivocally condemn the chief doctrines of Romanism and maintain all the great truths of Christianity, they are the palladium of the Church of England. The XXXIX. Articles form part of the statute law of England. For their legal construction, see Whitehead, *Church Law*.

[The Ritualists have striven to make out that Article XXXVI. declares that there is nothing that "of itself is superstitious or ungodly" in the Communion Office as found in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. But Mr. Tomlinson

has ably shown that the Ordinal referred to did not exist in the First Prayer Book, nor till March 1550, after the close of the third year of Edward VI. See his important chapter xii. in his work on *The Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies.* London: Elliot Stock, 1897. On the special importance of Article XXV. see CONSUBSTANTIATION.] [F. M.]

ARTICLES (HISTORY OF THE). — The history of the series of Articles of Faith, culminating in the XXXIX. Articles, is a record of the attempts which the Church of England made in the sixteenth century to define her doctrinal position after that she, like the Reformed Churches on the Continent, had broken away from the corrupt Church of Rome. These Articles, drawn up at different times and despite many obstacles, exhibit a growing clearness and accuracy of statement, till in their last revision they appear definite and unmistakable in meaning, and pure and scriptural in doctrine. This progress of the Articles towards scriptural truth, from their inception in 1536 till their final recension in 1571, will be evident from the following facts, stated in the briefest possible manner. (1) The X. Articles of 1536 rejected four of the seven Romish sacraments, acknowledging only "the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Altar." (2) The XIII. Articles of 1538 found among Cranmer's papers were based upon the Augsburg Confession and the previous X. Articles, and were "evidently designed to be the basis of a Concordat with the Lutherans" (Bishop Barry). A check to progress was given by (3) The VI. Articles of 1539 (see p. 47) which were intended to put a stop to the Reforming movement. They enjoined: 1. Transubstantiation; 2. Communion in one kind; 3. Clerical celibacy; 4. Vows of Chastity; 5. Private Masses; 6. Auricular Confession. (4) The XLII. Articles of 1552. Of these Cranmer and Ridley (both martyred afterwards for protesting against Romish errors) were the chief compilers. To quote the words of Canon R. W. Dixon, "the broad soft touch of Cranmer lay upon them as they came from the furnace." (5) The XI. Articles of 1559[1] approved of the restoration of the Cup to the laity which had actually been restored by the first Parliament of Elizabeth, and they rejected private masses and the veneration of images and relics. (6) The XXXIX. Articles of 1563 were remodelled on the basis of the XLII. Articles, and bear the mark of Archbishop Parker's influence. One of these was omitted by the printers at the bidding of the Queen, but restored in 1571. (7) The XXXIX. Articles of 1571. These are our present Articles, and must be described more in detail. They contain a clear and comprehensive statement of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, a repudiation of the chief corrupt novelties of the Church of Rome, and a condemnation of the doctrines of the fanatical sects of their time. They were edited by Bishop Jewel, and appeared both in Latin and English. The Latin and English copies were subscribed by both houses of Convocation, but not by Parliament, which enacted only the English Version. Both versions are valuable in determining the exact meaning of the other. The first five Articles treat of the doctrine of the Trinity; the next three establish the Rule of Faith; the ten following relate to Christians as individuals; the next eighteen deal with Christians as members of a society —the Church—whose nature, authority, discipline, and sacraments are defined; and the last three Articles treat of the Church and individuals in their relation to the civil power.

"In these Articles we have a reference to existing heresies, and find in them not only the positive doctrine of the Gospel asserted, but also the principal errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome and most of the extravagances in which Protestant sects fell at the time of the Reformation rejected and condemned" (Bishop Tomline).

"In the interpretation" of the Articles, Bishop Harold Browne wisely remarks, "our best guides must be, first, their own natural, literal, grammatical meaning; next to this, a knowledge of the controversies which had prevailed in the Church and made such Articles necessary; then, the other authorised formularies of the Church; after them, the writings and known opinions of such men as Cranmer, Ridley, and Parker, who drew them up; then, the doctrines of the primitive Church, which they professed to follow; and lastly, the general sentiments of the distinguished English divines, who have been content to subscribe the Articles, and have professed their agreement with them for now 300 years. These are our best guides for their interpretation. Their authority is derivable from Scripture alone." (*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, 1882. Introduction, pp. 10, 11.) The XXXIX. Articles must be subscribed by candidates before Ordination, also before Institution, and they must be read in church after Induction. Although the laity are exempt from subscription, their assent to the doctrines of the Articles is required if they would lay claim to be loyal members of the Church of England. This fact requires to be stated, as some writers on the Articles have asserted that all that is necessary in the case of the laity is an assent

[1] This is the date given by Hardwick, but the true date is 1561. See Perry on the *Purchas Judgment*, p. 170 note, and p. 453.

to the Apostles' Creed. A reference to the Service for the Public Baptism of Infants, however, demonstrates the absurdity of this assertion, for we there find the God-parents exhorted to take care that the child baptized "may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health."

The history of the nineteenth century presents no sadder sight than that of men, professedly seekers after truth and defenders of the same, yet setting themselves to undermine the scriptural teaching of the Articles. This is the task, however, to which the Tractarians applied themselves in the tracts from which they derived their name. In Tract XC., written by John Henry Newman, "it was deliberately maintained," says Archbishop Whately, "that the XXXIX. Articles do not, when rightly interpreted, condemn the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the Invocation of Saints, or the Adoration of Relics, or Purgatory or Indulgences, as sanctioned by the Council of Trent; and that the true rule for interpreting the Articles is, not to take the words in their plain natural sense, but in such a sense—often 'non-natural'—as the person signing them may think to be most in accordance with Catholic tradition" (*Cautions for the Times*, 1854, p. 231). No wonder that the publication of this notorious tract provoked a storm which was not quickly allayed, and that the Heads of Houses at Oxford condemned it for "*evading rather than explaining* the sense of the XXXIX. Articles and *reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract.*" In spite of its almost universal condemnation, Dr. Pusey and other supporters of the Tractarian movement defended it. In a letter penned in the year 1865 (twenty years after his reception into the Church of Rome) Newman writes to Pusey: "You have from the first, as all the world knows, boldly stood up for it, in spite of the obloquy which it brought upon you; you are now republishing it with my cordial concurrence." And we find Pusey in his *Eirenicon* (published in 1865) boldly maintaining that the Articles of the Church of England and the Decrees of the Council of Trent are reconcilable, the differences between them being only in appearance and not in reality. Almost, it would seem, with a prescience of the evil which has befallen us in this century, a royal declaration was issued as far back as the year 1628, by Charles I., directing "that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." Newman, by a process of verbal juggling, strove to maintain that the Articles would harmonise with Romish doctrines and practices which they were designed to oppose. Archbishop Whately says: "To bring the Articles to bear such a sense as what Mr. Newman thought Catholic tradition required, was a task of no little difficulty. Indeed, he set such an example of hair-splitting and wire-drawing—of shuffling equivocation and dishonest garbling of quotations—as made the English people thoroughly ashamed that any man calling himself an Englishman, a gentleman, and a clergyman, should insult their understandings and consciences with such mean sophistry" (*Cautions for the Times*, 1854, p. 231). In 1883 Newman wrote (*Via Media*, ii. 351-6), "What the Article abjures as a lie is just that which the Pope and Council declare to be Divine truth. Nothing can come of the suggested distinction between 'mass' and 'masses.'" [S. R. G.]

ARTICLES, THE LAMBETH.—These Articles, nine in number, were drawn up by Dr. W. Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. They were approved of by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and other prelates in private synod assembled, and were sent to Mr. Barrett of Cambridge, who had preached in that University against certain Calvinistic doctrines, by Dr. Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his subscription, November 24, 1595. Barrett, however, appealed against such an exercise of authority, and Archbishop Whitgift was severely taken to task by Queen Elizabeth for holding a private synod and drawing up new articles of faith without the consent of the Crown and proper authorities. The Articles in question were strongly Calvinistic. The first affirmed predestination to life and to eternal death. The second, that God's election alone was the moving and efficient cause of salvation. The third, that the number of the elect was fixed and could not be added to or taken from. The fourth, that the reprobate were necessarily damned because of their own sins. The five other articles affirm conclusions which naturally follow from the dogmas mentioned. At the Hampton Court Conference Dr. Reynolds proposed to adopt the nine Articles, but his proposition was rejected (Cardwell's *Conferences*, pp. 184 ff.). Their adoption was, however, often advocated by the Calvinistic Puritans. The Articles in question are given in Latin in the third volume of Whitgift's *Works*, published by the Parker Society, pp. 612, 613. The original form in which they were drafted was

subsequently somewhat modified. They never were accepted authoritatively by the Church of England. [C. H. H. W.]

ARTICLES, THE SIX, OF 1539.—In the year 1539 Henry VIII. finally turned his back on the "Reformation" and its "principles." Bishop Gardiner, the leader of the anti-Reformation party, pressed on Henry the importance of giving to foreign courts some proof that the king was still in heart a "Catholic," and that he rejected only the *court*, but not the *Church* of Rome.

A yet more potent reason for the change of policy is mentioned by Strype. "In the year 1539, the king took occasion to be displeased with the archbishop and the other bishops of the 'new learning,' as they then termed them, because they could not be brought to give their consent in Parliament that the king should have all the monasteries suppressed to his own sole use. They were willing he should have all the lands as his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have had bestowed upon hospitals, grammar-schools for bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the common wealth" (*Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 160).

Henry himself undertook, with the aid of Bishop Tonstal, to answer his late allies, the German theologians, and his defence of private masses, compulsory celibacy, the denial of the cup to the laity, and other "abuses" is printed by Burnet (*Hist. Ref.* I. ii. 517). As Archdeacon Hardwick says, "the influence of Gardiner was sufficient not only to baffle all their negotiations [with the Protestants of Germany] but to carry both in the Convocation and the Parliament, an 'Act for the abolishing diversity of opinions,'—by burning those who differed from Bishop Gardiner's views. This Act, commonly called the Six Articles Act, enforced under a death penalty, transubstantiation, acquiescence in the denial of the cup to the laity, celibacy of clergy, masses for dead, and compulsory confession"—precisely the dogmas against which the Lutheran envoys had directed their assault. (*Hist. XXXIX. Articles*, p. 67.) Cranmer had at once to send away his wife; Bishops Shaxton and Latimer resigned their sees; and the active persecution of the English Protestants forthwith began. Cardinal Pole wrote afterwards to the Protector Somerset that the Six Articles Act was "the best thing Henry ever did in this world." This murderous statute popularly known as "the whip with six strings," came into force on July 12, 1539, after an eleven days' debate in which Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, supported feebly by Heath, struggled to prevent its adoption, but they were overborne by the personal intervention of Henry himself, who came down to the House to silence all opposition. Gardiner's influence, says Archdeacon Hardwick, carried it "both in Convocation and in Parliament." "Specific questions having been handed by Thomas Cromwell into the hands of the Prolocutor, were debated and particularly answered by the Synod before the statute was enacted. . . . the authority of the Spirituality and of Convocation for the doctrinal contents is twice asserted in the preamble itself" (Joyce's *Civil Power in Relation to the Church*, p. 130). The Act is printed in Gee and Hardy's *Documents*, and abridged in Foxe's *Monuments*, v. 262. During the first twelve months 500 persons were prosecuted in London alone, and a list, by no means complete, of executions under the Act is given in Miller's *Church of England Almanack*, 1893. The Marian martyrs, however, did not suffer under this Act, which was not revived in Mary's reign, but under the older Heresy Acts. Nevertheless it made any doctrinal reform impossible during the remainder of Henry's reign, and throughout the first year of that of Edward VI., when its repeal on Christmas Eve 1547 liberated thought and again permitted some freedom of discussion. Hence the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition*, or "King's Book," was necessarily a reactionary formulary, because even the "*holding opinions* contrary" to the Six Articles was then punishable by fire and without any option of recantation. This fact destroys altogether the "spiritual authority" claimed for the "King's Book" by the followers of Bonner and Gardiner. See Jacobs' *Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 150-59. [J. T. T.]

ASCENSION DAY.—The day which, in the Calendar of the Church of England, commemorates our Lord's Ascension into heaven. It falls forty days after Easter Day, therefore occurs always on a Thursday. The importance of the doctrine of Christ's Ascension is great, because it plainly declares the Lord's departure from the earth with "His body, with flesh, bones, and all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature," so that *in body* He is ever in heaven and not upon earth (Acts i. 11, iii. 21). It follows from this that He is not, as the Church of Rome and Anglican sacerdotalists maintain, present on the "altar" or there represented as a sacrifice. On the other hand, Ascension Day assures us of His perpetual intercession for His people, and reminds us that in His last act, until the "cloud received Him out of their sight," His hands were outstretched as those of our High Priest in blessing. By the Lord's Ascension we are linked in thought with Him in heaven and with those blessed dead in the Lord who have gone before us, and we are thus moved "in heart and mind thither to ascend and with Him continually to dwell."

ASCETICISM.—Asceticism in religion may be defined generally as a voluntary mortification of self, or denial of natural desires, with a view to the benefit of the soul, whether by way of discipline, or by the acquirement of merit. The self-denial may be of all grades of severity, from simple abstention from gratifications or indulgences in themselves legitimate, to the renunciation of all physical comforts or even the infliction of extreme tortures. Fasting is an example of the first; the life of the hermit or solitary is an example of the second; flagellation, the wearing of a hair shirt or spiked girdle, and similar forms of penance, are examples of the third. It is disputed whether by the "bodily exercise," of 1 Tim. iv. 8, St. Paul means ascetic discipline or literal gymnastic: in either case he sets little store on it. "Bodily exercise," he says, "profiteth for a little" (or "for little"). No widespread error or abuse, however, can be pointed to which does not owe its vitality to some germ of truth which it contains, and so it is here. Both Old and New Testaments recognise the close relation which subsists between body and soul, and the need of a regimen of the former for the sake of the latter. That temperance in eating and drinking, and strict moderation in the use of this world's pleasures, should be observed by the man of God, always and everywhere, goes without saying. A subtle connection subsists between over-indulgence of the bodily appetites and luxurious living generally, and decline or loss of spiritual susceptibility. When Jeshurun waxed fat, he kicked. Special seasons of the spiritual life, again, like special vocations, demand special self-denials, and peculiar susceptibility to certain temptations may make avoidance of the occasions of them a positive duty. Both law and Gospel accordingly give a certain place to practices which may be called ascetic. Considerable prominence is given in both to "fasting"—less, however, as a prescribed duty, than as a voluntary aid to devotion. Under the law, fasting is prescribed only in connection with the Day of Atonement (in the phrase "afflict your souls," Lev. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 29); but it was a customary form of piety (1 Sam. vii. 6; 2 Sam. xii. 16, 21; Dan. ix. 3; Joel ii. 12, &c.). It is doubtful whether Jesus ever *enjoined* fasting on His disciples (the Revisers reject Matt. xvii. 21, and the words "and fasting" in Mark ix. 29); but He recognised and practised it, whilst warning against ostentation (Matt. iv. 2; v. 16–18; Matt. ix. 15). The Nazarite law of the Old Testament required abstinence from wine and strong drink, with other ascetic peculiarities (Num. vi.), and in cases of specially consecrated individuals this rule was made perpetual (Samson, Judges xii.; John the Baptist, Luke i. 15; *cf.* the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv.). In the case of Daniel and his companions, an ascetic diet was motived by the resolve not to "defile" themselves with the king's meat and wine (Dan. i.). In the New Testament it is the same apostle who tells us that "bodily exercise profiteth little," who speaks of "buffeting" or "bruising" his body and bringing it "into bondage" (1 Cor. ix. 27). Still sterner is the language of Jesus about plucking out a right eye or cutting off a right hand if it is an occasion of sin (Matt. v. 29, 30) —language which means that even the dearest gratification is to be parted with if it becomes a peril to the spiritual life. Self-denial in relation to marriage is spoken of as befitting (Matt. xix. 10–12), and is even recommended (1 Cor. vii.) in special circumstances, or for ends of the Kingdom; but marriage itself is held in honour (Matt. xix. 4–6; John ii. 1–11; Heb. xii. 4), and "forbidding to marry" is named as one of the marks of the apostasy (1 Tim. iv. 3). Finally, St. Paul recognises the obligation to refrain from the use of that which is in itself lawful, where that use might be an occasion of stumbling to others (Rom. xiv. 23; 1 Cor. viii. 13).

We gather that the Scripture thus recognises a legitimate field for bodily self-denial, or asceticism, from evangelical motives, and this in a threefold direction—(1) In subordination to the ends of the spiritual life, or of one's vocation; (2) as a protection against habitual temptation; (3) as removing offence from others. Whilst doing this, however, it unceasingly warns against the perils which attend even legitimate asceticism. The outward action, it is constantly reminding us, means nothing in itself; if exchanged for true religion, or unaccompanied by the graces of the latter, it is worse than useless, and is an abomination to the Lord (*e.g.* Isa. lviii.); as mere form it may be the veil for hypocrisy, ostentation, and spiritual pride (Matt. vi. 16; xxiii.); if regarded as "merit"—a piece of one's own righteousness—it is a denial of the Gospel (Rom x. 3, 4; Gal. v. 1–4; Col. ii. 20–23; 1 Tim. iv. 1–4). But deceitful above all things is the human heart, and out of this root of what is true and good in asceticism, there have never failed to be evolved in the history of religions vast overgrowths of pernicious error. With the natural tendency of the carnal mind to substitute outward appearance for inward religion, and to gain repute by artificial and extravagant forms of piety, other principles have co-operated. There is the strong bent of the natural heart to self-righteousness; there is the influence of the idea that God

delights in the pains more than in the joys of men, and is propitiated for sin by their self-inflicted tortures; there is the idea widely prevalent in Oriental religions of the inherent evil of matter, and the consequent duty of freeing the soul from all dependence on the body. As the fruit of the working of these principles, we have in all lands and in nearly all religions, marked developments of a perverted asceticism. We find this in the ancient religions of Babylonia and Egypt; in Zoroastrianism; in Brahmanism and Buddhism; in the lower religions generally. It will suffice in the present sketch to confine the view mainly to Christianity.

The first form in which asceticism signally appears in the Christian Church, apart from the prominence early assumed by fasting, is in relation to *marriage*. Already in the second century the idea of the superior sanctity of virginity, and of the unmarried over the married state, was steadily asserting itself. This idea, partly a recoil against the unbridled sensuality of heathenism, was one of the roots out of which sprang the belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary, followed in after times by the doctrines of her freedom from actual sin (fifth century), then of her freedom from original sin (scholastic age). The writings of the third century abound in proofs of the exalted respect in which virginity was held; so much so that descent from this state was viewed as a species of discredit, and, in stricter circles, second marriage was regarded almost as a heinous sin (Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Methodius). In the numerous sects outside the Catholic Church (Ebionites, Marcionites, Montanists, Novatianists), ascetic tendencies in this and other respects were even more powerfully developed. In some of these sects, (*e.g.* Marcionites, Aquarii) the Lord's Supper was observed with water instead of wine. As illustrating the strong views held on celibacy, Origen's unhappy act of self-mutilation—the result of a literal interpretation of Matt. xix. 12—may be mentioned.

A second important form assumed by the ascetic tendency was in the doctrine of *penance*. It was right that in the exercise of discipline the Church should require from penitents some palpable evidence of their change of mind, and should impose forms of restoration which tended to impress the sense of sin and of forgiveness. But the Church's penitential discipline early assumed a character which rested in part on false ideas, and gave undue prominence to the outward as compared with the inward. The idea was that post-baptismal sin —at least of the more serious sort ("mortal sin")—required to be atoned for by "satisfactions" and "merits" of the sinner's own, and through the entrance of this idea of "satisfaction" (Tertullian) a mischievous turn was given to the act of contrition which led to its development later into the full-blown "sacrament" of penance. The term of probation was unduly prolonged (often for three or four years); penitents were grouped into classes (weepers, hearers, kneelers, standers), and the abasement required was public and severe (*e.g.* in the first stage of his humiliation the penitent had to prostrate himself outside the Church door in mourning garb imploring restoration). It is well known how far this doctrine of penance was subsequently carried in the Church of Rome. History will not readily forget Henry IV. at Canossa, or the flagellations of Henry II. of England at the tomb of A Becket.

More familiar, because more conspicuous, is the form which asceticism assumed in *Monasticism*. This is, if one may so speak, the peculiar creation and classical embodiment of the ascetic spirit. Monasticism is not of Christian origin, but springs from tendencies inherent in human nature in all ages. It is found, *e.g.* in Brahmanism and Buddhism, among the Therapeutæ in Egypt, the Essenes in Palestine, and elsewhere. It began in Christianity about the end of the third century, and took root and spread with extraordinary rapidity in the fourth. The two names specially connected with its rise are those of Antony and Pachomius—the former the founder of the *solitary* (anchorite, hermit), the latter of the *social* (cœnobite), types of monkery respectively. Earlier than Antony was a hermit named Paul, who had retired to the desert from the fury of the Decian persecution (A.D. 250). Antony (A.D. 251–356) was the son of wealthy parents. Voluntarily surrendering his possessions, he betook himself to solitudes in the desert of the Thebaid in Egypt, and soon attained unprecedented repute. He gathered round him an enormous number of disciples, who, after his model, lived apart, each in his separate cell. Pachomius, likewise a native of the Thebaid (A.D. 292–348), after twelve years spent as a hermit, was moved to found a society of his own on an island of the Nile. This grew till, by the time of his death, it embraced eight monasteries with 3000 members. By the beginning of next century the number of monks had risen to 50,000. The society of Pachomius differed from the hermit monasticism of Antony in that it introduced the principle of monks living together under a common rule. The monks lived in cells containing each three, and these were grouped into monasteries, each governed by an abbot. The sister of Pachomius introduced similar societies for women, the inmates of which were called *nuns*. In these monkish

fraternities the principles of asceticism were enforced in their utmost rigour. Not only was celibacy required, but the life was one of continuous hardship and privation. Absolute silence, *e.g.*, was enjoined on the monks of Pachomius; nor were they ever allowed to take off their goatskin dress, but had to sleep with their clothes on, and in a sitting posture. The hermits subsisted on the scantiest fare, slept on the bare ground, declined ablutions, &c. Whatever higher motives led to this renunciation of the secular life, the ultimate results of a system so contrary to nature could not but be pernicious. The monastic mania soon ran into the most fantastic excesses of self-inflicted privation. Some, *e.g.*, known as *boskoi*, or grazers, lived like wild beasts on the mountains, without shelter, almost without clothing, feeding on grass, herbs, and roots. But perhaps the most curious type of monkish extravagance was that of the *stylites*, or pillar-saints, in the beginning of the fifth century. The originator of this form of fanaticism was Symeon, a Syrian, who built for himself a succession of pillars, each higher than the former, and lived on them for more than thirty-seven years. His rôle was taken up by a monk called Daniel, who built a pillar in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and lived on it for thirty years. Such strange delusions could men entertain of what was pleasing to Deity!

It was not long before monasticism had spread, not only through Egypt, but into Palestine and Syria, and even into Mesopotamia and Armenia. The chief name connected with its entrance into Palestine is that of Hilarion. In the West, it was introduced into Rome by Athanasius and Jerome, and into Gaul by Martin of Tours. Basil the Great, one of the renowned Fathers of the fourth century, established a monastery in Pontus, and gave his monks a rule, which afterwards became the rule of the whole East. The Fathers of the age threw all the weight of their influence into the monastic form of piety —"the philosophic life," as it was sometimes called. Many of the monks were no doubt sincere and good men (for a picture of the better side, see Kingsley's *Hypatia*); but the evils of the system soon overpowered its better elements. The monks were generally intensely ignorant, turbulent, and fanatical; mixing themselves up as they did with doctrinal and other controversies, they soon became a positive peril in society. Discipline was relaxed; degeneracy set in; and, in the state of unsettlement everywhere prevailing, the monkish Orders fell in the fifth century into decay and barbarism.

It was then that Benedict of Nursia, in Italy (A.D. 480–545?), arose—he who gave his name to the Benedictine order. Himself an ascetic of the strictest order (when he first came to be known he was taken for a wild beast), his rule was nevertheless somewhat milder than the Eastern, and provided for the monks engaging in manual occupations—agriculture, or some form of useful industry. "The Benedictine monks," says Guizot, "were the agriculturists of Europe; they cleared it on a large scale, associating agriculture with preaching." Part of the monks were employed in the training of children: in the monastery of Vivarium, in Lower Italy, founded by Cassiodorus (A.D. 538) special encouragement was given to learned studies. The Order thus founded rapidly spread over all Europe, and soon had absorbed into itself all other forms of monasticism, the Celtic alone excepted. With the growth of wealth and repute, corruption again set in, and by the time of Charlemagne (ninth century), morality in monasteries and convents was at a very low ebb. A new check was attempted to be put to these evils by a second Benedict—Benedict of Aniane (about A.D. 817)—but his austerities were so severe that he frightened his own followers. "He macerated his body," we are told, "with excessive fasting, his dress was of rags, swarming with vermin, he took little sleep and that on the bare ground, he never bathed, he courted derision and insult as a madman." The tenth century is one of the darkest in the history of the Papacy, but it saw also the beginnings of reform. From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries were founded most of the New Monastic Orders—some, like the Brethren of Clugny (A.D. 910) and its great rival Order, the Cistercians (A.D. 1098), reformed offshoots of the Benedictines; others like the Carthusians (A.D. 1086), distinguished for the rigour of their rule, entirely new Orders. In the thirteenth century were constituted the Mendicant Orders—the Franciscans (A.D. 1223) and Dominicans (A.D. 1216)—who lived on charitable gifts either paid voluntarily into their cloisters, or collected by monks sent out for the purpose. Once again the law of corruption asserted itself, and by the time of the Reformation the monasteries all over Europe were in a state of unspeakable demoralisation. Nor can the evils of the monastic system ever be thoroughly eradicated from it. In many countries monasteries and convents are still the abodes of idleness, tyranny, and vice; and though in a country like Britain, public opinion exercises a salutary restraint, numerous instances that come to light show that the unnatural repression of the ascetic life cannot be prevented from bearing many evil fruits.

Intimately connected with monasticism is the subject of *celibacy*. The vow of celibacy

is taken by all monks, and in the Latin Communion is made a requirement of the whole clergy. In the Greek Church priests cannot marry after ordination, but if married earlier are allowed to live in matrimony. It was not without a long contest that this rule of the celibacy of the clergy came to prevail in the Church of Rome (its decisive victory is due to Hildebrand); and the fruits of the practice in licentiousness and concubinage formed one of the crying scandals of Christendom before the Reformation.

Finally, notice should be taken of the *self-inflicted tortures* frequently practised by those aiming at higher holiness under ascetic rule. The records of monasticism show the extremes to which self-mortification can go in starvation, vigils, sleeping on cold floors, scourging, wearing articles fitted to inflict pain, &c. In times of popular excitement the passion for self-torture has infected communities and become a species of madness (*e.g.* the Flagellants of the fourteenth century). Saintly men and women have sought to further their soul's health by wearing hair shirts, dropping melted wax on their arms, &c. (*e.g.* Pascal and his sister). One would be glad to record that such practices were things of the past, but this unhappily is far from being the case. The Catholic revival in the Anglican Church has led to a recrudescence of this whole class of superstitions, and the "discipline" of monkish asceticism is strenuously advocated and encouraged by those who desire the restoration of the confessional and other adjuncts of sacerdotalism. We have before us the advertisement, with prices, of penitential articles, including knotted ropes, hair shirts, crosses with steel points, armlets, cinctures, and anklets with points, issued by a leading London house. Dr. Pusey's avowal to Dr. Keble, his father Confessor, will be remembered: "Haircloth I know not how to make pain. . . . I have it on again by God's mercy. I would try to get some sharper sort . . . I think I should like to be bid to use the discipline" (scourge: *Life*, iii. p. 100). It is depressing to think that such barbarism should again be lifting up its head in the name of Christianity.

The whole ideal of asceticism, as seen in its historical manifestations, is a false one. It is a heathenish notion that suffering as such can ever be pleasing to the God of love, or can be a means of expiating sin, acquiring merit, or fostering holiness. The one all-perfect sacrifice needs no supplement of ours. The misguided crushing out of natural instinct can only breed worse evils. The Christ who came both eating and drinking, who graced the marriage feast with His presence, and who declared "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," can lend no sanction to most of the practices that come under this head, or to the ideas and ends that inspire them. [J. O.]

ASHES.—Used for sprinkling persons by the Romish Church. Before use, the ashes are dedicated previously by a special prayer offered by a bishop. In that prayer, invocation is made to God "that whosoever shall sprinkle themselves with these ashes for the redemption of their sins may obtain health of body and protection of soul."

ASH-WEDNESDAY.—A mediæval title given to the first day of Lent. It had formerly two names: (1) "Caput jejunii," the "head of the fast," and (2) "Dies cinerum." The forty days of Lent, being appointed in memory of our Lord's fast in the wilderness as a season of abstinence, date from the Wednesday of the first week, because it was never the custom to fast on Sundays, and in this way the full number of forty is made up. The name of "Ash-Wednesday" was given in reference to an ancient discipline, described by Gratian, according to which penitents had to appear before the Bishop and Clergy clothed in sackcloth. The seven penitential Psalms were then sung, after which ashes were thrown upon them, and they covered their heads with sackcloth. The Church of England, however, has in no way retained or sanctioned those superstitions. By the Scriptures appointed to be read and the prayers to be used, she has rather exhibited the true ideal of a fast. The old title of Ash-Wednesday is only employed as an alternative for the "first day of Lent," because before the Reformation it was "commonly so called." The revival of such practices is therefore entirely foreign to her prescribed ritual and is illegal.

ASPERGES.—The ceremony of sprinkling the people with Holy Water before the Romish High Mass. The name is taken from the first word of the Latin Version of Ps. li. 7, and signifies, "sprinkle (me)."

Before the Reformation the priest, after blessing the water before the Sunday morning service, went round and sprinkled the people with a bunch of hyssop, whilst the choir sang, "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."

ASPERSION.—A sprinkling. The term describes a mode of administering Holy Baptism to infants sometimes adopted in place of pouring or dipping. But that mode of baptizing is not authorised by the Church of England.

ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.—A mediæval festival. The *Ritual Reason Why* regrets that the feasts of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Corpus Christi, and St. Thomas of Canterbury have

been "removed from the Church's Kalendar by order of Henry VIII. without canonical authority, and not since restored." The *Congregation in Church* states that "the feast of the Assumption is kept on August 15. It commemorates the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A common name for this festival in the Kalendar of the Eastern Church is the *Koimēsis* of the Blessed Virgin Mary (a Greek word meaning 'the falling asleep'). The Roman Church teaches that her body as well as her soul was taken up to heaven." There is much in this statement which is misleading. The feast of the Assumption is *not* kept in the Church of England, and does not commemorate the death of St. Mary, but the taking up of her body into heaven. The words *Koimēsis* and Assumption are not interchangeable, as *Koimēsis* means no more than "falling asleep," while Assumption means much more. The history of the institution of this festival is as follows :—

There were legends, theories, and speculations of the Gnostics on almost all things in heaven and earth in the early centuries, and among them were stories first about St. Mary's Birth (*Protevangelium* and the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*) and at a rather later date about her death. The latter took form in a book written about the beginning of the fourth century, or possibly a little earlier, called *De Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber*. The legend embodied in this book told how St. Mary lived at Bethlehem after her Son's death until an angel came to say that she must die; then she was wafted in a cloud to Jerusalem and carried by the Apostles to Gethsemane, where her soul was received by Gabriel and taken to Paradise; but the Apostles bore her body to the Valley of Jehoshaphat and laid it in a new tomb; then suddenly the Lord Christ appeared, and ordering Michael to bring back her soul from Paradise, reunited it to her body and gave her to angels to convey to heaven. The Church knew that this was an idle fable and regarded it as they did the worship of St. Mary by the Collyridians. "The whole thing," they said, "is foolish and strange, and is a device and deceit of the devil" (Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxxix.). And the book was condemned by Pope Gelasius as heretical in the year 494. Nevertheless, this Gnostic tale was by-and-by imported into the Church, and upon it rests the present Roman doctrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The chief means by which this was done was forgery. First men assigned the name of an orthodox author to the heretical *De Transitu*, and called it a work of Melito's, who was a well-known Bishop of Sardis in the second century. Next they grew bolder and attril it to St. John the Apostle. Then two Ser affirming the Assumption were foisted int works of St. Athanasius, and a treatis *Assumptione Beatæ Virginis Mariae* was ass to St. Augustine, and a spurious letter attributed to St. Jerome, *Ad Paulum et Eusto de Assumptione Beatæ Virginis*, and an i tion was interpolated into Eusebius' *Chr* that "some wrote that it had been rev to them that Mary the Virgin was taken heaven in the year 48," and the very wor the *De Transitu* were put into the mou Juvenal of Jerusalem as having been rec by him from "an ancient and most tru dition." Amid the darkness which beg gather over the Church in the sixth ce and increased century by century, thes geries led some writers honestly to belie Gnostic and Collyridian legend on the sup authority of Melito, Athanasius, Eus Augustine, Jerome, Juvenal, or even St. The first writer that we meet with wh thus misled is Gregory of Tours, a m learning, but of little judgment. He li the sixth century, and copied the *De Tr* story without apparently any knowledge heretical parentage. Andrew of Crete d same thing in the seventh century, and Damascene in the eighth. From them i handed on to Nicephorus Callistus i thirteenth century and to the compilers Roman Breviary, where it holds its place Services for August 15. Nicephorus say the Festival of the Assumption was inst by the Emperor Maurice at the beginni the seventh century. It was not acknowl by Charlemagne at the beginning of the century, but was admitted by his son in 818. This is the festival which the *Reason Why* says "is kept" on Augu evidently meaning that it is kept and to be kept by members of the Church than or besides those belonging to the C of Rome. We see that it is nothing els an heretical fable.

The following is an abridgment o later part of the Gnostic fairy-tale b over into the Church by Gregory of adopted by the mediæval Church, and t typed in the Breviary and Missal Servi August 15th :—

"In the twenty-second year after the . sion of the Lord, Mary felt her heart bur an inexpressible longing to be with he and behold an angel appeared to he announced that her soul should be tal from her body on the third day, and he a palm branch from Paradise in her ha desired that it should be carried befo And Mary besought that the Apostles

be gathered round her before she died; and all of them were snatched away in a bright cloud and found themselves at Jerusalem. And Gabriel stood at blessed Mary's head and Michael at her feet and they fanned her with their wings, and Peter and John wiped away her tears. Then on the sixth day of the week the Holy Spirit commanded the Apostles to take up Mary and to carry her from Jerusalem to Gethsemane. Then drew near Juphia, one of the high priests, and attempted to overthrow the litter. But as soon as Juphia had touched the litter, the angel smote off his arms with a fiery sword, and the arms remained fastened to the litter. Then he cried to the disciples and Peter for help, and they said, 'Ask it of the Lady Mary,' and he cried, 'O Lady, O Mother of Salvation, have mercy on me!' Then she said to Peter, 'Give him back his arms,' and they were restored whole. But the disciples proceeded onwards and they laid her down in a cave, as they were commanded. And the angel Gabriel announced that on the first day of the week Mary's soul should be removed from this world. And on the morning there came Eve and Anna and Elizabeth and they kissed Mary and told her who they were. Afterwards came Adam, Seth, Shem, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Enoch, Elias, Moses, and twelve chariots of angels innumerable. And then appeared the Lord Christ in His humanity, and He stretched out His hand and blessed her, and she took His hand and kissed it. Then she said, 'O Lord, take me to Thyself.' And He said to her, 'Now shall thy body be in Paradise to the day of the resurrection, but thy pure spirit shall shine in the Kingdom, in the dwelling-place of My Father's fulness.' And Mary stretched out her hands and blessed the Apostles, and her Son put forth His hands and received her pure soul and bore it to His Father's treasure-house. And there was a light and a sweet smell, sweeter than anything on earth, and a voice from heaven saying, 'Hail, blessed one! blessed and celebrated art thou among women!

"And the Apostles carried the body to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to a place which the Lord had told them of, and John went before and carried the palm branch. And they placed her in a new tomb and sat at the entrance of the sepulchre. And suddenly there appeared the Lord Christ, surrounded by a multitude of angels. And Peter and the Apostles besought Him that He would raise the body of Mary and take it with Him in glory to heaven. And the Saviour said, 'Be it according to your word!' And He commanded Michael to bring down the soul of Mary. And Gabriel rolled away the stone, and the Lord said, 'Rise up, My beloved, thy body shall not suffer corruption in the tomb.' And immediately Mary arose and bowed herself at His feet and worshipped, and the Lord kissed her and gave her to the angels to carry to Paradise. But Thomas arrived just after these things were accomplished, and he demanded to see the sepulchre in which they had laid his Lady. 'For ye know,' said he, 'that I am Thomas, and unless I see I will not believe.' Then Peter arose in wrath and haste, and the other disciples with him, and they opened the sepulchre and went in; but they found nothing therein save that in which her body had been wrapped. Then Thomas confessed that he too, as he was being borne from India in the cloud, had seen her holy body being carried with great triumph into heaven; and that, on his crying to her for her blessing, she had bestowed upon him her precious Girdle, which when the Apostles saw they were glad. Then the Apostles were carried back each to his own place." [F. M.]

ATHANASIAN CREED (*Quicunque vult*)—This ancient confession of faith which, as our Prayer Book says, is "commonly called the creed of St. Athanasius," is not now supposed to have been written by the great Greek Father but by some Latin divine of the fifth century. The difference of opinion as to its authorship has been wide. Baronius, Cardinal Bona, Bellarmine, Rivet, Bishop Andrewes, and others say that they believe it to have been composed by Athanasius himself when an exile in the West. Bishop Jewel says it was written, as some think, by Athanasius, or as some others by Eusebius Vercellensis. Bishops Usher and Pearson and Hamon Lestrange and Cave all ascribe it to a Latin author. Waterland refers the Creed to Hilary, Abbot of Lerins and afterwards Bishop of Arles, and places the date about A.D. 430. But Bingham says the best and latest critics of his day ascribed it to Vigilius of Thapsus, an African bishop who lived at the latter end of the fifth century. Their arguments are: 1. The Creed is wanting in almost all the MSS. of the works of Athanasius; 2. The style is that of a Latin not a Greek author; 3. Neither Cyril of Alexandria, nor the Council of Ephesus, nor Pope Leo, nor the Council of Chalcedon have even so much as mentioned it; 4. Vigilius published other works under the borrowed name of Athanasius (Bingham, iii. 374; Wetzer and Welte, *Dict: Tit. Foi, symbole de*). This last fact would account for the pertinacity with which the name "Athanasian Creed" has adhered to this symbol. It is also curious, if the Creed had been written by Athanasius of Alexandria, that its general use should have been practically confined to the Western Church and should date only from

about the ninth century, and that Athanasius' favourite expression "consubstantial" should not appear in it (see views of Montfaucon expounded by Ffoulkes, *App.* 16 and *sqq.*).

Of modern savants, Professors Swainson, Lumby, and Harnack have advocated "the two portions" theory, *i.e.* that the Creed originally consisted of two parts, the former on the Trinity and the latter on the Incarnation, and that the whole is a compilation which assumed its present form in the ninth century. The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes also looks upon it as a compilation not an original work, and attributes its present form to Paulinus, Archbishop or Patriarch of Aquileia in the ninth century, the damnatory clauses being due to Charlemagne. The Rev. Preb. Ommanney and Dr. Heurtley maintain that the Creed was extant complete as at present in the fifth century. And lastly, the Rev. A. E. Burn, writing in 1896, also rejects the "two portions" theory and practically adopts the view of Waterland. He attributes the Creed to a Gallican student of St. Augustine connected with Lerins and Arles, but thinks that the actual author was Honoratus and not Hilary.

The Creed was composed with a view to defining the Catholic faith, having especial regard to certain theological disputes which had troubled the Church up to the date of its composition; and the omission of certain of these disputes is a material factor in determining its date. Thus the following heresies are aimed at, viz., those of the Monarchians, Patripassians, Sabellians, Arians, Semi-Arians, Adoptionists, Docetae, Apollinarians, Monophysites, Monothelites, Nestorians, Eutychians, Montanists, and Macedonians (Daniel *On the Prayer Book*, and for particulars of these heresies, see separate headings).

Our Reformers thought highly of the Athanasian Creed and introduced it into the Prayer Book of 1549 for recital (possibly in addition to the Apostles' Creed) on the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday. In 1552 (the Second Prayer Book of Edward) seven other occasions were added, and in 1662 its recital was ordered to be instead of the Apostles' Creed. Archbishop Whitgift considered it "not only an excellent confutation of Arius' heresy but a plain declaration of the mystery of the Trinity such as is necessary for all Christian men to learn and know" (*Works*, ii. 481). The eighth Article of religion declares that it ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. The French Protestant Church also approves of it as being agreeable to the written Word of God (Bingham, ix. 142). On the other hand many persons strongly disapprove of the damnatory clauses, and indeed they form no part of the positive teaching and are characteristic of the age rather than portions of the gospel. However, it would seem to be very reasonable that the anathemas should be omitted as has been done in the case of the Nicene Creed. In addition a large party in the Church of England has always been desirous that the use of the whole Creed should be made optional, not because they disbelieve it, but because they consider it quite unsuitable for liturgical use (see *Earnest Remonstrance against the Recital of the Athanasian Creed:* Ridgeway, 1886). In the proposed revision of 1688 a rubric was drawn up declaring that "the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith"; but this revision, excellent in many ways, unfortunately never took effect. The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States eliminated the Athanasian Creed from Articles and Prayer Book. In the Church of Ireland its use in the public services of the Church is no longer permitted (except as a hymn), though it is still printed in the Prayer Book. It has been thought by some that the objections to the Creed might be removed by means of a revised translation, and a motion on the subject was carried by Canon Stanbridge in York Convocation in February 1901. But it is difficult to see what good this will effect. The change of "whosoever will be saved" into "whosoever *willeth* to be *safe*" *e.g.*, is hardly likely to remove a conscientious objection to this mediæval Creed.

An important recommendation was made in the *Fourth Report of the Ritual Commission*, p. 13, that a note should be added at the end of the Creed to the effect "that the condemnations in this Confession of Faith are to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic Faith." [B. W.]

ATONEMENT.—This is a strictly English word [*at-one-ment*], and may signify either the fact itself of *being* or *setting at one*, or the means or agency whereby the difference which once separated two parties has been healed and a good understanding effected. Thus, in ordinary parlance, when used in a religious sense, atonement is spoken of as either the reconciliation which has taken place between God and man, or the death of Christ which is the procuring cause of it. Frequently, too, the word atonement is viewed as the comprehensive term by which both the sacrifice of Christ and the effects flowing from it are embraced and expressed. Such usage of the word causes confusion of thought and leads to doctrinal error. It is by far the safer course

to restrict the term *atonement* (and we intend to do so throughout this article) to the sacrificial work of Christ in His humiliation, suffering, and death; and to reserve the words *reconciliation* and *redemption* to the blessed consequences which flow from that atonement. By marking the distinction between these three terms important aspects of truth are brought out. For example, it is God, not man, who receives the atonement, but believers who receive the reconciliation through Christ. Again, atonement takes effect by changing the relations of God towards the guilty; redemption by changing the relation of the guilty towards God: atonement is the price paid for the redemption of the Church; redemption the freedom of the Church which was itself purchased by the atonement.

Besides observing the fundamental differences between atonement and reconciliation and redemption, it is helpful to make ourselves acquainted with the family group of words—such as expiation, propitiation, satisfaction, sacrifice—of which atonement stands at the head, and the various phases of the Saviour's work to which they respectively allude. *Expiation* is the enduring of the full penalty due to a wrong or crime, and forms the ground for the pardoning of the offender. *Propitiation* is an offering, action, or sacrifice that makes the governing power propitious towards the offender, and presents a reason or motive for pardoning the sinner. Expiation has immediate reference to the condition of the offender; propitiation to the disposition of the judge. Again, *Satisfaction* denotes the rendering a full legal equivalent for the wrong done. Propitiation appeases the lawgiver; satisfaction meets the requirement of the law; although both terms equally imply the deliverance of the wrong-doer. Once more, atonement is oftentimes convertible with sacrifice, the latter term being then used figuratively. They both necessarily involve a compensative principle and a retributive process, mercifully turned aside from those on whom it should have fallen because entirely directed towards and rigorously exacted from another.

The consideration of the meaning and use of atonement would not be complete without noticing its Hebrew and Greek equivalents. The Hebrew word כִּפֶּר, *kipper* (of which "to atone" is a translation), signifying primarily "to cover," "overspread." The word comes, however, in the secondary sense, to signify to *atone*, to *appease*, to *pacify*, to *procure favour* (Gen. xxxii. 20; Num. xvi. 46, 47; Prov. xvii. 14; Ezek. xvi. 63), because the effect of these is to cover, or, in Scripture meaning, to remit offences. Under the law all ceremonial propitiation was effected by sprinkling or covering over with the blood of sacrifice when shed. "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean" (Ps. li. 7) is evidently metonymy of the instrumental cause. The bunch of hyssop (the caper plant, *Caparis spinosa*) is put for the blood which it was employed to sprinkle—and the petition signifies "purge (or cleanse) me by the sprinkling (or covering) of the blood of sacrifice." In accordance with this meaning of the word, the Septuagint renders it by ἐξιλάσκεσθαι, "to appease," *to make propitious*, the word which, in its uncompounded form, is employed in the New Testament with regard to the object of the Saviour's death (Heb. ii. 17), and which, as a noun (ἱλασμός), occurs in 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10. In Rom. v. 11 the Greek word is not ἱλασμός, but καταλλαγή, and should be rendered not *atonement*, as in A.V., but "reconciliation," as in R.V.

Having explained the proper signification of the word, we are now prepared to consider the doctrine of the atonement and describe its nature as far as revealed in the Scriptures. In approaching this part of the subject it is advisable to briefly state a few well-known facts respecting reconciliation generally, before treating the complicated problems connected with the fall of man and his restoration. It will be readily admitted that in order to restore friendly relations which have been interrupted, there are two courses which can be taken. The first is that the parties estranged may directly approach each other, either the offending party may come to the offended, or else the offended to the offending. The second course is that of mediation, when a third party, either at his own prompting or at the request of one or other or both of the parties, endeavours to bring about an amicable settlement. The difficulties in the way of effecting reconciliation are increased when the two parties estranged are not on an equality, and especially when one of the parties is a sovereign. In this latter instance the offended has to consider the conduct of the offender not merely in relation to himself personally, but to his other subjects, whose rights and interests have to be taken into account. Further complications arise when the offender has incurred the displeasure of the sovereign, not through some passing circumstance or unpremeditated action, but when he has been born into a position of active hostility which he has maintained by his own deliberate act and deed. In such a case it is obvious that other than benevolent sentiments must influence the offended party in order to secure a perfect reconciliation. Provision must be made for the removal of the guilt incurred by the offender (such as may be consistent with the character, dignity, and majesty of the offended party), and also

for the removal of his aversion and alienation. This provision will be an atonement in some form or other.

Now, if we keep in mind the above recognised and common-sense principles, we shall have little difficulty in understanding the Word of God respecting the atoning work of Christ. We require, however, so to study the subject that the teaching of the Old and New Testaments be read in relation to each other, and then interpret the language used upon natural principles and without subtle refinements and rationalistic attempts to explain away Divine mysteries.

The general teaching of the Old Testament upon atonement may be well summed up by the enunciation of the principle that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin, no acceptance of the worshipper, no restoration to the Divine favour. Respecting the Levitical sacrificial system, nothing can be plainer to a reader of a simple and unsophisticated mind than that two principles were distinctly exhibited. The first of these was that "there was something in the character and government of God which objectively (that is, in itself) presented a hindrance to the obtaining of pardon, or getting anew into a state of favour and fellowship with Heaven." Then, secondarily, corresponding to this recognised and real obstacle, there was prescribed for its removal "the sacrificial substitution of an animal's life for the forfeited life of the sinner—a substitution appointed by God, and presented by the sinner who sought to be atoned." Combining these two ideas, we have as the total import of the sacrifice: satisfaction by substitution.

In perfect harmony with these typical adumbrations is the language of the New Testament, in which the atoning work of Christ is exhibited in a fourfold light.

First and foremost, the atonement is represented by means of *sacrificial* analogies. It is described as *a work of priestly mediation*, which reconciles God to man, removing enmity, not from the offending but from the offended party (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 19; Heb. ix. 11, 12); a *sin-offering*, presented on behalf of transgressors (John i. 29; Heb. ix. 14, 22-26; 1 Peter i. 18, 19); a *propitiation*, which satisfies the demands of violated holiness (Rom. iii. 25, 26; Heb. ii. 17; 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10); and a *substitution* of Christ's obedience and sufferings for ours (John x. 11; Rom. v. 6-8; 1 Peter iii. 18; *cf.* Isa. liii. 5, 6).

The atonement is also represented by means of *legal* analogies, being mentioned as an *act of obedience to the law* which sinners had violated (Rom. v. 19, x. 4; Gal. iv. 4); a *penalty* borne in order to rescue the guilty (Rom. iv. 25, viii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21; Heb. ix. 28); and an *exhibition of God's righteousness*, necessary to the vindication of His procedure in the pardon and restoration of sinners (Rom. iii. 25, 26; Heb. ix. 15).

The atonement is further represented by means of *commercial* analogies, being, for instance, regarded as a *ransom*, paid to free us from the bondage of sin (Matt. xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 6).

Lastly, the atonement is represented by means of *moral* analogies, and is viewed as a *provision originating in God's love* and manifesting this love to the universe (John iii. 16; Rom. v. 8; 1 John iv. 9); an *example of unparalleled* love, to secure our deliverance from selfishness, and furnishing a source of moral stimulus to men (Luke ix. 22-24; 2 Cor. v. 15; Gal. i. 4; Eph. v. 25-27; Col. i. 21, 22; Tit. ii. 14; I Peter ii. 21-24). See Strong's *Systematic Theology*, pp. 390-393.

When carefully examined these fourfold analogical representations will be found to be capable of a further classification. The first three relations—the sacrificial, legal, and commercial—refer to the principle of *Divine justice*, and may for convenience' sake be called the *Vicarious*, or *Substitutionary*, aspects of the atonement. The fourth relation—the *moral*—forms a class by itself and refers to the principle of *Divine love*.

If, then, the Word of God is to be our guide, no description of the atonement can be adequate which does not properly combine both the *substitutionary* and the *moral* aspects, or which does not assign the first place in order of thought to the former, to which such scriptural prominence is given. As right interpreters of the Word, we must not speak of the *substitutionary* aspect of the atoning work of Christ without bearing in mind its *moral*; and much less ought we to lay such stress on the moral aspects as to lose sight of the substitutionary.

The early Fathers, and in fact more or less the doctrinal writers who followed them up to the time of the Schoolmen beginning with Anselm, make use of the scriptural expressions concerning Christ's work without developing any theory. Nevertheless as we find there is among those Fathers and writers so much confusion and haziness of thought upon the subject, and in our day so much defective, inaccurate, and oftentimes erroneous teaching, it seems imperatively necessary to carefully formulate our views. This, perhaps, may best be done by the aid of the two following propositions:—

Firstly, Christ obeyed and suffered in our stead to satisfy an inherent demand of the Divine holiness and justice, and to uphold the principles of the Divine government, and thus

to remove an obstacle in the Divine mind to the pardon and restoration of the guilty.

Secondly, the sacrifice of Christ furnishes the most powerful stimulus to effect such a change in man's disposition as will fit him to return to God; and since the saving benefits resulting from such return are received only by union with Christ, the Redeemer and Head of mankind, holiness of life is secured.

With our limited powers, and owing to the veil which has been designedly allowed to conceal Divine verities, we cannot furnish a full explanation of the redemptive plan nor give complete replies to all speculative objections that have been raised against it. But the following considerations will be found to anticipate several difficulties which may be experienced in regard to the doctrine as above stated:—

First, the problem which had to be solved in the redemption of mankind was in what way mercy could be extended to offending creatures, the subjects of the Divine government, without encouraging vice by lowering the righteous and holy character of God and the authority of His government, in the maintenance of which the whole universe of beings is interested.

Secondly, Christ's Incarnation and Death on the Cross did not procure God's love to us, but were the result and manifestation of that love.

Thirdly, Christ, though personally innocent, yet, as the Saviour of His people, was so involved with us in the consequences of the fall, that the guilt and penalty of the race belonged to Him to bear.

Fourthly, Christ could justly bear the penalty, because in a sense, as the Son of Man, He may be said to have taken upon Himself and inherited our guilt. Since this guilt is not His personal guilt, but the guilt of that one sin in which "all sinned," the guilt of the common trangressions of the race in Adam—the guilt of the root-sin from which all other sins have sprung—He who is personally pure and immaculate can vicariously bear the penalty due to the sin of all.

Fifthly, Christ's death satisfied the interests of God's government because it satisfied that justice of God, of which government is an expression.

Sixthly, the infinite dignity of Christ, as the Divine Eternal Son of the Divine Eternal Father Himself, "God over all blessed for evermore," enhances His sufferings for the sins of all His blood-bought people. This is an infinitely valuable offering, and therefore a full equivalent in the eye of infinite justice.

Seventhly, Christ's death was the crowning act of a perfectly holy life. His active obedience and His passive obedience are inseparable. The latter is essential to the former; and both are needed to secure for the sinner, on the one hand, pardon, and on the other hand restoration to the Divine favour.

Eighthly, Christ's taking our nature upon Him and suffering for us in our stead was His own voluntary act. He was so one with us that His acts are not to be viewed as His own, in a merely individual capacity, but as those of the human race whom He represented and who are summed up in Him as the second Adam—the Lord from heaven.

We need to be on our guard against destroying the comfort of the scriptural teaching of the atonement by the doctrine of human merit, and forgetting that salvation is all of grace from the first to the last step in the life of the believer. *Faith*, for instance, must not be regarded as the ground of our acceptance with God, but only the medium of appropriation. We are saved, not *on account of* (*propter*) faith, but only *through* (*per*) faith. It is not faith, but the atonement which faith accepts, that satisfies the justice of God. Nor must we consent to the doctrine of Rome that the *good works* of the just merit an eternal reward, and that God accepts sinners "because they are renewed by grace of Christ, and that He accounts them just and good because they really had become just and good, because Himself had washed and cleansed them and reformed their nature more wonderfully than He had formed it at the first." Such false teaching arises through confusing Justification with Sanctification, and overlooking the fact that good works which follow after justification, though they are the evidence of faith, pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, yet cannot "*endure the severity of God's judgment*" (Article XII.). Not upon faith, repentance or good works, nor yet upon anything else than the atoning death of Christ dare we rest our hopes of heaven. In Christ alone we stand complete. Once again, we must not take from the completeness of the atonement by denying its finality. The officiating minister does not in the Sacrament repeat, continue, or re-enact the sacrifice on Calvary (Heb. x. 10-14). See MASS.

As the atonement is perfect and cannot be added to or altered without destroying its efficacy, so also it is sufficient for salvation for all who by grace receive it. If men perish they will have to blame themselves for their wilful opposition to God and refusal to turn to Him. But we here approach the borderland of a deep and mysterious subject, and a favourite and fruitful field of controversy. Whatever view, however, Christians may take as to the extent of the atonement, there is a general agreement in the doctrine that it secures for all men a delay in the execution of the sentence against sin, and a space for repent-

ance, together with a continuance of the common blessings of life which have been forfeited by transgression (Acts xvii. 30, 31; Rom. iii. 25). See PARTICULAR REDEMPTION.

In regard to the doctrine of the atonement at the present time, there is great danger of incautious, inaccurate, and incomplete statement respecting it, and an inclination to lay almost exclusive stress upon what are valuable but subsidiary aspects of the redemptive work of Christ. No doubt it may at times be useful to let our minds dwell upon the death of Christ as that of a noble martyr in the cause of truth, or as the manifestation of God in Christ suffering for the sins of His creatures. Helpful, too, it may be, as some imagine, to contemplate our Lord in our nature acknowledging our sins and the justness of our exclusion from the Divine favour; and to think of Him as affording to the whole human family, a perfect example of obedience to the Divine will, "an obedience climbing to its highest pinnacle in an unflinching submission to death." Certainly it is desirable to sit at the foot of the Cross and realise the love of God in Christ when our hearts feel cold and earthbound, and thus to find an incentive to return to our heavenly Father and enjoy unbroken fellowship. But such uses of the death of Christ depend alike for their value and comfort upon our first of all regarding His sacrificial work from the true standpoint, and resting upon His atonement, as such, for our one hope of Divine acceptance. [C. N.]

ATTRITION.—A term defined by Roman theologians as an imperfect sorrow for sin, and distinguished from "Contrition" or sorrow for sin, which has for its motive the love of God. Attrition is said to arise from a motive which is supernatural, that is to say, apprehended by faith, but still falls short of contrition. Such motives are the fear of Hell, the love of Heaven, the turpitude of sin. Attrition is declared by the Council of Trent (Sess. xiv. c. 4) to be "a true gift of God and an impulse of the Holy Spirit." But the question was long debated by Casuists whether, if a man came in attrition to the Sacrament of Penance and received absolution, he was restored to God's favour. At present the opinion is universally held that attrition with penance suffices. Liguori calls it certain (*Catholic Dictionary*, sub voce). Such a doctrine is indeed dangerous. Bishop Jeremy Taylor said: "Therefore there is no necessity of contrition at all, and attrition is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon; and a little repentance will prevail as well as the greatest, the imperfect as well as the perfect." But all these quibbles and subtle distinctions vanish like mists of earth before the shining of God's full and free forgiveness in Christ, and are scattered by the assurance, "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light. . . . the blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin." See CONTRITION and ABSOLUTION.

AUGUSTINE.—See FATHERS.

AUREOLE.—The nimbus, halo, or cloudy circle of (properly, according to the etymology of the word, *golden coloured*) rays with which in art the head of Christ or of saints is represented as surrounded. It originated in the metal discs by which the images of the gods were in pagan times protected from defilement by birds. In the Romish Church the word also has the significance of a special "accidental" reward bestowed in heaven upon martyrs, virgins, and doctor.

AURICULAR.—Pertaining to the ear, told in the ear, secret. See CONFESSION.

AURORA.—*Dawn.* In the Romish Church the dawn preceding sunrise, before which Mass may not be celebrated, except in cases of grave necessity and on Christmas day (See MASS: and the *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 161).

AUTO DA FÉ.—The Portuguese form of the Spanish *auto de fé*, an act of faith, sometimes called an "auto" or "act" simply. Strictly it is a public declaration of the judgment passed on accused prisoners tried before the Inquisition, which court had cognisance of various ecclesiastical offences, of which heresy was the chief (see INQUISITION). But popularly the word is used to signify the inhuman punishment with which such offences were visited, especially in Spain, *e.g.* flogging, branding, maiming, and burning to death. And it is particularly applied to an execution by burning. It is said that the Spanish tribunals carried out about 50,000 *autos da fé*, and the villainies connected therewith are by no means exaggerated. Napoleon put an end to them in 1808, and used these words, "In Spain as at Rome the Inquisition shall be abolished and the fearful spectacles of *auto da fé* shall not be renewed." In this article we do not deal with the Inquisition, but only with the terrible ceremony during which were burnt with great pomp, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, the victims of the Inquisition.

The day of the *auto da fé* (usually All Saints' Day or a Sunday between Easter and Advent) was a day of triumph for the Inquisitors. It had been announced long before from the pulpits in all parishes. The officers of the "Holy Office," preceded by their banners and escorted by instruments of music, perambulated in cavalcade the public places, to spread the news. Rendezvous having been given to all around the holy wood pyre, woe to any man of position, woe to the grandee of Spain who failed to be there. The King himself, sur-

rounded by his court and the princes of his family, had his place marked in the lugubrious festival, and had to make it a point of honour to increase its splendour by his presence. On the appointed day, a little before dawn, the big bell of the cathedral gave the signal, to which responded the funeral knell of all the bells in the city calling the people to the horrible spectacle, and on all sides people hastened, fearing to be accounted indifferent, or even hostile to the faith by staying away.

Meantime the victims are got ready. Dressed first in a sort of coat the sleeves of which reached to the middle of the hands and in drawers which came down to the feet, they ranged them in file in a corridor of the prison still ignorant of the fate which awaited each, for the Inquisition prided itself on merciful justice; she desired the death of sinners and above all their fortunes, but she did not wish their eternal damnation. Also to induce them to deserve their salvation she had devised this distinction, full of humanity; if at the last moment any confessed their errors and repented they lovingly strangled them before committing them to the flames, while those who persevered and refused to affirm the catholic faith were burnt alive, doubtless to give them a foretaste of the everlasting punishments which await hardened sinners.

On one and all they threw over the shoulders a sort of dalmatic of grey colour called sanbenito, in form like a priest's stole. On this vestment was seen, the portrait of the victim, his name written in red letters, and a description of the crimes for which he was condemned, all coloured red with demons and flames. For those who repented, these flames were reversed towards the earth, but they shot up straight for those who persisted in their errors. The head was covered with a large cap of pasteboard and also decorated with flames and fantastic demons. This cap, ending in a point, resembled a bishop's mitre. Jews, Mohammedans, sorceresses, and renegades, wore dresses of the same shape, made of yellow cloth, exhibiting behind and before great St. Andrew's crosses painted red. It may be said that the grotesque disputed with the horrible. The Inquisitors knew the superstitious spirit of the unhappy countries delivered to their merciless fanaticism, and they struck the imagination and doubled the terror of the punishment by surrounding it with ghastly and ceremonious accessories. There was then placed in the hand of each victim a large taper of yellow wax; then they were made to pass into a hall where the Inquisitor awaited them, surrounded by persons of every class. As each of the victims came in the Inquisitor indicated one of the persons present to serve as his godfather in the "act of faith." They were lastly given a confessor, and about seven in the morning the procession formed in the following order: 1. The Dominicans, whose founder, St. Dominic, was also the founder of the Inquisition, carrying in their midst the banner of the Holy Office, decorated with the image of St. Dominic holding a sword in one hand, and an olive branch in the other, surrounded by this singularly ironical device, *justitia et misericordia*. 2. The victims, walking without distinction of sex in the order of the enormity of their crimes, the most guilty last, head and feet bare, carrying tapers, and accompanied by their sponsors. 3. A great crucifix. 4. The effigies of those who were condemned for non-appearance before the court, or who had been fortunate enough to escape from prison, carried on the top of sticks and clothed with the same vestments as the actual victims. 5. Little boxes painted black covered with demons and flames, containing the bones of dead persons condemned by the tribunal, either before or after their death, and even of those whom the Holy Office had thought it well to accuse long after their death, and to attaint by a posthumous condemnation with the sole object of confiscating their goods and despoiling their heirs, which was done with unwonted rigour. After having thus paraded the principal streets of the city, the sombre cortége arrived at the church designated for the fulfilment of the second part of the ceremony. This church had been carefully draped entirely in black, as well as the altar on which was placed the great crucifix which had been carried in the procession. On a throne at the right the Grand Inquisitor seated himself. On another at the left the King took his place. At the foot of the steps of the altar were arranged the benches for the victims and their sponsors. Behind them the crowd filled the church. Then the preacher went into the pulpit and treated those present to an address, the subject of which was always a panegyric of the Inquisition. Then he read the sentences, interrupting himself at times to recite an act of faith, after having invited the victims and the faithful to join him with heart and voice. At last the Grand Inquisitor, clothed in his pontifical vestments, surrounded by all the officers and supporters of the Holy Office, left his place, and from the altar steps solemnly gave the absolution to those whom the Inquisition had let off with their lives — though they generally lost their liberty for life, and *always* their fortunes. As to the others, after a question as to the religion in which they wished to die, the Inquisitor struck them on the breast, signify-

ing that the Church repelled them from her bosom, and that they were delivered to the secular arm, *i.e.* to the executioner, for the sentences of the Inquisition did not *order*, but *involved* death, an abominable distinction and subterfuge.

Then the victims were led to the wood-pile, the executioners tied them to stakes, garotted those who by their repentance had earned this signal favour, and in the midst of sacred chants and the victims' cries of pain, and in the presence of an inquisitive and cowed mob, they set fire to the pile where, in one heap, the living victims, the strangled victims, the effigies, and the bones of the dead were burnt. Sometimes other tortures were inflicted. The next day, before the doors of the churches, were to be seen portraits of the persons burnt, with their name at foot, and those of their father and country.

A very curious thing is that many of the victims abjured their errors and were confessed like real penitents, and were consequently from a Roman Catholic point of view in a state of grace, and were yet garotted and burnt. Thus, by a strange anomaly, a man converted and in a state of grace, according to the Church itself, suffered like a heretic in what the Inquisition called an act of faith.

According to Llorente, the Spanish Inquisition, from 1481 to 1808, judged 341,021 persons, of whom 31,912 died by burning, 17,669 were burnt in effigy, the others suffering minor but always severe penalties. And this author is not a declared enemy of the Inquisition. The first solemn *auto da fé* took place at Valladolid, Trinity Sunday 1559, minute details of which are recorded. It is said the last *auto da fé* took place in Mexico in 1815. The greater part of the above account has been translated from Larousse, *Dict. Univ.* [B. W.]

The first public *auto da fé* was held at Valladolid on Trinity Sunday, May 21, 1559. It lasted from 6 A.M. until 2 P.M. Two Protestants were burnt and twelve were strangled. The two were Cazallo, parish priest of Hermigos, and Herezuelo, a lawyer of Toro. The second was held at Seville on September 29, 1559; the third at Valladolid on October 8, 1559. At Seville on December 22, 1560, two Englishmen, Nicolas Burton, a London merchant, and William Burke, a Southampton mariner, perished with the rest. Between 1560 and 1570 there was one *auto da fé* held every year in each of the twelve cities where the Inquisition was established.

After 1570 Protestantism was practically extirpated, but *autos* were held though with increasing rarity. In the Plaza at Madrid, there were *autos* in 1621, 1623, and 1632; on the latter occasion, seven persons were burnt. One was held at Cuenca in 1654, and on June 30, 1688, eighty-five grandees of Spain acted as familiars of the Holy Office, and the King sent with his own hands the first faggot to the pile. Twenty-one persons were burned alive. A woman was burnt at Seville as late as November 7, 1781, the last instance on record. Throughout the eighteenth century, sixteen hundred thus suffered in Spain and the colonies. See McCrie, *The Reformation in Spain*, pp. 131–162; Stoughton's *Memories of the Spanish Reformers*, ch. xii.; Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. i. pp. 280–285; Lea's *Hist. of the Inquisition*. [C. J. C.]

AVE MARIA.—Hail, Mary! An invocation of the Virgin. It is repeated frequently in the services of the Romish Church. It is compounded of the words of the angel Gabriel in Luke i. 28 with those of Elisabeth in Luke i. 42, and with the late addition of a petition for the Virgin's intercession "now and in the hour of death." It is, to use the words of the Church of England in her Article XXII., "a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

AVE MARIA AND ANGELUS.—The Angelus is described by the *Ritual Reason Why*, and the *Congregation in Church* as a "devotion intended as a memorial of the Incarnation," as "long used by Christians as a memorial of the Incarnation," and it is given at full length in the second of these manuals for the use, no doubt, of members of the English Church. This statement of the purpose and devotional use of the Ave Maria and the Angelus is inexact and incomplete.

The Ave Maria consists of two parts—(1) an address; (2) a prayer to Mary. (1) The address is formed by the angelic salutation to Mary, as translated incorrectly by the Vulgate version of the Bible (with the addition of the name Mary) and the salutation of Elisabeth, and runs thus: "Hail, Mary! full of grace (instead of "thou that art highly favoured"), the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus" (where the name Jesus also is added). The use of this first part of the Ave Maria (without the prayer subsequently added, be it noted) sprang up in the twelfth century, and was first enjoined by the Constitutions of Odo, Bishop of Paris, in the year 1196. In the same century, which was fruitful of superstitions, there emerged a devotion called "The Crown of the Virgin," which consists of sixty-three recitations of the Ave Maria as above, the number being fixed at sixty-three because St. Mary was imagined to have lived sixty-three years. This devotion is attributed to Peter the Hermit. A little later in the century there arose "The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," consisting of 150

recitations of the said Ave Maria, divided at equal distances by fifteen Paternosters.

The Angelus originated in the next century. It was "a devotion," says one of the above-quoted manuals, "consisting of three antiphons, three Hail Marys, and the Collect for the Feast of the Annunciation." The following is the form of the "antiphons" and "Hail Marys":—

"The Angel of the Lord announced to Mary and she conceived by the Holy Ghost. Hail Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus! Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to Thy word. Hail, Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus! The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Hail, Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus!"

The above formula was to be recited three times a day (involving a ninefold daily repetition of Ave Maria) at the sound of a bell, which has thence been called the Angelus bell. It was a Milanese monk, named Da Riva, who first began the practice of ringing a bell at its recitation, in 1227. Minor indulgences were granted by Pope John XXII. and Pope Calixtus III., and in 1518 Pope Leo X. gave 500 days' indulgence to every one who used the devotion three times a day at the sound of the Angelus bell, which he ordered to be rung three times daily. Succeeding Popes exchanged the 500 days' indulgence of Leo for a plenary indulgence to be earned once a month.

(2) We have not yet come chronologically to the direct prayer *to* Mary which constitutes the second part of the Ave Maria as it is now daily used in the Roman Church. The prayer is "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death. Amen." This prayer is first heard of in the fifteenth century and was first sanctioned in the year 1568 in the Breviary of Pope Pius V. Appended to the earlier salutation it forms the Ave Maria which at the present time is the favourite Roman prayer, and which Roman priests are bound to say seven times a day: before Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and after Compline.

The purpose of the devotion is not to serve for "a memorial of the Incarnation," as stated by the manuals above-mentioned, but it is the natural expression of the ever-growing devotion to Mary which, beginning in the Middle Ages, threatens to supersede the worship of Christ in popular estimation throughout unreformed Christendom. Leo XIII. has been called "the Pope of the Rosary." In the thirteen years from September 1883 to September 1896 he has issued sixteen Papal decrees, commending, inculcating, and enforcing the devotion of the Rosary. In 1885 he dedicated the whole month of October to the Rosary. In 1894 he gave the *rationale* of the Rosary as follows: "The succour that we implore of Mary in our prayers has its foundation in the office of Mediator of Divine Grace, which she exercises constantly before God, being most acceptable in dignity and merits, far excelling all saints in her power. This office does not find its expression so well in any prayer as in the Rosary, where the part which the Virgin has taken in the salvation of men is, as it were, given in present effect, and where piety finds such great satisfaction by the successive contemplation of the sacred mysteries, or by the repeated recitation of the prayers. We begin, as is meet, with the Lord's Prayer, addressed to the Heavenly Father. After having invoked Him in these most sublime petitions, the suppliant voice turns from the throne of His Majesty to Mary, in conformity with that law of compassion and of prayer of which we have spoken, and which St. Bernardino of Siena has expressed in these terms, 'All grace that is communicated to this world arrives by three degrees. For from God to Christ, from Christ to the Virgin, from the Virgin to us, it is dispensed in perfect order'" (*Encyclical, Jucundus Semper*).

The writer of *Catholic Devotions for Young People* (1901), which the Rev. G. C. Ommanney, Vicar of St. Matthew's, Sheffield, has made himself responsible for by commending it for use in the English Church, is as warm an advocate of the Rosary as Pope Leo XIII. himself. Of the "Angelus" with a prayer to St. Mary attached, he says, addressing the children: "It would please Jesus and His Mother very much if you learnt it by heart and said it at the appointed times, usually at 6 A.M., 12 noon, and 6 P.M." (p. 28). For the Rosary he instructs the children to provide themselves with a string of beads, and carefully follow his directions in the use of them, which are as follows:—

"How to Use the Beads.—Make the sign of the Cross. Say the Apostles' Creed, on the crucifix; 'Our Father' on the first large bead; 'Hail, Mary!' on each of the three following smaller beads. Now stop for a moment and think of the first Mystery, of either the Joyful, Sorrowful, or Glorious Mysteries. Example, the Annunciation. Then say one 'Our Father' on the next large bead and 'Hail, Mary!' on each of the ten following smaller beads (you will find that the small beads are divided into groups of 'tens'; that is called a 'decade'); then say a 'Glory be to the Father' on the chain before the next large bead. Continue in the same manner

with all the Mysteries round the chaplet. . . . At the end of the five decades it is usual to say the 'Salve Regina,' 'Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy, our Life, our Sweetness, and our Hope, all hail! To thee we cry, poor exiled children of Eve. To thee we send up our sighs, weeping and mourning in this vale of tears. Turn thou, most gracious Advocate, thy merciful eye towards us, and after this our exile show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus, O merciful, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary! Queen of the holy Rosary, pray for us that we may become worthy of the promises of God'" (p. 158).

This Manual, commended to the use of the children of the Church of England by a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England in the diocese of York, begins with a request: "The author begs a 'Hail, Mary!' of all who use this book," and it ends as follows: "The Rosary is very dear to the Mother of Jesus. It is like a golden chain which binds us to her. Each time 'Hail, Mary!' is said it increases the joy of all the Heavenly Host and draws down countless blessings and graces upon earth. How we should love the Holy Rosary which repeats so often that blessed prayer! Let us pray that by a devout use of it, it may become dear to us as it is dear to the hearts of Jesus and Mary!" See ROSARY.

[F. M.]

B

BALDACCHINO. — A canopy used in the Romish Church in processions; or erected in churches over an "altar," or above a bishop's throne. The word is supposed to be derived from Baldeck or Babylon, and to have been applied originally to cloth of gold made there. The canopy over the consecrated bread and wine was condemned as an illegal ornament when used in the Church of England (in the case of White *v.* Bowron), and moreover is objectionable as tending towards making the table a fixture when it ought to be a movable piece of furniture. See Whitehead's *Church Law*, p. 175; Miller, *Guide to Eccl. Law*, § 97. Bishop Jewel devoted the ninth chapter of his reply to the Jesuit Harding (*Works*, ii. 553) to the question of the canopy over the Lord's Table.

BANNERS.—Flags employed by Romanists and Ritualists for "mystical" reasons in religious processions and services. In the *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 160, they are said to be intended partly "to kindle the devotion of the people, and partly for mystical reasons. Thus, in festal processions, to signify yet more clearly the progress and future triumph of the Church according to that description of her in Canticles vi. 10. So in penitential processions (though more sparingly), to show that in her pilgrimage here she is the Lord's host, or to express her hope of deliverance." Such appeals to the senses are not necessary for really devout minds, and are not in unison with "the simplicity which is in Christ." Banners may be allowable as mere decorations, but are illegal when employed as "ornaments" in the Church of England. See Whitehead, *Church Law*, p. 205.

BANNS OF MARRIAGE.—An audible and solemn proclamation in the form prescribed by Act of Parliament in the parish church or some public chapel licensed for marriages, of the names, condition, and parish of each of the two persons intending to marry. The Banns must be thus published, on three Sundays preceding the solemnisation of the marriage, during the time of morning service, or (if there be no morning service in such church or chapel upon the Sunday on which such Banns shall be published) immediately after the second lesson at evening service. When the parties dwell in two different parishes or chapelries, the Banns must be published in both parishes or chapelries. "In all cases where Banns shall have been published, the marriage shall be solemnised in one of the churches or chapels where such Banns shall have been published, and in no other place whatsoever" (4 George IV. c. 76, s. 2). The place during Service for the publication of Banns was fixed at the last review of the Prayer Book as "immediately before the sentences for the offertory"; but by the Act just quoted it was enacted to be immediately after the second lesson (see Cripps, *On Clergy*, ch. iii.; Whitehead, *Church Law*). Banns are good for three calendar months after complete publication. Their publication is dispensed with by a licence being granted. A Registrar's certificate of marriage will, of course, also exempt from Banns. The Banns may be forbidden for any just cause or impediment either by notice to the minister or publicly in the church; but if no valid or sufficient reason be alleged the publication would hold good. In the case of a minor the publication of Banns publicly forbidden by the parents or those *in loco parentum* is absolutely void.

BAPTISM.—This word is Greek, and signifies prop. *dipping*, a ceremonial washing with water, and is the name of one of the two Sacraments ordained by Christ. It is of equal importance with the other Sacrament, for both are "generally necessary to salvation." By Baptism persons are admitted into the visible Church. Baptism of a certain kind, as well as circumcision, was practised by the Jews of our Lord's time for the admission of proselytes to Judaism, and, it is said, of their families, into the Jewish

congregation, and was used by the Baptist under divine direction "unto repentance for the remission of sins." But Christian Baptism was ordained by Christ just before His Ascension (Matt. xxviii. 19). According to His words on that occasion, the essentials of the ordinance are the application of water whether by immersion or by affusion in the name of the Trinity. This is laid down in the rubric at the end of the office for private Baptism. The sign of the Cross is therefore not essential, though it is an expressive symbol enjoined by the Church of England. Baptism is valid, even if thus administered by a lay person or a schismatic or a heretic. But the rubric in the office for private Baptism limits the performance of that rite to "the minister of the parish, or in his absence any other lawful minister." There is certainly no authority for the re-baptism of those who have been thus baptized in another Communion. When, however, after inquiry it may be doubtful whether it has been properly administered, a conditional form is supplied at the end of the office for private Baptism. But in both the Prayer Books of Edward VI. and in Elizabeth's it was ordered that "one of those present" should baptize the child. The present rubric dates from the Hampton Court Conference. The Church of Rome (C. Trent, sess. iv. c. 11) anathematises any one affirming that Baptism administered even by a heretic, with the intention of doing what the Church does, is not true Baptism. The third article of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. also declares that Baptism, Confirmation, Orders cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. Nevertheless Roman priests re-baptize Protestants and thus incur the charge of sacrilege. It is asserted, however, that such baptism is performed only conditionally on the supposition that the persons have not been baptized. The *condition* is, however, in most cases not openly stated. There are other contradictions in which the Church of Rome is involved on this subject. As she asserts the absolute necessity of Baptism (C. Trent, sess. vi. c. 4), her theologians are forced to discuss such questions as whether infants can be baptized before birth through their mothers, whether abortions should be baptized, and the like. These questions are affirmatively answered by Dens and Benedict IV. But this is surely to limit the sovereignty of God by tying His grace to His own ordinances, and seems designed to increase the power of the priesthood.

As to the effects of Baptism there is a marked contrast between the doctrine of Rome and that of the Church of England. The Church of Rome teaches that "Everything which has the true and proper nature of sin is in Baptism taken away, and that not only is its condemnation remitted, but that concupiscence, called sin by St. Paul because it inclines to sin, is removed" (see C. Trent, sess. v. 5). This makes Baptism, not faith, the means of justification. "The point" (says Bishop Harold Browne on Article IX.) on "which these canons differed from the ninth Article of our Church is in the *entire cancelling* of original sin in Baptism. The Council of Trent determined that in Baptism the soul was restored pure into the state of innocency, though the punishments which follow sin be not removed." Our Reformers, on the contrary, maintained that the tendency to sin is a symptom of spiritual disease, and is itself sin. Article IX. declares that "the infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated," and that "concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin." Article XV. adds that "all we the rest, although baptized and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things." All this agrees, not only with experience, but the teaching of God's Word—*e.g.* Romans vii.; 1 John i. 9, 10; St. James 1. 14, 15.

The language of the baptismal offices, in which the baptized, whether adult or infant, is declared regenerate, is understood by many of our best divines as that of charitable assumption, and of faith in God's promises, nor is it anywhere asserted in the Prayer Book that every baptized person is changed in heart and nature. Repentance and faith, which are prayed for in the Baptismal Service for Infants, are absolutely necessary to the realisation of the full benefits of Baptism. This view is well expressed by Bishop Harold Browne (Article XXVII.). He wrote: "If a person has been baptized, but still remains with his carnal nature unrenewed, we are not to conclude that God was unfaithful though the man has been unfaithful. But we are still to look upon that person as practically unregenerated, and we ought to try to bring him to conversion of heart, to a real change of soul and spirit. We may indeed still hope that God's Spirit promised in Baptism will be ever ready to aid him, when he does not continue obstinately to resist Him." In this he fully agrees with Article XXVII., which defines Baptism as "a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby as by an instrument" (*i.e.* a legal deed of conveyance), "they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church, the promises of forgiveness of sins and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." On the other hand, the Council of Trent (sess. vii. ch. 8) anathematises those who deny that grace is

given by the Sacraments of the new law *ex opere operato*. But it is evident, from such cases as those of St. John the Baptist and of the penitent thief, that it is possible to receive the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sins without Baptism, or previous to it; and also, from the case of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 13–23), that a person may be baptized and remain unrenewed. The new birth is spoken of sixteen times at least in the New Testament, but only once is water connected with it (John iii. 5). Once regeneration is associated with washing or the bath (1 Peter iii. 21), and there it is expressly added that it is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." Twice believers are said to be born of the "Word of God," or the "Word of truth" (James i. 18; 1 Peter i. 23). Augustine's language on this point is very clear. "Outward Baptism," he says, "may be administered where inward conversion of the heart is wanting, and, on the other hand, inward conversion of the heart may exist where outward Baptism has never been received" (*Treatise on Adoption*). Again he wrote, "the laver of regeneration is common to all who are baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; but the grace itself of which they (?) are the sacraments and by which the members of the Body of Christ are regenerated is not common to all" (*On Psalm lxxvii.*).

So, according to Bishop Harold Browne, Augustine taught that Baptism is not in itself conversion of heart, and of adults he says that a person may be baptized with water and not born of the Spirit. In infants he also says that the sacrament of regeneration precedes conversion of heart. As regards the Baptismal Services for infants, whilst their language is so strong and apparently absolute, it should be interpreted by that of Articles XXV. and XXVII. It clearly presupposes the existence of repentance and faith in adults, and in the case of infants relies on the virtue of the prayers of faith offered on their behalf, as answered according to St. John's assurance (1 John v. 14, 15) and our Lord's loving declaration that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Such views were in the Gorham case pronounced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to be consistent with subscription to the Prayer Book, and they are in harmony with the doctrine of Holy Scripture and the Articles. See Mozley, *Baptismal Regeneration;* See GORHAM DECISION.

[W. B.]

BAPTISM, ROMAN RITUAL OF.—The water used in baptism must in the same year have been blessed, either on Easter Eve (Holy Saturday) or on the Eve of Pentecost, unless unavoidable necessity should require the use of water consecrated at the time. The lawful minister is the parish priest who must use the Latin form, but in urgent cases any may baptize whether cleric or laic, man or woman, using the same form in the vernacular language.

The sacred chrism and holy oil needful in baptism must have been blessed by a bishop on Holy Thursday in the same year.

The following are some of the special and distinctive rites and ceremonies:—

(1.) *Exorcism.* After the priest has questioned the child as to what he seeks from the Church, he blows thrice into the child's face bidding the unclean spirit to come forth, and give place to the Holy Ghost. Later on in the form, the exorcism is repeated, Satan being directly addressed and bidden not to violate the sign of the holy cross.

This exorcism is repeated a third time before proceeding to the Baptistery, only it is now directed against *every* unclean spirit.

Salt.—A scrap of salt is put into the mouth of the baptized, supposed to be the first food of his regenerate life. The priest says: "Receive thou the salt of wisdom, let it be to thee a propitiation unto eternal life." The salt has been blessed in a long prayer, previously uttered, that it may in the name of the Holy Trinity be made a saving sacrament for putting the enemy to flight.

Spittle.—The priest is to take with his right-hand thumb, some of the spittle of his own mouth and touch therewith, in the form of a cross, first the right ear of the infant and then the left, saying "Ephphatha," (Be thou opened) and then touching the nostrils he adds, "In odorem suavitatis."

Oil.—The priest dips a small silver rod or his thumb into the oil of catechumens, and anoints the infant in the breast and between the shoulders in the form of the cross, saying, "I anoint thee with the oil of salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord, that thou mayest have eternal life."

Water.—The godfather or godmother, holding the infant, the priest takes the baptismal water in a small jug and pours it thrice over the infant's head in the form of a cross. The pouring takes place in connection with the name of each person of the Trinity. Immediately after the water has been poured, the priest anoints the infant on the crown of the head in the form of a cross with the oil.

(2.) *Other Ceremonies.* Presentation of a white linen cloth, which is laid upon the head of the infant, or a white robe to the adult.

Presentation of a lighted candle either to the child or to the godfather.

Admonition to the sponsors of the spiritual kinship which they are supposed to have contracted with the baptized and with its parents. This kinship was held to hinder matrimony unless a dispensation intervened. [C. J. C.]

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.—In considering this subject, we shall do well to begin by endeavouring to ascertain the true meaning of the word Regeneration, as employed in the New Testament; and then proceed to inquire into the connection of this spiritual experience with the ordinance of Christian Baptism.

It is a singular but instructive fact that the desire on the part of some to exalt this sacrament, as the means of inducing regeneration, has led to a depreciation of this term, by a lowering of the spiritual value of its connotation. Inasmuch as facts will not allow us to affirm that the administration of the ordinance is followed, in the vast majority of cases, by any moral results that can be discerned, it has been concluded by many who belong to the High Church school that the benefits of regeneration are not to be looked for (at any rate directly) in the moral region; the grace that is bestowed is a capacity or potentiality rather than anything that affects us consciously; it is the implanting of a germ, which may or may not develop and fructify, rather than the occurrence of a moral or spiritual revolution.

The New Testament, on the other hand, represents regeneration as the most radical and far reaching that the mind can conceive of, constituting him who is the subject of it a new creature, with whom old things are passed away, and all things have become new (2 Cor. v. 17). It is the initial step in the process of salvation by cleansing from sin, and spiritual renewal (Titus iii. 5). It produces, according to St. John, deliverance from conscious and habitual sin, and victory over the world; it is a birth by the Spirit, which constitutes him who undergoes it "spirit" (John iii. 6). It induces a sense of freedom and spontaneity in religious life, which is in the strongest contrast to all legal bondage and restraint (*ibid.* v. 8). It carries with it the privilege of a new and spiritual sonship towards God, and the blessed assurance of it.

That all this represents something more than a mere "capacity" goes without saying; but the case becomes immeasurably stronger when we observe that, while regeneration and its cognate terms are but seldom employed,[1] there can be no reasonable doubt that the word indicates that one supreme and radical change which is insisted on as necessary in the New Testament Scriptures under many differing designations. This change is spoken of as Justification, Salvation, Remission of sins, Cleansing from old sins, Translation from darkness into light, Passage from death into life, Death and burial with Christ and resurrection into newness of life. It is represented as inducing consequences affecting our consciousness, condition, and experience, such as inward joy, peace, and hope, love to God and to the brethren, deliverance from sin and devotion to God, the holy intimacy of sonship and the blessedness of acceptance, all resulting in actual righteousness, and at any rate incipient holiness.

One other aspect of regeneration needs to be noticed, inasmuch as it is the most important of all, and that is its close connection with the gift of spiritual life. The natural life of the human spirit having become forfeit through sin, regeneration is effected by the imparting of a new life, which is God's gift to man through the atoning work of Christ. It is this introduction of a new life that constitutes the recipient a new creature; for the new and divine life thus communicated carries its own proper moral characteristics along with it. Our reception of this new life is dependent upon our death to sin, in the person of Christ, and our rising up with Him into a new condition, in which we live unto God. Regeneration may therefore be defined as that supreme change which takes place when by faith we regard ourselves as dead to sin in the death of Christ, and claim with Him to be raised to a new life, "through faith in the operation of God." Where faith is thus exercised God responds to its claim, by imparting that new life which is in His Son—a life that carries with it its own moral characteristics, and renders him who receives it a new creature.

If this be regeneration, what is the nature of the relation of Baptism to it? Three distinct answers may be returned to this inquiry; and between these our decision lies. First, some hold that this change, called regeneration, is directly dependent upon Baptism, so that when Baptism takes place it also occurs. Secondly, others hold that Baptism is only a sign or symbol of this change, witnessing to the fact, that it already has occurred in the case of the true believer, and also a public confession of its occurrence. Third, it may be

[1] The word translated regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) only occurs twice in the New Testament: (1) in Matt. xix. 28, where by "the regeneration" is meant the new birth of the world, or its restitution to its original state of blessedness; (2) in Titus iii. 5, where "the washing of regeneration" or "the laver of regeneration"—*i.e.* the laver of baptism, which symbolises "regeneration"—is spoken of. See note p. 141, and C. H. H. Wright, *Roman Catholicism*, R.T.S., p. 39.—EDD.

answered that the ordinance is designed to bear witness to the specific provision for our regeneration, made in Redemption, and to concentrate our faith upon this, as a definite issue, and, in normal cases, to be its sacramental expression.[1]

The first of these answers might seem to be justified by the fact that, in the memorable words of our Lord to Nicodemus, the birth by water and that of the Spirit seem to be spoken of as elements in the same great change; and by the further fact that the Apostles seem ever to refer to the moment of Baptism as the time when that change took place. But a small amount of reflection suffices to show that to this view there are many and insuperable objections. A large amount of confusion of thought has been caused on this subject by the habit of theorising on the subject of infant Baptism, and the benefits that are believed to flow from it, instead of basing our conclusions on that which was actually revealed with respect to the Baptism of adults. Few will have the temerity to affirm that the mere process of baptizing an adult, whatever his moral condition or attitude, will produce real spiritual regeneration. A man may submit to baptism merely because the chief of his tribe has become a nominal Christian, and he desires to keep in his favour; or he may be baptized, as multitudes of Jews recently were in Russia, merely to escape persecution. To suppose that, in response to a sacrilegious abuse of the sacrament, the Holy Ghost confers on the recipient the blessing of regeneration, and works in him, as the reward of his impiety, the greatest and most beneficent change that supernatural power can effect, is to come perilously near blaspheming the Holy Ghost. But as soon as the admission is made that the act of Baptism does not produce regeneration in such cases, logic constrains us to conclude that Baptism is not the cause of regeneration; nor is it even, if we regard God Himself as the cause, a condition upon which it is absolutely dependent. In such cases as we have suggested unquestionably the man is not regenerated; but he may become so, if he comply with certain other conditions; that is to say, if he subsequently exhibits that frame of mind which ought to have accompanied his Baptism. His regeneration, then, will have been dependent, on man's side, not on his Baptism, but on the sincerity of his repentance and the reality of his faith.

But if Baptism be not the cause of regeneration (on man's side), is it one of two alternative causes? Are we, for instance, to believe that God sometimes regenerates through the act of Baptism without faith, and sometimes by faith without Baptism? To ask such a question is to answer it. God does not deal in alternative methods, saving one man through a mere mechanical act while he saves another by a moral process. On this point nothing more need be said. But are we then driven to believe that Baptism and faith are two co-ordinate causes of regeneration? For a full discussion of this important point the reader may be referred to a book which has recently appeared on the subject of this article (Canon Aitken's *Doctrine of Baptism:* Nisbet). In this volume the writer points out that in both the Acts and the Epistles one and the same great change is represented as sometimes conditioned on Baptism and sometimes on faith; and argues that this could never have occurred if it were the case that two entirely distinct and co-ordinate conditions had to be fulfilled before regeneration could occur. If peace were offered to China on the two co-ordinate conditions that the Celestial authorities should pay down sixty millions and also abolish a score of their forts, what should we think of an ambassador who should at one time affirm that peace could be secured by the payment of sixty millions, without referring to the forts; while at another time he averred that it could be obtained by the destruction of the forts, without referring to the millions?

There is only one way in which this phenomenon can be explained. The sacramental act was regarded as the appointed means of expressing the faith, which it concentrated on the specific provision of divine grace; and therefore it was the means whereby the spiritual

[1] [*Note by Editors.*—The phrase used by John the Baptist, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Matt. iii. 11), is essentially the same as "born of water and of the Holy Spirit" (John iii. 5), used by our Lord, and explained by Him in the subsequent verses The first refers to the work of the Spirit as "the Spirit of burning," predicted in Isaiah iv. 4, the second to that of the Spirit predicted in Isaiah xliv. 3, and Ezekiel xxxvi. 25–27, which a "master of Israel" ought to have understood. The first phrase might, exegetically considered, have reference to a rite or ceremony, for "baptize" is used; the second refers only to an inner birth unto righteousness, and therefore ought, we contend, to be explained by such passages as 1 John ii. 29, 1 John iii. 9. Both phrases speak of the work of the Spirit as a cleansing and purifying work, and both use language drawn from the prophets of Israel. Christ's words are of universal reference, and ought not, we maintain, to be interpreted primarily to refer to Christian Baptism which was not ordained till Christ had risen from the dead.]

grace of regeneration was received while it was also a pledge that assured us of its reception. To say this is not to affirm, in accordance with the second of the three views of the relation of regeneration to the sacrament stated above, that the ordinance is a mere symbol of the spiritual experience, or a public confession that it has taken place. This explanation of the case is forbidden by the fact that the spiritual benefits symbolised by the ordinance are invariably spoken of in the New Testament as being realised in and through the ordinance. The ordinance is nowhere described as a mere sign of a spiritual benefit independently realised, and Protestants do untold damage to their cause when they put themselves in the position of having to explain away numerous clear and definite expressions to this effect. The true statement of the case would seem to be, that regeneration is conditioned upon faith in Christ and His atoning work; while Baptism has been appointed to concentrate that faith upon the specific features of that atonement, and to give it definite expression when so concentrated. Thus, in strictly normal cases the moment of the believing reception of Baptism would be the moment of regeneration, but in many cases the faith may precede the ordinance, with the result that the spiritual regeneration will take place before Baptism, as in the instance of Cornelius and his friends. Where this occurs the ordinance will be the outward and formal expression of a faith already existing (Rom. iv. 11; Col. ii. 11); and on God's side the pledge assuring us of a benefit already received. It will be to the Christian very much what his coronation was to our King. It did not make him king, yet it was the complement of his accession, and who will say that it was unnecessary to the recognition of his kingly position? Besides this, Baptism will be the sacramental admission of the recipient into the spiritual society called the Christian Church, which the kingdom of heaven upon earth identifies itself with, and by which he is assured of the enjoyment of all the rights of our heavenly citizenship.

Where, on the other hand, the ordinance is performed upon an adult without that faith being exercised which it was specially designed to evoke (*exoitat*, Art. xxv.), as, for instance, in the case of Simon Magus, regeneration does not occur. It is clear that Simon Magus could not have been born of God, and made a new creature in Christ Jesus, and yet have remained "in the bond of iniquity and the gall of bitterness." He could not have been received into that Church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven, and yet have been "without part or lot in the matter." In all such cases regeneration, if it occurs at all, must occu apart from the sacrament; and this in itself suffices to show that the ordinance, considered apart from the faith which it should express, does not stand to regeneration in the relation of cause to effect. Yet, even in such a case, upon the occurrence of repentance and faith, the penitent would find in the ordinance an assurance of his pardon, and a pledge of the specific divine grace to which the ordinance bears witness. See *Homily of Salvation*.

With regard to Inward Baptism we may point out that we have strong ground for inferring that God has a provisional economy of grace for our little ones, resulting, at any rate in certain cases, in their regeneration, and thus in their final salvation, if they die in infancy. Why then should not the Christian parent plead that this economy of grace may be extended to his child, inasmuch as it is needed, as for death so also for the perils of continued life; and why should he not prove the faith of his prayer by submitting his child to the ordinance, which is the means whereby this grace of regeneration is normally received? In such a case, whatever benefit may be granted through the ordinance by Him who sees the faith of those who bear the helpless infant and lay him at the Master's feet, that benefit must needs be *provisional in its character*. The condition on which the enjoyment of the new life is dependent, *i.e.* faith in the Life-giver, cannot be evaded or dispensed with; and if special adaptations of divine grace to the case of helpless infancy are not met by such a repentance as forsakes sin, and such a faith as steadfastly believes the specific promise of God made in the sacrament, all such benefits must needs be forfeited.

The point of cleavage between those who hold the crude theory of Baptismal regeneration, *ex opere operato*, and those who maintain what is usually spoken of as the "Hypothetical Theory," lies just here. The former believe that the recital of a formula and the performance of a particular action necessarily produce the spiritual effect of regeneration; the latter hold that where believing prayer is offered for a blessing, which we have reason to believe it is God's will to grant, that prayer will be provisionally answered. The former believe that this spiritual result is absolute, and admits of being neither reversed nor supplemented; the latter maintain that the result, whatever it is, must needs be *provisional* in its character, and cannot be made absolute until the condition upon which in the case of an adult it is contingent is complied with. The former maintain that the saving effect of this ordinance may be lost by wilful sin; the latter maintain that such saving effects only remain if the condition on which they are contingent is complied with,

and, even where wilful sin does not occur, are forfeited by the non-fulfilment of the appointed condition. According to the former theory, no baptized member of our congregations needs to be born again, or, indeed, can be, although his life may be a discredit to our common humanity, and it would seem that the only hope for him lay in the possibility of so radical a change; according to the other, all who have never consciously exercised faith in the special promise of God made in Baptism need to be told, "Ye must be born again." The difference between the two positions, which may seem to be slight, is really radical.

The Gorham judgment given on appeal by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council affirmed that the hypothetical explanation of the formularies of the Church of England was a perfectly reasonable and legitimate one, though it did not affirm that it was the only possible interpretation. See GORHAM CASE.

[W. H. M. H. A.]

BAPTISTERY.—A building or place set apart for the performance of baptism. The baptistery was often a place or building separate from the church. The receptacle for water was in the West styled a *piscina*. See FISH.

BAPTISTS.—See INDEPENDENTS.

BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF.—See under APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

BASIL, LITURGY OF.—See under LITURGY.

BEADS.—A string of small globes of glass or other substance in use in the Romish Church as a method for a worshipper to count the prayers said. A large bead represents a *Paternoster* and a small bead an *Ave Maria*. In order to gain the indulgences attached to the use of a rosary (or string of beads), the rosary itself must have been previously blessed. With regard to the numbering of prayers Matt. vi. 7 should be consulted. See AVE MARIA.

BEATIFICATION AND CANONISATION.—The Roman Church recognises a difference of degrees between these titles of honour. When a departed saint is beatified the honour attaching to him is generally confined to a particular diocese, province, or monastic order; but the honour of Canonisation extends to the whole Catholic world. The cultus of the beatified is permissible; that of the canonised is enjoined.

The processes attending Beatification and Canonisation belong, in the first instance, to the Congregation of Rites and are afterwards brought before the General Consistory. The practices now observed are regulated by the decrees of Pope Urban VIII., issued in 1625, 1634, and 1642, to which others have been added by later pontiffs.

The bishop of the diocese to which the departed saint belonged in his lifetime draws up and signs two processes: (1) that the saint enjoyed a reputation for sanctity and miracles; (2) that no public veneration having yet been paid to him, Pope Urban's rule that such veneration cannot be paid without the permission of the See of Rome, has been duly observed.

On receipt of these documents, a cardinal and others who are to sue for the beatification petition the Congregation of Rites. The Pope then appoints a cardinal to report on the progress of the case. Then the Congregation examines the writings of the saint if he has left any. The scrutiny is very rigid, sometimes lasting several years. If the result be satisfactory, a period of ten years having elapsed since the first application to Rome, letters are sent to the original diocese directing a commission of three bishops to examine the candidate's local reputation for sanctity and power of working miracles in general. If approved a second commission is appointed to report upon the saint's specific virtues and miracles. Three different Consistories in Rome debate upon the result of these inquiries, the first discussion being held in the Pope's presence. A similar series of processes has to be gone through with respect to the miracles, and if the saint be finally proved the possessor of "heroical" virtues and undoubted miracles, and if at least fifty years have elapsed since the death of the saint, then the Pope appoints a day for the Beatification.

Canonisation follows after a longer or shorter interval, as soon as there is reason to believe that the saint who has been beatified has in some way or other wrought additional miracles. The whole laborious process from first to last has to be repeated, and then the Pope fixes a day, which is constituted a holiday of obligation, for the performance of a solemn ceremony in St. Peter's. The clergy, regular and secular, walk in procession with lighted tapers from the Vatican to St. Peter's, the Pope intones the Hymn "Ave Maris Stella" in the Sixtine Chapel. The Pope is conducted to his throne, and receives the homage of the cardinals. Formal application is then made to the Pope to receive such and such a person as enrolled into the ranks of Christ's saints. After other ceremonies the Pope pronounces the decree—"We declare the blessed (. . . names are then read) to be saints and enrol them in the catalogue of saints, enjoining the Universal Church to worship their memory yearly upon their natal day (*i.e.* of departure from this life) in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The above are but a few out of a vast number of ceremonies. For an account see Foye's *Romish Rites*, pp. 406–416, whose narrative is based upon Cardinal Wiseman and the Romanist Picart.

Alphonso Liguori died in 1787; he was beatified by Pope Pius VII. in 1816, and canonised by Gregory XVI. on Trinity Sunday 1839.

Catherine of Siena died in 1380 at the age of thirty-three; she was canonised by Pope Pius II. in 1461.

St. Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, died in 1336, and was canonised by Pope Urban VIII. in 1625. These few instances may suffice. Canonisation has a practical bearing upon the Roman controversy in general in such a case as Liguori, whose writings by this very act of the Pope are invested with a special authority, and thus the Roman Church is specially committed to their teaching. [C. J. C.]

BEATITUDE.—Blessedness; heavenly happiness. In the Roman Church the word is specially used to denote that blissful sight of God which is termed the Beatific Vision. The blessings in Matt. v. 3–10 are termed the Beatitudes.

BELFRY.—Originally meant a "movable wooden tower," used in Middle Ages in besieging fortifications, then a watch-tower, and had nothing to do with bells. It was written *berfrey* or *befroi*, and in English the form *belfray* did not appear before the fifteenth century; "being probably at first a literary imitation of the mediæval Latin its acceptance was probably due to popular association with bell." Hence the term has become limited to the bell-tower attached to a church, and even to the room or upper storey of the tower where the bells are actually hung (Murray, *Dictionary*). The term was also applied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the space under the tower where the ringers stand, and which is sometimes separated from the church by a curtain. This was the seat of the poor, and was sometimes used as a schoolroom, but according to Murray this meaning is now obsolete.

The earliest examples of bell-towers connected with churches appear to be those of Ravenna in the sixth century; and the first in the East was added to the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople in the ninth century. (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.*) [B. W.]

BELLS, CHURCH.—Seem to have come into general use soon after the time of Constantine. Originally, in the days of persecution, the signal for the assembly of Christians was no doubt a silent one; but when the necessity for secrecy ceased, trumpets, gongs, and bells began to be used in Africa and the West. In the East, planks struck by a hammer were in vogue, and there is no mention of bells before the ninth century, when the Duke of Venice gave twelve large bells of brass to the Greek Emperor. In Ireland bells appear to have been used at an early date, and to have been reckoned among the necessary insignia of a bishop; thus we are told that when Patrick conferred on Fioc the degree of bishop he gave him a box or satchel containing a bell (Petrie, *Round Towers of Ireland, cit.* Smith, *Dictionary*). The earliest of these Irish bells now extant is of quadrangular form, of thick sheet-iron, six inches high and five inches by four at the mouth, and in shape similar to a Swiss cow-bell.

Bells were anciently used in the West in processions, but there is no trace up to the age of Charlemagne of the ringing either of great or little bells at the elevation of the Host, as is now the practice of the Church of Rome. An attempt was made to introduce into the Ritual of the Lord's Supper in the Church of England, the ringing of the little bell, known as the "sacring" bell, during the Prayer of Consecration, but this ceremony was held to be illegal (see Whitehead, p. 174). The benediction of bells is thought to date from the time when they became part of the furniture of the church.

The bell was also used at excommunication, and "bell, book, and candle" has passed into current phrase. The naming and baptizing of bells is said to have originated with Pope John XIII., who consecrated a bell and called it John, but in some places the name may have been given simply to indicate ownership. (Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities:* Wetzer and Welte.)

At the Reformation the blessing, baptizing, and superstitious ringing of bells was done away with, but the bells themselves were retained for purposes of utility. Thus in Canon 15 the congregation are directed to be summoned by the tolling of a bell, and by Canon 67 a bell known as the passing bell is ordered to be tolled "when any one is passing out of this life," and also at and after the Burial Service. See CALENDAR. [B. W.]

BEMA.—Greek βῆμα, a raised part of a church reserved in Eastern churches for the higher clergy. It sometimes signifies a pulpit. But the word is seldom used in the Western Church.

BENEDICT AND BENEDICTINES.—The first and chief monastic Order of the West, founded by St. Benedict at Subiaco and removed to Monte Cassino in 529. St. Augustine, to whom the conversion of England was partly due, belonged to this Order.

Benedict of Nursia was born A.D. 480, and died about A.D. 542. The headquarters of the Order was moved to Monte Cassino in A.D. 520, where paganism still prevailed. Benedict sought by his famous Rule to reform and regulate the monasticism then widely prevalent among Christians. (See AMULETS.) He introduced the monastic arrangement of the

Hour Services of the Roman Church, deriving it from the Egyptian hermits. He first instituted the custom of saying the Lord's Prayer *aloud* at two of the "Hours," viz., Lauds and Vespers. It does not fall within the scope of this work to give an account of his Rule o the history of the Order which ultimately absorbed into it those who followed the Rule of Columbanus. Very important work was often done by those who embraced the Order, forests were cleared, swamps drained, and learning kept alive in a dark and cloudy day. The Benedictine Order became very corrupt, and partial reformations were made at different times and places. The Venerable Bede was a monk of the Order.

BENEDICTION, RITE OF.—A ceremony in use in the Romish Church for blessing the congregation with the monstrance, or pyx, containing the Host, or consecrated wafer, which has been previously adored as the Body of Christ.

BENEDICTIONS.—The term is applied to various blessings pronounced by Popes, Patriarchs, bishops, or priests over persons or over things, such as ashes, oil, salt, water, palms, and vestments, rosaries, &c. Importance was often attached to the form in which such benedictions were bestowed (see EXORCISMS) and even to the shape made by the hand in the act of benediction. Such points, properly treated at some length in a Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, may well be passed over in a work of the present character, which must needs be restricted to more important subjects.

BENEDICTUS.—The song of Zacharias (Luke i. 86-79), so called from the first word of the Latin version, signifying "Blessed." It may be used as a canticle in the Order for Morning Prayer of the Church of England, instead of the Jubilate (Psalm c.). The name is also applied to a short anthem used in the Roman Mass, and by Ritualists, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." It is sung after the Prayer of Humble Access, in reference to the supposed coming of our Lord which is about to take place through the consecration. While the Benedictus is being sung, the taper-bearers fetch their candles and kneel on the floor of the sanctuary opposite the Gospel and Epistle sides of the altar. This Romish ritual is unauthorised by the Prayer Book.

BENEFICE.—Originally a term of Roman law for a life interest in land granted to soldiers and others. It had a similar meaning, in feudal law, of a fee or estate for life only in land held *ex mero beneficio*. The term afterwards became restricted to such interests in land when held by the clergy in consideration of the performance of spiritual duties. But benefice may now be defined as an "ecclesiastical living," and, strictly speaking, includes bishoprics, rectories, vicarages, perpetual curacies, and chapelries, but not "curacies."

In the Middle Ages benefices were divided into "single" and "double," *e.g.* a chantry was "single" but if with cure of souls attached "double."

Since 1662 no one has been eligible for a benefice in the Church of England unless in priest's orders by episcopal ordination. See ADVOWSON, PRESENTATION, VACANCY, &c.

[B. W.]

BENEFIT OF CLERGY.—*Privilegium clericale* was originally a kind of *imperium in imperio*, and consisted in the right of the clergy to be free from the jurisdiction of the lay courts and to be subject to the ecclesiastical courts only, as if they were foreigners resident in the land and having peculiar customs of their own.

"In Bracton's time (Henry III.) the claim of the ordinary went so far as to require that the clerk should be delivered up to him as soon as he was imprisoned on suspicion of any crime whatever." This claim was subsequently much restricted by Parliament, and it was settled that a clerk must be convicted before he could claim his "clergy"; next that he might be delivered to the bishops either to make his "purgation," which was a ridiculous method of trial adopted by the bishop (and abolished in 1576), or *absque purgatione*, in which latter case he was to be imprisoned in the bishop's prison for life.

The privilege was originally confined to those who had "*habitum et tonsuram clericalem*," but in 1350 it was extended to "all manner of clerks as well secular as religious." This was probably intended to cover only persons in minor orders, but the courts extended the privilege to every one who could read, except women (unless professed nuns) and *bigami, i.e.* "a man who hath married two wives or one widow." The large number of persons interested in keeping up these privileges prevented them from being abolished. The *ordinandi* were very numerous, as Bishop Stubbs points out in his *Constitutional History*, and were so simply in order to obtain these privileges. The privilege was extended to the *bigamus* in 1547. Subsequently the privilege was again extended first to Peers who could not read, then to others, so that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, "women were entitled to it as well as men, and those who could not read as well as those who could." On the other hand, the common law had always excluded certain crimes from benefit of clergy; thus treason against the king himself, highway robbery and wilful burning of houses.

Various other crimes were also excluded by statute. Hence a great difficulty arose as to proper punishments for offences which happened to be clergyable and those which were not. As to death penalties in the reign of George IV. Sir J. Stephen says: "All felonies except petty larceny and mayhem were theoretically punishable with death, but clergyable felonies were never punished with death, nor were persons convicted of such felonies sentenced to death. When asked what they had to say why sentence should not be passed upon them, they fell upon their knees and prayed their clergy," upon which they were liable to certain slighter punishments. It will thus be seen that benefit of clergy was not without its value, at one time, in mitigating the rigour of the common law; but great anomalies grew up under the system, and it was finally abolished in 1827. (See Sir J. F. Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law of England*, vol. i. pp. 459, and *seq.*). [B. W.]

BERENGARIUS (or Berengar, Berenger) was born in the early years of the eleventh century after Christ. The exact date of his birth is not recorded. He is known to history as Berengarius of Tours, his native town, the scene of his labours and sufferings during many years, and near which he died at an advanced age in 1088. His life thus extended over a large portion of the eleventh century. He was a contemporary of Hildebrand, Lanfranc, and Anselm, and was in the full maturity of his powers when William Duke of Normandy conquered England.

Berengarius was a pupil of Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, justly celebrated in that day for piety and zeal in the instruction of youth. The scholars of Fulbert included many men afterwards famous in Western Christendom. The most famous of them was Berengarius. He was always distinguished by an acute and speculative intellect and a thirst for knowledge, and a disposition to think for himself, a disposition which the cautious Fulbert seems to have regarded with uneasiness. Berengarius himself became a teacher in the school connected with the Church of Tours and attracted to it, by his reputation and his powers, numerous disciples, who embraced and disseminated his opinions throughout France and the adjacent parts of Germany and Italy. He devised a purer method of teaching grammar which excited the resentment of those who clung to the older fashions, and he inspired his pupils with an independent tone of thought which provoked hostility, especially when displayed with indiscretion. The first book of importance written by Berengarius was his *Discourse to the Hermits*. This work, which he wrote by the request of those in authority for the monks of Southern France, proves that his mind was already possessed with purer conceptions of Christianity, as essentially inward and spiritual, than were prevalent in that age.

These conceptions were deepened in the mind of Berengarius by, if not originally derived from, the study of the works of St. Augustine, whose profound and impassioned spirituality, despite occasional vagaries and distortions, has maintained a salutary influence over the Church up to the present day. The teaching of the greatest of the Africans found a ready entrance into the earnest and subtle mind of Berengarius, and produced in him a change of sentiment which brought him into life-long antagonism with the doctrines and practices then dominant in the Church.

The Church in that age was in the West governed by the Roman Pontiffs. During the boyhood and early manhood of Berengarius the see of St. Peter was occupied by a succession of Popes, the nominees of the Counts of Tusculum. They were by birth Italians, their interests and sympathies were confined to Italy, and ordinarily to the meanest objects which engaged the attention of the dissolute people and the worldly priests of that country. The personal character of these Popes was so bad that at last, in the year 1046, the Emperor of Germany was invoked by a deputation from Rome itself to cross the Alps and to deliver the Church from her misery, by dismissing three Tusculan Antipopes then fighting one another in the streets of Rome, each encamped in a church as if in a fortress. The cry then was, to de-Romanise the Papacy; and the Tusculan Popes were accordingly succeeded by Germans, men respectable in character and zealous in their calling. But the rule of the German was detested in Rome, and the Papacy soon again became Italian. At length in the year 1073 the Pontificate passed into the hands of Hildebrand, the most commanding figure of the eleventh century, whose connection with Berengarius was very remarkable. The doctrine and the average life of the Church were like its government.

Mosheim gives the following description of religion in this century:—"It is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian Church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition, and employed all their zeal in the worship of images and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, imposed upon them by

the tyranny of a despotic priesthood. The more learned, it is true, retained still some notions of the truth, which, however, they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility."

That Berengarius was deeply sensible of the miserable state of the Church, we know from his writings. Neander quotes important passages which make this plain (see Neander, vol. vi. pages 209 *sqq.*—Bohn's translation).

Two principal causes had brought about this lamentable state of things—the forgeries of pseudo-Isidore (see FORGERIES) and the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The first corrupted the moral sense and the public administration of the heads of the Church; the second enslaved the people to the priesthood, and almost changed the religion of the New Testament into an august but deadly fetish. The speculative mind of Berengarius qualified him to be a reformer of doctrine rather than of practice; and he came into collision with the central error of Latin theology sooner than with the abuses and corruptions of the Church's life.

He is noteworthy in history for having made a courageous and persistent stand against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and for having abridged the period of its baleful ascendency by postponing its triumph for three-quarters of a century. Nearly two hundred years before the birth of Berengarius, Radbert, (known as Paschasius), abbot of Corbie in France, composed a work upon the Eucharist about A.D. 831. In that work he taught that after the consecration of the elements what was bread before became the natural body of Christ and what before was wine became the natural blood of Christ. There remained of the bread and the wine nothing but the appearance, seemingly indeed perceptible by the senses, but really only a veil to screen the presence of the Redeemer on the altar. This doctrine was invented by Radbert, who is said to have given it the name Transubstantiation, though Milman throws doubt upon the statement. The novel opinion of the abbot of Corbie was contested from its outset. One of his own monks, Ratramnus, wrote a book against him, entitled *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*. A great controversy ensued, and lingered, especially in France, till the times of Berengarius, when it broke out with augmented fervour. In this controversy, the opinion of Radbert, though opposed by a series of good men, gradually obtained hold over the clergy. In order to appreciate the significance of the work of Berengarius, and justly to estimate his character, it is necessary to form a correct notion of the motives which led him to controvert, with so much zeal and persistence, the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Nor is it difficult to do this, for we may safely dismiss the idea favoured by Milman that Berengarius was kept up in this controversy by a jealousy of Lanfranc, who hotly espoused Transubstantiation, and whose rising school at Bec may have competed with that of Tours. Nor are we to believe that Berengarius maintained his struggle for nearly fifty years through intellectual vanity or love of wrangling. His mind was prepared for defending the true view of the Lord's Supper by the influence of St. Augustine and by the book of Ratramnus. As he meditated upon the true nature of Christianity, he felt more and more the contradiction between it and the prevailing beliefs and practices of the Church. He was impelled by an honest and religious heart to attempt a reformation. A man of the schools, caring chiefly for truth itself, he commenced to reform opinion. He quickly found that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was the central error of the time, and therefore assailed that doctrine. This view of Berengarius is substantially that of Mosheim and Neander.

Berengarius taught that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, yet were effectual means to the faithful of participation in the benefits of redemption by the Saviour's body and blood. This teaching was spread through the West by the scholars of Tours. It reached the ears of Lanfranc, who corresponded with Berengarius upon the subject. Leo IX., in 1050, in a Council held at Rome, attacked Berengarius' opinion with severity; and Lanfranc, by an ungenerous reference to a personal letter, incriminated Berengarius for holding the heresy of John Duns Scotus Erigena. Berengarius was censured by the Council and commanded to appear before another held at Vercelli a year later. The King of France forbade him to leave the kingdom, and, for some reason not very clear, shut him up in prison. Berengarius was condemned at Vercelli unheard. These proceedings exasperated the friends of the reformer in France, who were numerous and powerful. His adversaries pressed on the prosecution. A petty synod was held at Brion, and a Council was held at Paris at which the most violent threats against Berengarius were heard. So alarming was the agitation that, in the year 1054, Hildebrand the cardinal was sent as Papal legate to compose the troubles of the French Church. With characteristic adroitness and intrepidity he convoked a Council at Tours, and put Berengarius on his trial in his own town. The records of

the trial are imperfect, but it is said that Berengarius had not the courage of his convictions and designedly adopted such ambiguous language that Hildebrand professed to be satisfied by it, and cleared Berengarius from the charge of heresy. In 1059 Pope Nicholas II. summoned Berengarius to Rome, and by terrific threats made him profess himself willing to embrace as *de fide* whatever doctrine the Council might impose. Cardinal Humbert drew up a confession which Berengarius publicly subscribed and swore to. This confession declared "that the bread and wine after consecration were not only a sacrament but also the real body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that this body and blood were handled by the priests and consumed by the faithful, and not in a sacramental sense but in reality and truth as other sensible objects are." Thus the Capernaite heresy contradicting the impassibility of Christ's body was affirmed by Pope Nicholas (see POPE AND COUNCIL, JANUS), and Berengarius was forced to confess it. Full of shame and remorse Berengarius returned to France; and once safely there he published a written recantation of those opinions which at Rome he had subscribed under terror of death. Notwithstanding his compliance with the Pope's demands, Berengarius seems to have lost neither influence nor reputation. His disciples in France grew in number from day to day, convinced, we must believe, that their master sincerely loved the truth and sincerely repented of his fall. Eighteen years passed by, and in 1078 Hildebrand, then Pope Gregory VII., found himself obliged to examine the controversy about the Lord's Supper afresh. Again Berengarius appeared in Rome to answer for his teaching. Hildebrand treated him with strange mildness and generosity. He allowed Berengarius to renounce the confession drawn up by Humbert twenty years before, and to draw up a confession of faith for himself. Again, as at Tours, so it seems Berengarius resorted to, and Hildebrand connived at, a studied ambiguity in terms. For he declared that the bread laid on the altar became after consecration the true body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, suffered, and now is seated in glory; and that the wine placed on the altar became after consecration the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ. This language would satisfy Hildebrand, who not improbably agreed with Berengarius about the Lord's Supper, and who had little time or talent for pure theology. But the zealots of Transubstantiation would not let the confession pass, and a year later they compelled Berengarius once more to sign a declaration that he believed the doctrine of Radbert. The old man's spirit was now broken. He returned to Tours, and again recanted what at Rome he had recently professed. He retired to St. Cosmas, a small island washed by the familiar waters of the Loire, and passed his remaining years in penitence and seclusion. Berengarius left upon the mind of his contemporaries and his scholars the impression, which momentary lapses could not obliterate, of integrity, sanctity, and devotion to Christian truth. An ingenious papist has tried to show that Berengarius died believing in Transubstantiation; but all evidence contradicts this fancy. Berengarius presents a fine parallel to our English Cranmer: each was a student and man of books, each laboured earnestly for the reform of opinions, each displayed unmistakable sincerity, and relied upon moral and spiritual persuasion rather than upon force or political cunning, each when tried by the fear of death failed to witness a good confession, yet each was understood and forgiven by good men in his own time and will be loved for their work's sake by good men in all time. [H. J. R. M.]

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BIBLE.—This name of the Holy Scriptures is derived from the Septuagint Version, through the Vulgate: in Greek Βιβλία, in Latin Biblia, English 'Books." The Bible as we have it is a collection of sixty-six distinct books, composed

[illegible] assembly
[illegible] Synagogue of
[illegible] 300 years. The
[illegible] sacred writings is
[illegible] was completed about
[illegible] tradition that assigns
[illegible] Great Synagogue the task
[illegible] and promulgated these
[illegible] in question. [The con-
[illegible] serious objections to that
[illegible] by Kuenen and Robertson
[illegible] questioned by C. H. H. Wright
[illegible] in his work on the Book of
[illegible] The account in 2 Maccabees
[illegible] attributes to Nehemiah a collec-
[illegible] favours the idea of a gradual
[illegible] of the Sacred Canon during a
[illegible] interval beginning with Ezra and
[illegible] through a part or the whole of the
Persian period. This tradition of the Macca-
[illegible] omits the books of the Law. The various
classes of books in the Old Testament may
have been completed in succession, and the
work may have been finally completed at or
after the persecution of Antiochus (160 B.C.).
That king sought out the books of the Law
(1 Macc. i. 56) and burnt them; and the posses-
sion of a "Book of the Covenant" was a capital
crime (see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, sub
voce). The books of the New Testament seem
to have been all written by about A.D. 100.
The canon of both the Old and New Testaments
as we now have it, but including six Apocry-
phal books of the Old Testament, was ratified
by the Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397.
But that Council was a Provincial not a General
Council, and its decrees are in no way binding
upon the Church. Athanasius (A.D. 340) gives
a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament,
as the English Church receives them now,
and mentions as not canonical the Wisdom
of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, the Apocry-
phal books of Esther, Judith, and Tobit. Cyril
(A.D. 350) distinguishes between the Apocryphal
and the Canonical books, giving the number of
the latter as twenty-two, the same as Augustine's
number, with the addition of Baruch and the
Epistle to the Book of Jeremiah. The Council
of Laodicea (A.D. 364) gives exactly the same
list as Athanasius and Cyril (see Browne on
Article VI.). What is generally known as the
Authorised Version in English, translated from
the Hebrew and the Greek, was issued in 1611.
It has been adopted in the Prayer Book, except
as regards the Psalter and the offertory and
other sentences in the office of the Holy
Communion. The Psalms are taken from the
translation of Tyndale and Coverdale (1535),
[illegible] (1539). Wycliffe's Version
[illegible]. The Revised Version, a
[illegible] exact rendering, was
published in 1885. Roman Catholics use the Latin Vulgate, in which are many and often serious inaccuracies. From it has been derived the Douay, for English-speaking Romanists, in 1610. A revised Douay Bible has been since authorised, in which many Protestant renderings have been adopted, so that it is more correct.

As to the nature and degree of the inspiration of the sacred books, Christians differ considerably; whilst as to the fact of its inspiration they are agreed. One remarkable feature of the whole Bible, which indirectly attests its divine origin, is the general agreement of the inspired penmen (though they wrote independently of each other in different times and places), as to the character and purposes of God, the Fall of man, the nature and desert of sin, and especially on the great questions of the Person and work of Christ and His Redemption. This last essential truth so pervades the whole as to be like a golden thread in a many-coloured fabric. In fact God's chief purpose in giving us His written Word was evidently to testify of the Divine Saviour and of His great Salvation, as well as to furnish a guide of life and a rule of faith to men. The Bible is unique. There is no book like it in human literature, for it contains the purest moral teaching, the sublimest poetry, the noblest sentiments and principles of action, the clearest information about both the origin and the end of all things. No doctrine clearly taught therein, and no important fact related in it, however much questioned, has ever been disproved.

As to the interpretation of the Bible, it has often been argued by Roman Catholics and Ritualists that, since the Church has given us the Bible, she alone can correctly and authoritatively explain its meaning; but this reasoning is fallacious. It is true that the inspired books have been handed down by human agency, the Old Testament by the Jews, the New by the Christian Church; but neither part is the work or gift of the Church. On the contrary, both Old and New Testaments are the "living Oracles" of God and inspired by the Holy Spirit. "All Scripture," St. Paul declares, to be "God-breathed," and he refers to the Old Testament (1 Tim. iii. 16). St. Peter, too, assures us that "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i. 20, 21). The fact is, that the Old Testament has come to us through the Jews from God Himself and endorsed by Christ and His Apostles; and the New Testament was written by the Apostles and Evangelists, whom He promised to guide into all truth. Neither the Old nor New Testament,

therefore, can be truly said to have emanated from the Church as such, nor can she claim to be the only interpreter of its meaning. This is a fundamental point of difference between Rome and Protestant Churches. The Church of England, indeed, in her twentieth Article, declares with perfect truth that the Church "hath authority in controversies of faith," but not that she is the paramount authority; and it is added that "although the Church be a witness and keeper of holy writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation."

Entirely opposite on this point are the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome. Her doctrine on this point has naturally led her to deny the right of private judgment and to put various restrictions on the private study of God's Word. The Council of Trent (Sess. iv.) ordered, that if any one without a licence presumed to read or keep by him translations of the Scriptures made even by Catholic writers, he should not be capable of receiving absolution, unless he should have given up the Bible to the Ordinary. Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Controv.* (1) p. 70, 1720) wrote: "We maintain that the Scriptures ought not to be read publicly in the vulgar tongue, nor allowed to be read indifferently by everybody." In England, of course, Romanists cannot be debarred from the possession or use of the Bible; but in Roman Catholic countries, especially Italy and Spain, there is on the part of the priests strong opposition to the circulation of the Bible. The inevitable result of this system is the darkening of men's minds and the riveting of the chains of priestcraft and superstition. See APOCRYPHA, RULE OF FAITH, TRADITION. [W. B.]

BIBLE SOCIETIES.—Societies for printing and circulating the Holy Scriptures. The largest and best known of these societies is the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was founded in 1704. It now translates the Scriptures into some 350 different languages. These translations find their way into all parts of the world. The great missionary societies are supplied with them in enormous numbers. The aim of Protestants in these societies is to sow the "bare grain" of the Word of God broadcast over the world, in the hope that that seed will grow by its own inherent divine power, and fostering its growth by the ministry of the Gospel and all appointed means of grace. The reverse position is taken up by the Church of Rome, which holds that it is not right to put the Scriptures into the hands of any person without the Romish accredited explanation. That Church has often exhibited great hostility to such societies. A Bull was issued against them by Pope Pius VII. in 1816, in which he characterises their circulation of the Scriptures as "a crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined; a pestilence which must be remedied and abolished; a defilement of the faith, eminently dangerous to souls," &c. In the same spirit Pius IX. termed Bible Societies pests equally with Socialism, Communism, and Secret Societies. The author of *The End of Controversy*, Bishop Milner, declared that it was evidently impossible to add any notes whatever to the sacred text, which shall make it a safe and proper elementary book of instruction for the illiterate poor, and actually expressed his conviction that "Public crimes go on year by year in proportion to the progress of the Bible Societies" (*Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics*, p. 241). He also considered that penny catechisms, mere human compositions, were better for his priests to distribute to unlearned persons than the Word of God (*ibid.*, p. 306). [M. E. W. J.]

BIDDING PRAYER is a so-called prayer which bids or directs certain prayers to be made, and begins "ye shall pray for." As the Bidding is not actually a prayer itself, the term may possibly be a contraction for "bidding of prayer." Before the Reformation, prayers for the dead were bid in this way, but, as Strype says, bidding the prayer is now turned into bidding the praise. What is now known as the Bidding Prayer is that mentioned in Canon 55 of 1603, which directs that "before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form or to this effect as briefly as conveniently they may." The form given is as follows: "Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland: and herein I require you most especially to pray for the King's most excellent Majesty our Sovereign Lord *James*, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor in these his realms, and all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal: ye shall also pray for our gracious Queen *Anne*, the noble Prince *Henry*, and the rest of the King and Queen's royal issue: ye shall also pray for the Ministers of God's holy Word and Sacraments, as well Archbishops and Bishops, as other Pastors and Curates: ye shall also pray for the King's most honourable Council, and for

all the Nobility and Magistrates of this realm; that all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and the edifying and well governing of his people, remembering the account that they must make: also ye shall pray for the whole Commons of this realm, that they may live in the true faith and fear of God in humble obedience to the King and brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those which are departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example; that, this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting; always concluding with the Lord's Prayer."

Before using the above prayer, of course, the names and correct style of the sovereign and members of the royal family must be inserted according to the Order in Council for the time being in force.

The above form is interesting from the definition given of the "Catholic Church" and for its reference to the Church of Scotland, then, as now, Presbyterian. The Bidding Prayer is now rarely heard except in Cathedrals, the Universities, and Inns of Court, where a somewhat longer form than that given above (though modelled on the same lines) is used.

The use of a Bidding Prayer before a sermon is also sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872 (Whitehead, *Church Law*). [B. W.]

BIRETTA.—A square cap of black silk or other material worn by Romish priests. It is also used by the Ritualists as being "the non-episcopal form of the mitre," and signifying, with that, "the helmet of salvation and the glory of the priesthood." See Wright, *The Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches*, p. 42. The biretta is illegal in the Church of England. See Whitehead, *Church Law;* Miller's *Guide to Eccl. Law.*

BISHOP.—This title, derived from the Greek Ἐπίσκοπος, originally meant one who has the oversight of others—a superintendent. The name had been formerly applied to the Inspectors or Commissioners, sent by Athens to her subject States. It was still current and beginning to be used by the Romans in the later days of their Republic. The Hellenistic Jews found it employed in the Septuagint for certain officers in Israel (Numbers iv. 16; xxxi. 14). So when the early Christians found it necessary for the organisation of their churches in Gentile cities to assign the work of superintendence to a distinct order, that title presented itself as convenient and was therefore adopted as readily as the word Elder (πρεσβύτερος) had been in the mother Church of Jerusalem (see Acts xi. 30 and xv.). There can be no doubt that the office of Presbyter had the priority in order of time. The president of a company of Presbyters probably soon became known as a Bishop or Overseer, and was *primus inter pares* in his parish or diocese. Still the two titles appear to have been at first equivalent (see Acts xx. 27, 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. v. 17; Titus i. 5, 7; 1 Peter v. 1, 2). At the same time we find, from his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, that towards the end of his own Apostleship St. Paul appointed others, who had previously received their appointment to the ministry from God by the laying on of his hands (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6), that they might, as the Apostles had hitherto done, "ordain Elders in every city" (Titus i. 5; 1 Tim. i. 3, v. 21, 22, &c.), and set in order things that were wanting. Although the title of "Bishop" was not applied to either of them, it seems evident that they exercised some of the functions of the modern bishops, either provisionally or permanently. Thus may be traced the germs of a threefold ministry in the Apostles, the Presbyters or Episcopi, and the Deacons. It has, too, been maintained that when the Apostles were about to be withdrawn by death, they delegated some of their ordinary functions and authority to such leading ministers as Timothy and Titus. Moreover, it is well worthy of notice that, in the Revelation of St. John, the Seven Churches are addressed through one presiding minister, who is called an Angel, a name of similar import to that of Apostle. These Angels are compared to stars placed to give light to the Churches (i. 20). One of these Churches is that of Ephesus where there were many Elders, and at one time Timothy was appointed "Overseer." [This explanation of the Angels of the Churches is not universally accepted by critics.] These and the like facts point towards a threefold ministry even in New Testament times. When we read the annals of the Primitive Church and the writings of the early Fathers, indications of this become more and more distinct, and it is certain that in the beginning of the third century, *i.e.* one hundred years after the Apostles, there existed in the Church the three orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons (see Browne on Article XXIII., Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, sub voce). In early times Bishops appear to have been elected by the clergy and laity. At a much later date the Sovereigns of Europe took their appointment to some extent into their own hands. The Crown is said to have appointed them in England even in Saxon times. This will account for the present system of selecting

men for this office by royal letters patent, addressed to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, directing them as to the choice they are to make. The clergyman thus nominated is then consecrated by the Archbishop and Bishops.

A Bishop's chief duties are to ordain, to confirm, to consecrate Bishops and churches, to visit and direct the clergy, and exercise a godly discipline over them, to institute to livings, to license curates, to appoint honorary canons, to grant marriage licences, and some minor dispensations. Most of the English Bishops have seats in the House of Lords. See ARCHBISHOP, EPISCOPACY, ORDINARY.

[W. B.]

BLACK GOWN, THE. — The black gown in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth was part of the ordinary dress of the clergy. (See Injunctions of Elizabeth, 1559, No. 30, which was probably aimed at the ministering dress of the clergy quite as much as at their outdoor dress; and Tomlinson, *On the Prayer Book.*) When ministering in church they consequently wore the surplice over the gown, or exchanged the gown for the surplice. Upon preaching, the surplice was removed and the preacher appeared in the gown, since the sermon was not a time of "ministration." (See Archdeacon Harrison, *On the Rubrics.*) Hence for 300 years subsequent to the Reformation the gown was the universal preaching dress of the clergy of the Church of England. The surplice, however, may be also legally used for this purpose, and its use has become now very general. The legality of the black gown, which had sometimes been questioned by Ritualists, has been fully decided in the case of Robinson Wright *v.* Tugwell, and affirmed by the Court of Appeal (see Whitehead, *Church Law*, and Miller's *Guide to Eccl. Law*). Under such circumstances it is perhaps a pity that the black gown should be discontinued. Its use, moreover, forms a visible bond of union with the Church of Scotland and other Protestant Churches. [B. W.]

BLACK RUBRIC, THE, is the popular name for the Declaration on Kneeling suffixed to the Communion Office. It got the title "black" from its being printed in black letters and not rubricated. [In some modern editions this has been altered, but on what authority?]; for like the similar Declaration about the use of the cross at baptism, it was not intended "for the better direction of them that are to officiate in divine service"—as the rubrics, properly so called, are. Both were probably after-thoughts added to the Prayer Book subsequently to its being tendered by Convocation to the King for submission to Parliament. Both, therefore, are found, unlike the rest, in the handwriting of Sancroft, and had to be crowded into a small space obviously not intended for them in the MS. which was "annexed" to the last Act of Uniformity, as the schedule enacted by the 13 & 14 Car. II.

Both of these so-called "rubrics" were official apologies intended to meet the scruples of those who objected either to the use of the sign of the cross (not "in baptism," but) *after* baptism, or to the communicants kneeling during the act of reception.

It is a curious illustration of the complete revolution in doctrine effected during the last half-century, that both these "rubrics" emanated from the anti-Puritan party which represented what alone could be termed the "High Church" view, as "High Churchism" was then understood.

It must be remembered that the revision of 1550–1, in which the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. originated, was by no means a "Puritan" change. It raised the standard of ritual and worship in several important particulars. For example, it made the minimum attendance at Holy Communion to consist of reception three times a year, instead of only once; it required the "chancels to remain, as in times past," although Hooper and Bucer among others advocated their abolition; it directed the daily use of morning and evening prayer, and required kneeling at Communion, which was not prescribed by the First Prayer Book.

This last-named alteration gave great offence to John Knox, who was one of the royal chaplains, as well as to Hooper and Alasco, and through their influence pressure was brought to bear upon Cranmer and the "Bishop of London," *i.e.* Ridley, to induce them to consent to strike out the new rubric which had already been printed in the new Prayer Book. Cranmer's letter in reply is printed in Tomlinson's *On the Prayer Book*, p. 256. The primate urged that this very point had been "with just balance weighed at the making of the book" and had been adopted by the Commission of the "best learned men within this realm and appointed for that purpose" as well as by Parliament and with the royal assent. He urged, therefore, that it was *ultra vires* to set this rule aside without any authority of Parliament, and also that "if the kneeling of the people should be discontinued for the time of the receiving of the sacrament, so that at the receipt thereof they should rise up and stand or sit, and then immediately kneel down again, it should rather import a contemptuous than a reverent receiving." There is no doubt that Ridley took the same line, for he wrote afterwards to Grindal that he would have required Alasco to conform both in respect of

the surplice and the kneeling, "if he might have done so much with our magistrates" (*Works*, p. 534, Parker Society Supplement).

The "Black Rubric" was not forced into the Prayer Book in despite of Cranmer and his fellow-reformers. Bps. Grindal and Horn affirm that it was an "explanation, or rather caution, that the very authors of the kneeling, most holy men and constant martyrs of Jesus Christ," adopted (*Zurich Letters*, i. p. 180). "To avoid the profanation and disorder which about the Holy Communion might else ensue" is the very objection which Cranmer's letter to the Council had urged. Cranmer had promised to "accomplish his Majesty's commandment" and here we have the result. It was accordingly issued as a Royal Proclamation which was duly enrolled as such, and Bishop Goodrich was directed to see that it was "joined unto the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth." Thus, in law, it formed no part of the statutory Prayer Book to which it was "joined" by royal authority alone. When, therefore, Elizabeth's Parliament re-enacted the Second Prayer Book (and repealed Mary's Act of Repeal) that did not in any way revive Edward's Proclamation. Hence the "Black Rubric," though never formally set aside, dropped out of the printed Prayer Books, and of course did not exist in the black-letter book used by the Revisers in 1661. At the Savoy Conference the Nonconformists asked for its restoration; but the Bishops replied that it was no part of the Prayer Book, that its sense was declared in the XXVIIIth Article, and that "the world was *now* in more danger of profanation than of idolatry." The concession was, therefore, refused. But the Revision was happily not effected by the Savoy Commissioners, and at a later stage the very alteration which the Baxterians had urged was granted. One verbal alteration was, however, made to exclude the Socinian view that there is no "real presence" of Christ in the use of His own ordinance. With that object the repudiation of "any real and essential presence there being" was altered into a denial of "any corporal presence." For, in one sense, a "presence" of Christ's natural body and blood, *the only body and blood, be it observed, that He ever had, or can have*, is recognised as resulting from the "hypostatic" or Personal union of the Godhead with the manhood, so that the omnipresent *Logos*, in virtue of the *Personal* union of the two natures, gives to His absent humanity a "presence" everywhere of a certain sort, viz., of efficacy and virtue for all purposes of blessing and "benefit" which His death and blood-shedding had procured for the faithful.

Yet any residence of his Corpus "in, with, or under," the outward elements would constitute a "corporal presence," which, however invisible or mysterious, would give occasion to worship of "the visible shows." Therefore "ANY" corporal presence was formally denied. If we remember the degradation and irreverence which had resulted from the disorders of the Great Rebellion and the consequent outbreaks of fanaticism and of unbelief which such confusion and disregard of lawful authority had given rise to, this precaution will not seem unnecessary: only it must be also remembered that the phrase "Real Presence" (or indeed the question-begging word "presence" itself) still remains *utterly and absolutely unauthorised*, and that the Church of England never speaks of any *bodily* eating or drinking of any imagined "spiritual body," or "spiritual blood," but only of the "spiritual *eating*" of "the *Natural* body of Christ" which "is in Heaven" and "is *not here*." This effectually excludes every form of the so-called "objective presence," which was the object aimed at by this Declaration, and by Article XXIX.

It has been contended by some recent writers that Dr. Gunning was the author of the change in the wording, and that he held some sort of doctrine of an "objective" presence. Both statements, however, rest on mere gossip. As Mr. Scudamore says, "Burnet evidently speaks on hearsay, and in a manner that does not inspire confidence" (*Not. Euch.*, p. 957, note). Burnet charges Gunning with two absurd notions: (1) That corporal presence means "such a presence as a body naturally has"—which no Romanist (or any body else) ever held; and (2) with asserting that "there was a cylinder of a vacuum made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven!" But there is a much more simple and natural account to be given of the matter. In 1552 the Article which is now numbered XXVIII. in our XXXIX. Articles was worded "*non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profitere.*" Thus "corporal and real" were regarded as words of the same meaning; but the change of mental attitude toward sacramental truth had, in 1661, made the one term ambiguous and misleading, while the other necessarily imported at least the "presence" of a Corpus. It was obviously natural to return to the use of the word "corporal" which was then additionally strengthened by the addition of the exhaustive prefix "ANY." No Romanist or Romaniser could honestly profess that the body of Christ was located in the outward elements and yet at the same time deny "any corporal presence." Accordingly, they are now driven to invent theories about a "Spiritual body" which they think might be so "present," though "the

Natural body" which "is in heaven," could not! See Dimock's *Vox Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* p. 128; Goode's *Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist*, p. 621. [J. T. T.]

BODY OF CHRIST, THE. — The several senses in which this expression is used by many writers lead to much confusion of thought.

By it is signified either—

1. His natural Body, which He took at His Incarnation, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to man's nature, in which he suffered and was crucified.

2. His glorified Body. This is the same as His natural Body (Article IV.), but with certain additional characteristics, latent probably in the natural Body until after His resurrection, but then exhibited; as we may suppose will be the case with our own bodies when raised from the dead. The glorified Body is not so changed as to cease to be the natural Body; and therefore the rubric at the end of the Communion Service quite rightly states that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven," and the objection taken to that statement by Canon Mason (*Faith of the Gospel*) on the ground of His Body being now glorified, is untenable. (Canon Mason's other objection to that statement, that there is no such *place* as heaven distinct from earth, ignores the constant representation of Holy Scripture and the fact that we human beings can only think under the condition of time and space.)

3. His symbolical Body. This is the bread which symbolises His Body and is eaten by the mouth and teeth and enters the stomach and is digested. (Of late years young people in the Roman Communion have been taught not to use their teeth in consuming the wafer lest they tear the flesh of Christ; they go through a rehearsal with an unconsecrated wafer to learn how to avoid this.) It is called His Body because it is the appointed sign or symbol of His Body.

4. His crucified Body. This is the Body which is symbolised by the bread; not His glorified Body, as some have taught, but the Body as offered on the Cross [and that body deprived of the blood; as in all Levitical sacrifices].

5. His spiritual body. This expression is used in several senses.

(1) St. Paul divides bodies into natural and spiritual, the first of which are animated by the animal soul and are sometimes therefore called psychical; the second are controlled by the spirit or *pneuma*. Thus regarded, our Lord's body was from the first a spiritual Body. To think or say otherwise would be blasphemy.

(2) The expression is sometimes used as synonymous, or nearly synonymous, with His glorified Body. There is no objection to this, provided that an explanation is given of the sense in which the word is taken.

(3) But it is also employed in a manner that is inadmissible. Some have been found to maintain that Christ's body became spiritual, or fully under the control of the *pneuma*, only after the Resurrection, having been up to that time psychical; and others, who do not go so far as that profanity, have argued that His Body was so spiritualised after His resurrection as to possess the qualities of spirit rather than of body. We see what is the purpose of this contention. It is to make the presence of His Body on many altars conceivable. In direct opposition to this error, Hooker writes: "Nothing of Christ which is limited, nothing created, neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and consequently not Christ as man, or Christ according to His human nature, can possibly be everywhere present. . . . The manhood of Christ can neither be everywhere present, nor cause the Person of Christ so to be. . . . The substance of the Body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have, but only local. . . . If his majestical Body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may everywhere really, even in substance, present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of His estate extinguished the verity of His nature. . . . We hold it a most infallible truth that Christ, as man, is not everywhere present"—(*Eccl. Pol.* v. 55). In short, it is a Body still and not so spiritualised as to have become Spirit.

(4) The expression, "His spiritual Body," is sometimes used inexactly instead of "His Body spiritually imparted.' Men speak of Christ's spiritual Body being given in the Holy Communion, and this leads to very erroneous conceptions. What is the meaning of "This is My Body: Do this in remembrance of Me?" It means (1) that the bread broken was a symbol of the Body about to be broken on the Cross, and was for ever to remind Christians of the Cross and Passion. But beyond this it teaches (2) that the devout eating of the bread with the mouth would enable the faithful recipient to feed upon Christ in the heart, and not only to feed upon Him in His divine nature, but specially as the Redeemer who "gave" His Body to be offered on the Cross as the one sin-offering of the world. It is not that the devout communicant receives a spiritual Body of Christ into his mouth, but that he spiritually (that is, as spirit communicates with spirit) receives in his soul, penitent and faithful, the benefits derived from the sacrificed Body. Thus, Article XXVIII. teaches, not that a

spiritual Body of Christ is "given, taken, and eaten in the Supper," but that the Body of Christ—that is, Christ in His character of the suffering Saviour—is given, taken, and eaten or fed upon, "after a heavenly and spiritual manner," "the mean (*medium quo*) whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper being faith." Instead, therefore, of speaking of His spiritual Body, we should say His Body spiritually imparted.

6. There is another sense in which the expression, Body of Christ, is taken, and taken rightly, though it does not exclude or supersede that numbered (4). Just as the thing representing frequently takes the name of that which is represented by it (whence the bread is called the Body), so occasionally the instrumental cause of a thing takes the name of that which is caused by it. In sacraments there are two parts, an outward part and an "inward spiritual *grace*." Accordingly in the Lord's Supper there are two parts, "an outward part" and "an inward part." But this "inward part" must be a "spiritual *grace*," to accord with the definition of a sacrament immediately preceding it in the Catechism. This inward part or spiritual grace, signified by the outward part, is called "the Body and Blood of Christ." That cannot be a material thing, for it is received in the soul which admits nothing material, and, as we have seen, there is no such thing as a spiritual Body and Blood of Christ received by the communicant; it is not a material thing, but a grace—a grace which effects "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls." Why is this *grace* called "the Body and Blood of Christ?" Because it is the grace of His broken Body and the shedding of His Blood; in other words, because it was the offering of Christ's body on the Cross and His blood-shedding there which is the instrumental cause of the grace conveyed in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Therefore, when we say that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ, we say in effect that we receive the grace purchased for us by the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ on the Cross. None of our English divines have stated this aspect of a mysterious truth so plainly as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, who writes: "His natural Body, being carried from us into heaven, cannot be touched or tasted by us on earth; but yet Christ left to us symbols or sacraments of this natural Body, not to convey that natural Body to us, but to do more and better for us—to convey all the blessings and graces procured for us by the breaking of that Body and the effusion of that Blood; *which blessings* being spiritual, *are therefore called 'His Body' spiritually* because procured by that Body which died for us; and [these blessings] are therefore called our food because by them we live a new life in the Spirit, and Christ is our bread and our life because by Him, after this manner, we are nourished up to life eternal" (*Worthy Communicant*, i. 3). Beside its other signification, then, the Body of Christ sometimes means the benefits that we derive from that Body having been sacrificed for us. Even Aquinas and Liguori teach that the "inward part or thing signified" in the Eucharist (*res sacramenti*) is at once the grace which refreshes the soul (*refectio animae*) and the Body of Christ, the latter of which is itself also the sign (*sacramentum*) of that refreshment, *Corpus Christi significatur a speciebus et gratiam significat*. They have just escaped the truth, that by the Body of Christ, as received in the Holy Communion, is meant the grace which refreshes the soul owing to the offering of the Body of Christ. See Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, vi. 3, 189; and Aquinas, *Summa*, Part III. suppl. 73.

It will be noted that the Body of Christ *which we feed upon* is absent, and we feed upon it by devout memory and warm affection; but the Body of Christ *which we receive into the soul* is present, being a grace, a blessing, a benefit, flowing from His sacrificed Body and bestowed upon us in Holy Communion.

Canon Gore has published (1901) a book called "*The Body of Christ*," in which he gives that title to the glorified body of Christ "sacramentally identified" with the bread and wine consecrated upon the altar. He does not define the term "sacramentally identified," but we may note that the Council of Trent contrasts "sacramentally and really" with "spiritually," anathematising those who held that Christ was eaten in the Eucharist "spiritually" and not "sacramentally." Canon viii. of Session xiii. runs: "If any one say that Christ exhibited in the Eucharist is only spiritually eaten and not also sacramentally and really, be he anathema." "Sacramentally" therefore does not mean "spiritually." The manner in which the sacramental identification of the bread and wine with Christ is supposed by Canon Gore to be effected is as follows: He holds that at the moment of consecration by the priest (rather by the thousands of priests throughout the world) the bread and wine are conveyed to heaven by an agency which he does not define and laid upon an altar which he conceives as existing in heaven. Lying there, they are converted into or made one with the glorified Body of Christ who is in heaven, and then they are returned to the several altars and are a legitimate object of worship to the congregations assembled in the churches, having become Christ's Body and blood. The origin of this

almost grotesque imagination is a prayer inserted apparently by Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century into the Roman Mass immediately after the consecration, which prays God to "order these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thy altar on high in sight of Thy divine Majesty.' To this day no one can tell what are "these things" (the bread and wine having, to Papists, already been converted into Christ) or who is "Thy holy angel" or what is "Thy altar on high." But upon the words used in this prayer Paschasius Radbert—the same that first taught the doctrine (though not the word) of Transubstantiation—based in the ninth century the theory which Dr. Gore has adopted and embellished as a substructure for the doctrine of the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements, which appeared to require underpinning. Canon Gore justifies his assertion of the existence of an altar in heaven by appealing to a passage of Irenæus, which equally proves the existence of the Tabernacle and the Temple in heaven and is plainly metaphorical. He does not venture, like Gregory, to define the agency by which is effected the transference of the bread and wine to heaven and of the bread and wine identified with Christ's body back again to the altar after which the worship of the congregation is "focussed" upon them. The agency, whatever it is, must be very swift in its action, for worship of the Host is ordered in the Missal as soon as ever the priest has said, "This is My body," and if that worship was offered before the passage to heaven and back had been successfully accomplished, any worship, thus "focussed" (p. 105), would be acknowledged on all hands to be the idolatrous worship of a piece of unleavened bread with which Christ's Body was not yet united or identified. According to Pope Gregory the carriage to heaven—he says nothing as to its return to earth, which is a further development attributed to Gregory's prayer by Dr. Gore (p. 186)—is made by a single angel however many Masses may be in course of celebration in the world. If the Body of Christ is to be "identified" with the bread, it is far simpler to accept the theory of either Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation than that of the heavenly altar, for which there is no authority whatever in Scripture or in the belief of the Primitive Church, and which creates a composite Body of Christ similar to that which the advocates of Consubstantiation are charged (rightly or wrongly) with holding. There is no such Body of Christ as that which Paschasius Radbert and Dr. Gore, misunderstanding Irenæus and Pope Gregory I., have imagined.

We need hardly state that when Christ is present where two or three are gathered together, it is by His Spirit not by His Body in any of its various senses that He is present.

6. His mystical Body. This is the company of the faithful, or the Christian Church, of which Christ is the mystical Head. It is this Body of Christ, and none other, that can possibly be offered to God in the Holy Eucharist. No one can make an offering or sacrifice to God of anything that is not either himself or his own in such a way that he can divest himself of the ownership thereof and give it wholly to God. But Christ is not the possession of any man or priest so that the latter can own Him, nor so that he can divest himself of the ownership of Him, declaring that he will henceforth have nothing to do with Him as any more belonging to himself. It is the height of presumption for any man to propose to offer or give away Christ as though He belonged to him, and it is great profanity to declare by his act (as a sacrificial offering would do) that he will henceforth have no interest in Him. Therefore no man can sacrifice Christ nor the Body of Christ either in its glorified or crucified estate. But St. Augustine has a devout fancy—it is hardly more — that the Church, being the mystical Body of Christ, can and does offer herself to God in the Holy Eucharist. "The whole redeemed city, that is, the congregation and fellowship of the saints, is offered up to God an universal sacrifice through the great High Priest. This is the sacrifice of Christians, many constituting one Body in Christ" (*De Civ. Dei*, x.). "If you want to understand what the Body of Christ is, listen to the Apostle, saying to the faithful, 'Ye are the Body of Christ'" (*Serm.* ccxxix). "We ourselves, that is, the City of God, are the most noble and best sacrifice" (*De Civ. Dei*, xix.). Carrying out this idea, Bishop Buckeridge writes, "This offering up of ourselves is, indeed, the true and daily sacrifice of the Christian Church, which, being the mystical Body of Christ, cannot offer Christ's natural Body, which Christ offered once for all upon the Cross, but offereth His mystical Body, that is, herself, by Christ her High Priest and Head, unto God" (*Discourse*). There is nothing untrue or objectionable in this conception except this—that in each particular celebration of the Eucharist, it is not the whole Church that is celebrating it, but only the members of the congregation then and there assembled. It is better, therefore, in accordance with the Anglican form, for the oblation to be not of the whole Church (which one congregation could not make) but of ourselves who form the congregation, as is done in the familiar words,

"And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee; humbly beseeching Thee, that all we who are partakers of this Holy Communion may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service" (*Communion Service*).

In the Holy Communion we can offer the bread and wine before their consecration, and therefore before they have become the symbolical Body and Blood of Christ, for the service of God in His Ordinance and as a sign of homage to the Creator for His goodness in supplying us with the food necessary for the support of life, according to the practice of the first two centuries and a half after Christ; and we can offer to God ourselves who make a part of Christ's mystical Body the Church; but we cannot offer the natural Body of Christ, which is in heaven and not on an earthly altar, nor, if it were there, could we offer it in sacrifice, because we are not the owners of it, willing to divest ourselves of our ownership and of our interest in it. We cannot offer His crucified Body, for that no longer exists except as revivified in His glorified body. And we cannot offer His glorified Body, for that is the same as His natural Body with some new qualities added or evolved, which the heavens must contain till the time of the restitution of all things. The essential purpose of a sacrament is not that we may offer but that we may receive. What we receive is (1) the symbolical Body of Christ—that is, the bread and wine, unchanged in substance, set apart to represent Christ's Body; (2) the graces and blessings flowing from the crucified Body of Christ which effect in the devout communicant the strengthening and refreshing of the soul. We do not receive Christ's natural Body, neither the Body crucified nor the Body glorified, but in our souls we feed on the Body, once crucified for us, by a faithful and loving remembrance of the Incarnate Saviour's propitiatory death upon the Cross, and in our souls we receive the graces and blessings thence flowing, which, being purchased for us and brought about by His giving His Body to be sacrificed for us, may be and sometimes are for that reason called His Body. [F. M.]

BOWING.—The inclination of the head as a sign of respect or reverence. Hence it is an instinctive and natural gesture accompanying, and significant of, humble adoration in divine worship. We bow the head, as we kneel, before the realised, spiritual presence of God. As a custom in public worship, bowing at the name of Jesus, especially where it occurs in the Creeds, is probably based upon a misapprehension of Phil. ii. 10, "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." In the Revised Version this is rendered "in the name of Jesus," which, it cannot be doubted, is the meaning of the original Greek. The passage simply means that prayer must now be offered up by all persons (angels or men) in the name of Jesus. The general sense of the whole passage in which that verse occurs is not concerned with a mere bowing of man's head or knee, when pronouncing or hearing the word "Jesus." Canon 18 enjoins the practice, "when in time of divine service the name of the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned," but there is no rubric to that effect. When the canon was drawn up it was customary to bow whenever the names of King, Queen, or any noble personages were mentioned. Instances may be seen in the account of the Final Examination of Bps. Ridley and Latimer at Oxford (see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and Ridley's *Works*, Parker Society). And as canons do not bind the laity, this is a matter which may well be left to the conscience and judgment of each worshipper, if it be done not from superstition but as an expression of reverence. Bowing has been extended, as a Ritualistic practice, to the *Gloria Patri*. Bowing to the "altar," as the Communion Table is termed by those who do so, would seem decidedly to involve the holding of false doctrine, for the Communion Table can be no holier, in the sense of necessity to bow to it, than the Font, unless the Roman doctrine of the sacrifice of the Lord's Body upon an altar is held. The canon of 1640 which sanctioned it has no legal validity. See CANONS; GENUFLEXION. [M. E. W. J.]

BOY-BISHOP.—A descriptive appellation given in the Middle Ages to one of the boys of the choir of a cathedral who, at the Christmas time, from St. Nicolas' Day to that of the Holy Innocents, assumed the episcopal dress and occupied to some extent the place of "bishop" among his companions. The custom is supposed to have been an allusion to our Saviour's inculcation of the childlike [*not* childish] spirit to His Apostles when He took a little child and set him in their midst (see the *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 195).

BRAWLING.—Riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour in a place of worship during divine service or at any other time, or in any churchyard or burial-ground. Brawling is a misdemeanour under several statutes (see Whitehead, *Church Law*), and involves liability to penalties. A mere protest was held not to be brawling by the London Quarter-Sessions

in the case of Mr. Kensit, but elsewhere, as in the Rev. Mr. Fillingham's case, a different view has been taken. The penalties apply to the clergy as well as the laity, and words spoken by them during divine service by way of admonition of a passionate tenor, though expressed without any tone of passion, have been ruled within the words of the statute. Brawling by a clergyman is also punishable in the Ecclesiastical Courts. [B. W.]

BREAD.—One of the elements used in the administration of the Lord's Supper, representing (1) the Body of the Lord offered on the Cross, (2) the common food of man. It bears the first of these significations by our Lord's own appointment at the Last Supper, and the second according to the understanding of the Fathers of the Church to the middle of the third century, who, while not forgetting the first signification, regarded it also as a sign of homage and of thanksgiving to the Creator for providing sustenance for the life of man. Since the time of Cyprian, A.D. 250, this latter signification of the offering of bread has been so obscured as to be practically forgotten, but it is very prominent in the earliest Church writers. The *Teaching of the Apostles*, about A.D. 100, combining the two ideas, orders the following thanksgiving to be given after Reception: "To thee be glory for ever. Thou didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they may give-thanks (*Eucharistise*) to Thee; and on us Thou bestowedst spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Child; and above all we give thanks to Thee that Thou art mighty" (c. x.). Here the presence of the bread and wine is made the occasion of man's acknowledgment of God's goodness and power in giving food to support human life and in supplying spiritual sustenance to Christians. Justin Martyr, half a century later, represents the bread and the wine as offered "in memorial of our food, both dry and liquid" (as well as in memorial of Christ's Passion), "that we may thank God for having created the world, with all the things therein, for the benefit of man" (*Dial. cum Tryph.*). And Irenæus (if the *Fragments* are his) writes: "We offer to God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks to Him that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our food, and then, having finished the offering, we call on the Holy Spirit to exhibit this sacrifice, the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that those who partake of these emblems may obtain remission of sins and eternal life" (*Fragm. Secund.*). In this respect the Eucharist was the antitype of the meal-offering (unfortunately translated meat-offering) of the Jews, which was a gift of homage to God ("of Thine own have we given Thee") signifying an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, just as in another respect it was the antitype of the peace-offering, in which the offerers partook of the offering, not for the purpose of becoming, but in token of being in communion with God.

As the gift of homage to the Sustainer of man's life, nothing could be so suitable as bread, which is the staff of life, and that in its simplest form, "such as is usual to be eaten, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."

As an emblem of Christ's body, bread is used solely because Christ so appointed. He might have selected some other emblem, but He had at hand, in the Last Supper, the bread and the wine, well adapted to be signs of His body about to be broken and of His blood about to be poured out, and accordingly He adopted them for that purpose and stamped upon them that signification. The earliest Church writers saw a reason for the selection of bread in the fact that the Eucharistic loaf which was one, was formed out of many separate grains of wheat, and so symbolised the unity of the Church made up of many members. In the *Teaching of the Apostles* we find the early Christians taught to say, in the Consecration prayer, "To Thee be the glory for ever! As this bread which we have broken was once scattered over the hills, and gathered together it became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever" (c. ix.).

If the Last Supper was the Passover Feast, the bread then used would have been necessarily unleavened; and controversialists, both Roman and Ritualist (*The Congregation in Church*, p. 58), argue from thence that unleavened bread should be now used. The argument is only employed to excuse and justify a practice adopted for other reasons, but it does not justify it. The reason why it is inferred that unleavened bread was used at the Last Supper is that the Paschal meal fell on one of the days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. For that reason unleavened bread was appropriate and necessary in that week, but in no other week in the year—appropriate because the Apostles were Jews, not because they were Christians. In obedience to our Lord's command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," the Apostles and earliest Christians re-enacted the Last Supper every week with such alterations as circumstances made necessary. Every Sunday evening the Agapé was celebrated, in the course of which the bread and wine were distributed by the

presiding presbyter. When the week of the Feast of Unleavened Bread came round, the partakers, as long as Jewish converts formed the majority, would no doubt, as Jews, have used unleavened bread; in all the other weeks, that is, on fifty-one days out of fifty-two, they would have employed the ordinary, that is, leavened bread. Nor are we left to conjecture on this point; for we are told that the bread and wine which were consecrated on those occasions were taken from the viands brought by those present to form the social meals, that is, it was the bread "such as was usual to be eaten"—which was leavened. The real reason for the adoption of unleavened bread in the Latin communion and by Ritualists at present is that it is more readily made up into little cakes or wafers and is less likely to drop crumbs. The employment of separate cakes for each communicant does away with the primitive idea, already spoken of (which rests on St. Paul's teaching, 1 Cor. x.), that the one bread or loaf symbolises the unity of the Church, made up of many members. That objection should be taken to the crumbling of ordinary wheat bread is more serious, because it rests on a false and dangerous doctrine as its foundation. As long as the bread was regarded as the sign or symbol of the body of Christ through partaking of which grace was conveyed to the faithful soul, it was an indifferent matter whether there were crumbs on the paten or not, provided that they were subsequently reverently consumed. But when it came to be believed that the bread was Christ Himself, then what were the crumbs? Was each crumb Christ? or was it a part of Christ? or what was it? This question could not be answered, and therefore those who had accepted the tenet had to get rid of the crumbs. This they did by giving to each communicant a separate cake or wafer made of unleavened bread which would not readily crumble. "It is made into wafers for convenience and to guard against the dropping of crumbs, which might result from having to cut or break it" (*Congregation in Church*, p. 58). So the symbolical representation of the broken body shared by all, as well as the lesson of the unity of the Church, was lost on the demand of a gross material superstition. The exact date at which the Latin Church began the use of unleavened bread is not proved. It was after the year 867, when Photius formulated his charges against the Western Church, making no mention of the practice, and it was before 1054, when Michael Cerularius gave it a prominent position in his similar complaint. It was in the ninth century (the earliest of these dates) that Transubstantiation was first taught, and in the eleventh century (the latest of the dates) that it was accepted by the authorities of the Latin Church. For the reason given above, the use of unleavened bread would be more suitable to Transubstantiation than to primitive doctrine, and it probably made its way in the West *pari passu* with the new tenet. The Oriental Church has always employed leavened bread. [F. M.]

BREAKING OF BREAD.—See COMMUNION, FREQUENCY OF, and footnote to that article.

BREVIARY.—An abridgment (as the name evidently denotes) of the ancient Church offices which was drawn up by Pope Gregory VII. about 1085. In 1241 another compilation by Haymon, General of the Franciscan Minorites, was approved by Gregory IX. and was introduced by Nicholas III. in all the churches of Rome. Different communities followed this example, compiling as they pleased, so that there were at least 150 Breviaries in use in the West prior to the Reformation. That this diversity existed in England is plainly manifest by the "Uses" of Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln, referred to in the Book of Common Prayer. The Breviary is divided into four parts, one part being devoted to each season of the year. Each part is subdivided into daily portions and consists of selections from Scripture, the Fathers, and lives of saints, also antiphons, prayers and responses. For each day there are eight portions corresponding to the Canonical Hours (*q.v.*), all of which must be repeated by a priest without omission under pain of mortal sin. In the case of the secular clergy, who would experience a difficulty in reciting the services at the specified times, permission is given to rearrange the services to suit their convenience. The Breviary has been revised several times. In 1536 it was revised by Cardinal Quignon, but this revised version was suppressed by Paul IV. In 1568 Pius V. published another reformed Breviary, and this in turn was corrected by Clement VIII., who, in his Bull *Cum in Ecclesiâ* of May 1602, blamed the printers for his predecessors' errors. In 1631 Pope Urban VIII. completed the task, and his is the Breviary now in use in the Roman Church. In France in the early part of the eighteenth century, owing to the influence of the Port Royalists and others, a revision of about half the Breviaries was effected, and with excellent results. The services were shortened and simplified; the Psalter was ordered to be read weekly; and prayers to saints and angels were expunged. Unfortunately during the pontificate of Pius IX. the Ultramontane party, under the Count de Montalembert, succeeded in getting these reformed Breviaries suppressed.

The contents of the Breviary are of a remark-

able character. Although professing to be an abridgment of Christian Church offices, the book is rather a collection of pagan fairy tales clothed in Christian phraseology. Divine honours are given to the Virgin Mary, who is set forth as Mediatrix and capable of bestowing both spiritual and temporal blessings upon man. The invocation of saints and angels is inculcated; and round the lives of the saints there gather legends which shock the understanding and often the moral sense. The following are instances of such legends, the date after the saint's name being the date under which the story will be found in the Breviary. St. Denis (Oct. 9), after he was beheaded, walked two miles carrying his head in his hand. St. Stanislaus (May 7), in order to prove that he had bought a certain piece of land, raised from his grave (where he had lain three years) the man from whom he had purchased it, and the latter after attesting the fact fell asleep in the Lord. The murdered body of this saint, cut up in pieces and scattered in the fields, was defended by eagles from the wild beasts. Subsequently the canons of Cracow, guided by a brilliant heavenly light, gathered the pieces together, fitting them in their proper places, and these suddenly uniting left no trace of the wounds. The cloak seems to have been a useful article to some of the saints. Spreading one under him, St. Francis of Paula (April 2) with a companion crossed the straits of Sicily. Another saint, Raymond of Pennafort (Jan. 23) in a like manner performed the voyage from Majorca to Barcelona, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, in six hours, and entered his monastery although the gates were closed. To the body of St. Januarius (Sept. 19) many miracles are attributed. In its last resting place at Naples it extinguished an eruption of Mount Vesuvius; and his blood preserved in a glass phial liquefies and bubbles up (as if recently shed) when brought into the presence of the saint's body. Of St. Francis Xavier (Dec. 3) we read that when wrapt in devout contemplation he was at times elevated high in the air, and that this happened to him on many occasions when officiating at the Mass. Many miracles are recorded as having been wrought by him, such as converting sea water to fresh, raising the dead, and others equally astounding. Of St. Philip Neri (May 26) we read that owing to his heart burning so much with love to God it could not be confined within its bounds, and therefore the Lord wondrously enlarged his breast by breaking and elevating two of his ribs. He, too, like Xavier was at times elevated in the air, and was seen to shine on all sides with a wonderful light. Another saint, Peter of Alcantara (Oct. 19), experienced so greatly the love of God and his neighbour that his heart burned so that he was compelled to rush into the open field to cool the burning heat within.

It is to the Breviary which abounds with impious falsehoods such as the above that the Church of Rome has given the very highest place, requiring her clergy, as before stated, under pain of mortal sin to recite the appointed portion of it daily. And to all these lying legends that Church which claims to be holy and infallible has set her seal. As one reads them and remembers that Roman Catholics, like the late Cardinal Newman, have frankly stated that they not only believed such fables but gloried in them, the terrible language of Scripture comes to the mind as the only apparent solution of this strange mental obliquity —"God shall send them a working of deception (*ἐνέργειαν πλάνης*) that they should believe the lie (*τῷ ψεύδει*)" 2 Thess. ii. 11. [S. R. G.]

BULL.—A solemn brief or mandate from the Pope, so called from the Latin *bulla*, a seal, the document having attached to it a seal of lead or of gold on which are engraved the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, the name of the reigning Pope, and the year of his Pontificate.

BURIAL.—The committal of human remains to the ground. Every person has a right to burial in the burial-ground of his own parish. No buried human remains may be taken up or removed without a licence from the Secretary of State, except under a faculty to remove a body from one consecrated place to another. According to the rubric preceding the Order for the Burial of the Dead in the Prayer Book of the Church of England this office is "not to be used for any that die unbaptized[1] or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves." With regard to the word "excommunicate," it is to be noted that it has been decided (Kemp *v.* Wickes, 1809) that this means excommunicate from the Christian Church generally, and not merely from the Church of England.[2] In cases of suicide, where "while of unsound mind or temporary insanity" is appended to the verdict, the fact of self-destruction is no bar to the use of the office. By the Burial Laws Amendment Act, 1880, upon notice in proper form being given

[1] According to Cripps (*Laws of Church and Clergy*, p. 772) the clergyman cannot constitute himself a judge of what is or is not baptism, because that is determined by the law (see BAPTISM).

[2] By Canon 68 this is explained to mean denounced *majori excommunicatione* for some notorious and grievous crime, and no person able to testify of his repentance (see Cripps).

to the incumbent, the burial of any person entitled to interment in any graveyard may be carried out with or without any Christian service. The incumbent is entitled to a "convenient warning" and the usual fees. The clergyman who buries or performs any burial service without a coroner's order or registrar's certificate being delivered to him, must, within seven days after the burial, give notice in writing to the registrar, or he is liable to a penalty not exceeding £10. Under the above Act, sec. xi., the person having charge of or performing the funeral is liable to the like penalty whether he be one in "holy orders" or a layman. A deceased child must not be buried as if it were still-born, and no child may be buried as still-born without a proper certificate. In any case where the burial service may not be used, and in any other case at the request of the person having charge of the burial, any clergyman of the Church of England authorised to perform the burial service may use such service consisting of prayers from the Prayer Book and portions of Holy Scripture as may be approved by the Ordinary.

The burial service of the Church of England is at once one of the most impressive and most comforting compositions of which human language is capable. The full burial service of the Church of Rome is extremely long and tedious and does not so much impress as harass by a variety of superstitious ceremonies such as the frequent lighting, blowing out, and re-lighting of candles, the burning of incense, and the sprinkling of the grave with holy water.

BURSA.—A kind of square case or pocket in use in Romish and Ritualistic rites. It is formed of cardboard covered with silk or some rich material, and in it is kept the corporal, or napkin, used at the Eucharistic service.

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CALENDAR.—To modern readers the chief interest of this table lies in the proper lessons and the carefully planned readings of Holy Scripture secured by the Lectionary Act of 1871, which adopted the recommendations of a Royal Commission. Of a few of the "saints" *i.e.* Christians (for all Christians are in New Testament language "saints") it may be said that their words and "acts" are recorded in the Scriptures, so that some real interest attaches to their memories: but of the "black-letter" saints mentioned in the Calendar, little is known for certain, and they are, for purposes of edification, hardly more than mythical. Hence at the Reformation a clean sweep was made of the apocryphal persons, not a single black-letter saint finding place in the First Prayer Book of Edward. The Royal Visitation articles which accompanied the issue of that book directed that "none keep the ABROGATED holy days other than those that have their proper and peculiar service." Thus omission was prohibition.

The Act 5 & 6 Edward VI. cap. 3, which immediately followed upon the issue of the Second Prayer Book of Edward, ordered that "all the days hereafter mentioned shall be kept and commanded to be kept holy days, and *none other*." The list corresponds with our present "table," and shows by its addition of the names of George, Laurence, and Clement, and of Lammas, that these black-letter insertions of 1552, like "sol in aqua," &c., were intended merely for the convenience of the public, as in our modern "almanacs." That statute was repealed by 1 Mary, sess. 2 cap. 2, and Queen Mary issued on the purely "Erastian" authority of the Crown, in March 1554, articles commanding "that all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept in the *latter* time of King Henry VIII." The Act of Uniformity (1 Elizabeth, cap. 2) gave the sanction of *law* to the Calendar of Edward's Second Book: and we find accordingly that the earliest copies of Elizabeth's book had no black-letter days save those above mentioned. But on January 22, 1561, Queen Elizabeth issued letters under her signet, directing the Royal Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes to draw up a new Calendar, which was ready on February 15th. This Calendar contained (all but three of) our present black-letter list. But it was preceded by a Table of Feasts headed "these to be *observed* for holy days and *none other*"; and this list corresponds *verbatim* with that given in 5 & 6 Edward VI. cap. 3.

The Rev. Wm. Harrison, chaplain to Lord Cobham, in his *Description of England*, A.D. 1577–87, said: "Whereas we had under the Pope fourscore and fifteen, called festival, and thirty *profesti*, besides the Sundays, they are all brought unto twenty-seven" (p. 78, of Scott's reprint). To prevent any misunderstanding, the Elizabethan bishops in April 1561 drew up some "Resolutions," among which was this:—"That there be no other holy day observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out *in the Act of King Edward, An. 5 et 6 cap. 3.*" Cardwell notes that those words in italic were inserted by Archbishop Parker's own hand, instead of the words crossed through in the original draft, viz. "in the Calendar of the Service Book, with two days following the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost." In 1564 it was further explained in the *Preces Privatæ* published by authority, that the black-letter days were retained for secular reasons only:

"We have not done it because we hold them all for saints, *of whom we do not esteem some to be even among the good.* . . . but that they may be as notes and marks of some certain things, the stated times of which it is very important to know, and ignorance of which may be a disadvantage to our countrymen."

Canon 88 forbids "bells to be rung superstitiously upon the holy days or eves abrogated (*antiquatæ*), by the Book of Common Prayer."

The passing of 1 James I. cap 25 (repealing 1 Mary, sess. 2 cap. 2), in May 1604 followed close upon the issue (in March of the same year) of the Jacobean revision of the Prayer Book. In this way the 5 & 6 Edward VI. cap. 3 became thenceforth the legal standard.

Lastly, at the final revision of the Prayer Book, the Bishops at the Savoy Conference declared "the other names are left in the Calendar, not that they should be so kept as holy days, but they are useful for the preservation of their memories, and for other reasons, as for leases, law days, &c." Bishop Cosin, in his *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica*, written to give foreign churches a just idea of our Prayer Book, *takes no notice whatever* of the black-letter people, but heads the red-letter days with the words, "sacrati Deo apud nos sunt." The American Church omits black-letter days.

Sir Robert J. Phillimore, Dean of the Arches, in *Elphinstone* v. *Purchas*, condemned as unlawful the practice of giving notice for the observance of "the feasts of St. Leonard, St. Martin, and St. Britius," under the rubric which bids the announcement of *all* days that "are in the week following to be observed."

In 1870, the Ritual Commissioners added this note: "That although some other days are marked in the Calendar, yet the above mentioned [*i.e.* the red-letter days] are the ONLY fasts and feasts appointed to be observed throughout the year." [J. T. T.]

CANCELLI.—See CHANCEL.

CANDLEMAS. — The mediæval name of a festival of the Romish Church, in honour of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, on 2nd February, and so called from the number of candles used in procession and at Mass. The candles used have been previously blessed, and some of them are subsequently used at the bedside of dying persons. The Reformed Church of England has retained the Festival, but in the Prayer Book it is entitled "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin." In the Middle Ages there were seven festivals in honour of the Virgin Mary, of which the Church of England has retained only two, viz., the Annunciation and the Presentation, purely as expressions of reverence for her who is blessed among women, if indeed they may not rather be regarded as festivals of our Lord Himself (see Procter on Prayer Book, p. 302). Cranmer on behalf of the Privy Council forbade these lights to be used, Jan. 27, 1548, N.S., *i.e.* just before the commencement of the second year of Edward VI. (see Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* No. 8), which year did not commence till the day following. Still, the *Ritual Reason Why* (p. 196) justifies this practice as though it had never been abolished.

CANDLES.—In the Romish Church, two candles are considered necessary at Low Mass, six at High Mass, and twelve at Benediction. Lighted candles in the Church of England on the Lord's Table or on a ledge immediately above it are illegal, except when necessary for the purpose of giving light. By the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1868, in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie, it was ruled that "lighted candles are clearly not 'ornaments,' within the words of the rubric, for they are not prescribed by the authority of Parliament therein mentioned, namely, the first Prayer Book, nor is the injunction of 1547 the authority of Parliament within the meaning of the rubric" (See Procter on Prayer Book, pp. 202, 203). In the case cited the Judges maintained that the use of lighted candles "is not, nor is any ceremony in which it forms part, among those retained in the Prayer Book" (Brooke, p. 125). See Tomlinson, *Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment Examined*, 6th edit. London: Church Association. On Archbishop Benson's view, see Whitehead, note on p. 168. See LIGHTS.

CANON.—A residentiary member of a cathedral chapter. Canons are variously appointed. The bishop was always considered to have the patronage of canonries; now the appointment is vested in either the bishop of the diocese or the Crown. To be eligible for a canonry a clergyman must have been in priest's orders for six years, except as regards a canonry annexed to a professorship or any other office in any university. They are supposed to hold themselves in readiness to preach in the cathedral, collegiate, or other churches throughout the diocese. Minor canons are appointed by the chapter.

By the statute of 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113 it was enacted that honorary canonries should be founded in every cathedral church in England in which there are not already founded any non-residentiary prebends, dignities, or offices. They are entitled to stalls, and take rank in the cathedral church next after the canons. The number is fixed at twenty-four, and the appointment is with the bishops and archbishops respectively. They have no emolument. See Cripps, *Laws of the Church and Clergy*, ch. vii.; Whitehead, *Church Law*.

CANONS *are bye-laws made by Convocation which become binding on the clergy but not on the laity, after they have received the royal assent, provided that they do not conflict with the prerogatives of the Crown or the Common or Statute law. Unlike the last named, they may be abrogated by disuse; and many of those of 1604, which code "superseded and embodied" the previous canons, as the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission reported in 1883 (p. 36), are now obsolete and incapable of enforcement. The Canons of 1640 were reported by the same Commission "as having no authority at all." Sir H. J. Fust and Sir R. Phillimore have judicially rejected them when cited in argument. (See also Ayliffe's Parergon, Introd., p. xxxv. and Bishop Stillingfleet's Eccl. Cases, Pt. i. p. 258.) In 1865, Canons 26, 37, 38, and 40 of the Canons of 1604 were altered so as to correspond with the Parliamentary alterations of the rules relating to subscription. York Convocation passed them on the same day on which the Act was read a third time, viz. July 5, 1865. The Crown refused to ratify a proposed alteration of Canon 29 adopted by Canterbury Convocation. In 1888, Canons 102 and 62, bearing on the hours for marriage, were altered for like reasons. And in 1892 the following canon was passed owing to the statutory requirements of the Clergy Discipline Act: "If any beneficed priest shall, by reason of any crime or immorality proved against him, become legally disqualified from holding preferment, it shall be the duty of the bishop of the diocese wherein his benefice is situate to declare without further trial the benefice with cure of souls (if any) vacant, and if it should not be so declared vacant within twenty-one days it shall be declared vacant by the Archbishop of the Province, or under his authority." The doubtful regularity of the procedure adopted in passing some of these Victorian canons is shown in Makower's Constitutional History of the Church of England, pp. 366, 374, and 488; also in the Church Intelligencer, v. 47, ix. 84, 104.* [J. T. T.]

CANON LAW (I) rests theoretically upon St. Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18, John xx. 23. The first of these relates, not to *persons*, but to *things*, and includes the making church regulations as to such matters as "eating blood and things strangled" (Acts xv. 28, 29). The same remark applies also to Matt. xviii. 18, which in verse 17 also suggests the exclusion, in the last resort, of the defaulting Christian from the fellowship of the disciples.[1] The use of the word "kingdom" has suggested to some minds the ideal of a monarchical empire dominated by royal "delegates," who in the absence of the king, or rather viceroy (Matt. xxviii. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 28) may wield in his name all the powers of the absent monarch, as "King," no less than as "Prophet" and as "Priest." This claim is rested on John xx. 21, and it is even claimed (v. 23) that it includes a judicial discretion which places forgiveness of sin at the disposal of every ordained priest. Every priest is thus a vice-Christ! The Mediæval Church embraced these notions and endeavoured to carry them out in detail. They forgot that the "church" and the "kingdom" are not conterminous, that the word rendered "kingdom" properly means "reign" or "royal rule" (βασιλεία, not βασίλειμα), that the King is omnipresent and omniscient, and has, moreover, appointed a "Vicar," the Holy Spirit, to perpetuate His rule *in the hearts* of all His people. Again and again did our Lord repudiate earthly sovereignty and point out that His Royal rule (*basileia*) was neither from this world nor *of the same kind with* any earthly sovereignty. Litigation in courts, and the handing over His subjects to the secular power to be put to the sword or burned at the stake were certainly not among the covenanted resources and machinery of His heavenly "kingdom." In primitive times we know that the discipline of the Church was exercised by the Church over the clergy and not, as in later ages, by the clergy over the Church. The Apostles themselves were bidden to "hear the Church. Clement of Rome described the clergy as

[1] NOTE.—It should be observed that, widely as Matt. xviii. 17 has been interpreted as referring to an excommunication pronounced by "the Church," no such reference can be proved. Lightfoot (*Hora Heb.*, in loco), long ago not only called attention to the fact (which other commentators have noted) that our Lord was speaking of quarrels among individuals, and of such quarrels only; and also to the equally important point that the words employed by our Lord were "Let him be to thee (the party against whom the offence was committed) as a heathen man and a publican." He did not say, "Let him be to the Church." Professor Hort rightly maintained that by "the Church" the local synagogue must be meant (*Christian Ecclesia*, p. 10). The Church or the Synagogue were to act as mediators, and if that mediation was unsuccessful in bringing about justice the offended party was entitled to treat the offender as he would "a heathen and a publican." The case contemplated is that which, in reference to the Christian Church, is enlarged on by St. Paul in 1 Cor. vi., where the apostle urges the thought that believers hereafter shall judge angels, and therefore might well act as arbitrators between brethren. The importance of abstaining from quarrelling among brethren about the affairs of this life is that urged both by the Master and the Apostle.—C. H. H. W.

persons appointed "with the consent of the whole Church," and complains of the Corinthians, *not* for removing their clergy, but for having exercised their disciplinary powers on some "men of excellent behaviour." Had "Pope" Clement held other than democratic ideas of Church government he would have excommunicated these Corinthians for usurping powers which did not belong to the Church, as such, but were peculiar to the clergy, as such. But, on the contrary, he bids the authors of the schism to do "whatever the majority commands." His "Decretal" is in the form of a letter which does not even name either the Bishop of Rome or the Bishop of Corinth, but is addressed directly by the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, writing to the Church at Philippi, ignores their bishop and mentions quite as a customary incident, that Valens, a Presbyter, had been deposed by that Church. This was in exact accordance with St. Paul's account of the method of exercising discipline (2 Cor. ii. 6, 10), the punishments and the pardon being alike inflicted or bestowed by "the many." Tertullian thus describes their gatherings for Church discipline: "We meet together for the commemoration of the Divine Scriptures, &c. In the same place, also, exhortations, rebukes, and sacred censures [are administered]. For with a great gravity is the work of judging carried on amongst us, as among men who feel assured that they are in the sight of God. . . . Certain seniors preside over us, obtaining that honour not by purchase, but by established character."

It must be remembered that the clergy were at that time elected by and from the people, and therefore represented the "laity" as truly as members of Parliament now "represent" their constituents. Thus the *Didaché* (xv. 1) bids the Church "elect for yourselves bishops and deacons," and Cyprian, long after, declares this popular election to be of "Divine right," a "Divine tradition." He exhorts the laity to "separate themselves from a sinful prelate . . . especially since they themselves have the power either of choosing worthy priests, or of *rejecting unworthy ones*." It was not till six hundred years after Christ had elapsed that the laity lost this control, the political importance then gained by the hierarchy leading the emperors to usurp the electoral rights formerly lodged in the congregation (See Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, pp. 213, 599, 827, and 1503). Meantime the system of arbitration recommended by St. Paul, not for Church matters exclusively, but to avoid litigation of every kind, had naturally become inadequate to deal with the complex questions which sprang up in a Society claiming to be "Catholic," and which had taken root among men of every race and under varied forms and degrees of civilisation. Centralisation became therefore inevitable, and the fact of their having been popularly elected naturally made the clergy to be the depositaries of "Church" power. Ignatius writes to the Philadelphians that their bishop had "obtained the ministry which pertaineth to all in common"; and to the Magnesians, "I beheld your whole multitude in the person of your bishop." The forms of procedure were naturally modelled on those of the Imperial Courts, and the civil law of the Empire was largely imitated or adapted. Hence the canons (*i.e.* rules) devised in Church assemblies, and the Institutes of Justinian, both alike claimed obedience *in the name of the chief ruler*. Soon, therefore, the bishops who dispensed the revenues of the Church, and were endowed with coercive powers by the State, became also the lawgivers. The monopoly of learning by the clergy after the irruption of the Goths left the Western Churches at the feet of the priesthood, and in perfect accordance with the feudalism which grew up in the State it came to be an axiom in Church legislation and in Church Courts that the authority of canons and constitutions was *derived from the president* of the Council. The clergy acquiesced in this the more readily as it gave them a feudal head to fight their dangerous battles with the tyrants great and small whose unbridled excesses, in those days of incessant private war, threatened at times to efface civilisation altogether. Thus the autocracy of the prelates grew by natural evolution and culminated in the Papacy; a visible "kingdom" needed a visible Head, and the suzerainty of the overlord was quite in accordance with the genius of the institutions of the West. Hence the Decretal Epistles of the "Supreme Pontiff" came to possess equal authority with the canons enacted by bishops alone, and these jointly formed what is known in history as the "Canon Law." The Norman bishops imported by William the Conqueror brought with them the Roman canon law, a system much more completely codified than the local church-rules of this island, which latter were soon almost entirely supplanted. Professor Maitland has demonstrated in his *Canon Law of the Church of England* how absolutely and completely Roman canon law prevailed in England. A Divine right was claimed both in jurisdiction and in legislation for the clergy *alone* to govern every department of human life which could be termed "spiritual." This claim was acquiesced in for centuries by the nation, and the occasional resistance of the Crown and Parliament was limited to invasions of *temporal* rights, such as patronage, or

tithe, or the marriage laws regulating inheritance. In the sixteenth century the oppressions of the laity and their exasperation against the clergy at length found a remedy in the determination of Henry VIII. to break the power of the clergy and to put an end to their *imperium in imperio*. By the celebrated Act of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19 he reduced the Convocations to the position of being powerless to legislate without the royal consent, and their canon law was declared by Parliament itself to be "overmuch onerous to the King's subjects." The entire code was declared to need a thorough sifting to be effected by Royal Commissioners acting with "the authority of Parliament," who should select and codify afresh such of the by-laws as might be approved, but subject always to "the King's most royal assent under his Great Seal" being first had and obtained. No such sanction has ever yet been "had." The bishops in the House of Lords were able to tack on a proviso at the end of the statute giving temporary validity to such of the existing canons as were not in conflict with the laws and customs of the realm or with the royal prerogative, but as the *King's* judges had to determine this point, and as the King had himself abolished the teaching of canon law in both universities, and the King's Vicar-general, a layman, presided in the muzzled Convocation, it followed even on the principle of the canon law itself that, as Cardinal Pole expressed it, "on withdrawal of the obedience, the authority of the ecclesiastical laws was simultaneously abrogated." Fuller says, "When the Pope's power was banished out of England, his canon law, with the numerous books and branches thereof, lost its authority in the King's dominions." It could not be otherwise, seeing that the authority both of the laws and of the courts was held to emanate from the presidents of the Council, or the presiding ecclesiastic. Thenceforward, the legal authority of all ancient church-rules rests *solely* on the ground of their forming part of the common law of England. *Continuous* usage and reception in the King's courts is *the* test of legality. Since the Reformation there have been added to these scanty survivals of the fittest, the canons of 1604 several of which have been amended during the present reign. These canons are by-laws binding only on the clergy, and even on the clergy only so far as they are not either obsolete from disuse, or contrariant to any statute or legal custom. [J. T. T.]

CANON LAW.—II. Canon law in a general sense may be said to be the body of rules by which a church is governed, but the term is usually restricted to the canon law of the Church of Rome; the body of law contained in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. That compilation begins with what is known as the *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*. The *Decretum* was merely the private work of Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Bologna, who is known as "the father of canon law." It was published about the year 1150 in three books, to which Gratian himself gave the title of *Concordia discordantium canonum*. It was a very successful attempt to codify the scattered and conflicting canons of the Roman Patriarchate on the lines of the civil law, and very soon superseded all previous works. The first book is entitled *De Jure Naturæ et Constitutionis*, and treats of the sources of canon law and of ecclesiastical persons and officers. It is divided into one hundred and one sections called *distinctiones*, which in turn are subdivided into *canones*. The second book consists of thirty-six *causæ*, *i.e.* cases for solution. These cases are subdivided into *quæstiones*, *i.e.* the points solved in each case together with the authorities bearing on each question. The third book is entitled, *De Consecratione*, and gives in five *distinctiones* the law on church ritual and the sacraments. The original notes of Gratian (*dicta Gratiani*) are of great weight, as also are the passages headed "Palea" and supposed to be the notes of his pupil Paucapalea. Gratian's book contained the canons of the Second Council of Lateran, 1139, and decretals of Innocent II., which seem to have been written between 1130 and 1148 (Richter, p. x.). The next hundred years were very fruitful in legislation, so that at the end of that time the *Decretum* had become antiquated. During this period Innocent III. alone (Dr. Hunter says) published 4000 laws, which went by the name of *decretales extravagantes*, i.e. *extra* (*decretum Gratiani*) *vagantes*, and some of which are incorporated in the *Compilationes Antiquæ*. The *compilatio prima* has formed a pattern for all subsequent compilations, the matter being divided into five books, the subject of each being sufficiently indicated in the following hexameter:—

Judex, Judicium, Clerus, Connubia (or *Sponsalia*), *Crimen.*

Neither the *Decretum* nor the *Compilationes* (except *tertia* and *quinta*) ever received solemn Papal sanction. That is to say, they did not form part of the Papal statute law in the same way as the collections promulgated by the Popes themselves.

The second part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* comprises *the Decretals of Gregory IX.*, which took four years to complete, and were officially promulgated by the Pope in 1234. They are known as the *Libri extra* (*Decretum*) and comprise decided cases in *five* books. *The Decretals of Boniface VIII.*, promulgated by the Pope in 1298 as a sort of supplement to Gregory's five books—and hence called

Liber Sextus. *The Decretals of Clement V.*, promulgated by him in 1313, but withdrawn and promulgated again in 1317 by John XXII. They are known as the *Clementinæ*. As to these Papal Decretals, Professor Maitland remarks: "Each of them was a statute book deriving its force from the Pope who published it, and who being Pope was competent to ordain binding statutes for the Catholic Church and every part thereof."

The *Corpus Juris Canonici* closes with the *Extravagantes* of John XXII., and with seventy-three decretals of Popes from Boniface VIII. to Sixtus V. (1298–1484), known as *extravagantes communes*.

The method of citing the canon law is very complicated and varies for the different parts. It is explained at some length in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, article "Law," and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Canon Law," *e.g.* cap. 9 X. iv. 13, or cap. 9. X., *de eo qui cognovit* (iv. 13) means the Fourth Book of Gregory's *Decretals*, title 13, chapter 9.

The Roman canon law (as indeed most things relating to the Roman Church) will be seen to be modelled on imperial lines, and in imitation of the civil law. Thus the *Decretum* corresponds to the *Pandects*; the *Decretals of Gregory* to the *Code*; the *Liber Sextus*, *Clementines*, and *Extravagantes* to the *Novels*.

The Roman canon law forms the *jus commune* or common law (a term which among canonists includes statute law) of the whole Roman Catholic Church. It is the law common to and binding on the whole of Popedom. Before the Reformation, it was just as binding in England as in any other country; in fact, it has been maintained that the Papal law was more strictly observed in England than elsewhere, and our country was called "the Pope's garden." It is true that in all countries limits have been placed by the *civil* power at different times and in different places to the ecclesiastical authority The canon law has always been, in Blackstone's words, "a law under a weightier law." But in pre-Reformation times, no dignitary of the Church, no archbishop or bishop could repeal or vary the Papal decrees. As Lyndwood says, "*tollere vel alterare non potest episcopus nec aliquis papa inferior*." The theory put forward by some Anglican writers that the pre-Reformation Church in England was autonomous is unfounded. Much of the canon law set forth in archiepiscopal constitutions is merely a repetition of the Papal canons, and passed for the purpose of making them better known in remote localities; part is *ultra vires*, and the rest consisted of local regulations, which are only valid in so far as they do not contravene the *jus commune*. In England the legatine and provincial constitutions do not even touch upon "half the recognised topics of ecclesiastical jurisprudence." The legatine constitutions are those of Otho and Othobon, in the thirteenth century. Together with the provincial constitutions (principally of Canterbury) they will be found collected in Lyndwood, Johnson's *English Canons*, and Wilkins.

At the Reformation it was enacted that the Pope of Rome should have no jurisdiction in the realm of England. The teaching of, and the granting of degrees in, canon law were abolished by royal edicts in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The canon law would therefore have dropped altogether had it not been to a limited and provisional extent kept on foot by statute, so far as it was not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, and until a review should be had (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19). Cranmer and other learned divines drew up a code called the "*Reformatio Legum*," but this never became law, although it serves to show how much of the canon law was at that time deemed to be obsolete or repugnant. In fact no systematic statutory review of the canon law has ever been published with the required sanction under the Great Seal. Various statutes deal more or less with its subject matter piecemeal; and the XXXIX. Articles and the Prayer Book rubrics, and also indirectly and to a limited extent the Homilies, are of statutory force. It may, however, be said that the Roman canon law is now superseded and of no authority in England. Thus Sir J. P. Deane, the Vicar-General of Canterbury, in the year 1892, speaking of the government and discipline of the Church of England, said: "Will anybody put his finger on one single title of the canon law from the first title in the *Decretum* to the very last title in the *Extravagantes* which is not at once met by the statute law of this country? Take simony. There are in the canon law several articles on simony, but no lawyer would refer to the canon law. He would refer to the Acts of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria. Again, if there is one thing which is called spiritual as distinct from the ecclesiastical, it is pluralities, the residence of the clergy, and matters of that kind. But no lawyer would refer to these titles in the canon law. He would go at once to the 1 & 2 Vict. c. 106, *i.e.* to the statute law. That is where we look for our government; that is where we laymen look for the discipline of the Church of England" (see *Church Intelligencer*, 1892, p. 169).

See also *Corpus Juris Canonici*, by Richter and Friedberg: Leipsic, 1879–81; F. W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*; J. T. Tomlinson, *Lay Judges*; W. F. Hunter in *Ency. Brit.*; Whitehead, *Church Law*.

For post-Reformation regulations, which are

non-statutory, see ENGLISH CANONS, INJUNCTIONS, ADVERTISEMENTS. [B. W.]

CANON OF THE MASS.—That part of the Mass in the Romish Church which extends from the *Sanctus* to the *Paternoster*. It is so called as being the rule which embodies the unchanging form to be used in their Eucharist. See MASS.

CANON OF OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.—See BIBLE.

CANONICAL HOURS.—Nocturns or vigils may be traced back to the days of heathen persecution, when the early Christians met at night for worship, to elude observation. The custom was afterwards perpetuated, especially by the monks.

Lauds were early morning prayers. The *Apostolical Constitutions* allude to them in the fourth century.

Prime was an office used in the first hour of the day, 6 A.M. It cannot be traced further back than St. Jerome's sojourn at Bethlehem, A.D. 400.

Tierce, sext, and nones were prayers used at nine, twelve, and three o'clock respectively. The monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine first introduced prayers at these hours.

Vespers, or public evening service, existed in the Eastern Church in the fourth century.

Compline, or the last service of the day, was first introduced by St. Benedict early in the fifth century (Latin—*complere*=to finish).

These hours were called canonical because the services attached to them followed a canon or prescribed rule. See Blakeney on the Prayer Book, larger edition, pp. 241-242. Nocturns and lauds were afterwards combined, so that the canonical hours were reduced to seven. [C. J. C.]

CANONICAL OBEDIENCE is the obedience due by the clergy to their superior officers, though in some cases the oath taken by certain lay officials to obey a bishop or a dean and chapter is termed an oath of canonical obedience.

The oath, which has to be taken by every curate and incumbent, is as follows "I, A. B., do swear that I will pay true canonical obedience to the Lord Bishop of ——, and his successors, in all things lawful and honest. So help me God." It has been held by the Privy Council that this oath "does not mean that the clergyman will obey all the commands of the bishop against which there is no law, but that he will obey all such commands as the bishop by law is authorised to impose." Every clergyman, also, at his ordination promises that he will reverently obey his ordinary, and other chief ministers of the Church, and them to whom the charge and government over him is committed, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions.

The oath of canonical obedience to be taken by every bishop is as follows: "In the name of God. Amen. I, A. B., chosen bishop of the church and see of N., do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop and to the metropolitical church of N. and to his successors. So help me God, through Jesus Christ." (See Whitehead's *Church Law*, Art. "Oath.") [B. W.]

CANONISATION.—An enrolling in the list or canon of saints. This is a proceeding on the part of the Romish Church whereby, through the decree of the Pope, a person departed this life is credited with the honours due to those who are reigning with God in heaven; he is inscribed in the catalogue of the saints and invoked in public prayers; churches are dedicated to God in memory of him, and feasts kept, and public honours paid to his relics. See INFALLIBILITY and BEATIFICATION.

CANOPY.—See BALDACCHINO.

CAPA OR CAPPA.—See COPE.

CARDINAL.—See ROMAN CHURCH.

CARNIVAL.—The word is variously derived, meaning either solace of the flesh, a removal of flesh, or farewell to flesh. The name is given to a season of feasting and mirth in Roman Catholic countries during the three days immediately preceding Lent; also to a similar pause in the middle of Lent.

CASSOCK.—A long coat, buttoning over the breast, reaching to the feet, and confined at the waist by a broad sash or cincture: the collar fastens round the throat. It is usually black in colour and is the ordinary dress of Romish priests, and is said to signify separation from the world. It is of late frequently worn by clergy of the Church of England, and the male members of a choir under their surplices. (See Whitehead, *Church Law*, p. 90.) The cassock was an ancient Church of England dress. Ritualists attribute a great deal of mystical meaning to the cassock. Thus, it "entirely hides the ordinary dress," and so "is emblematical of the spirit of recollection and devotion which becomes those who serve in the sanctuary." Black, blue, scarlet, and purple cassocks are sometimes used, especially by choir-boys. "Where there are two sets, scarlet cassocks are generally used for ordinary Sundays and feasts, blue, black or purple for week days, Advent, Lent, &c. According to an eminent Ritualist, the chorister's cassocks should be ordinarily black; scarlet in churches which are *royal* foundation; purple in *Episcopal* foundations; and perhaps blue in churches dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin." See *Ritual Reason Why*, pp. 34, 35. [M. E. W. J.]

CRYPT OF THE EPISCOPOI (BISHOPS) IN CALLISTUS' CATACOMB. (See p. 701.)

PLATE I

CASUISTRY.—See JESUITS, MORAL THEOLOGY.

CATACOMBS.—See SEPULCHRES.

CATECHISM.—Literally, instruction by word of mouth; a summary of Christian doctrine usually in the form of question and answer. The Catechism of the Church of England is described in the Prayer Book as "an instruction to be learned of every person before he be brought to be confirmed by the bishop." The insertion in the Prayer Book of such a form of instruction belongs to the Reformation. It was included in the First Prayer Book of 1549, as far as to the end of the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the remainder being added in 1604, and generally attributed to Bishop Overall, being abridged from Nowell's *Little Catechism*. Several slight verbal emendations were made by Convocation in 1661–2. See the Photozincograph of James Parker's *Hist. Revis.* pp. 265–66. The rubric at the end of the Catechism as to instruction in the Catechism upon Sundays and Holy Days *after the Second Lesson at Evening Prayer* is now often disregarded on account of its inconvenience; but the canon which directs that this instruction shall take place *before* evening prayer, is complied with as to the "youth," though not as to "ignorant persons," by means of the Sunday Schools, as well as by Children's Services, Bible Classes, &c.

CATECHUMENS.—Persons under instruction for baptism. The course and manner of instruction varied at different ages of the Church, and the catechumens were sometimes divided into various classes distinguished by different names.

CATHARINUS.—See ARTICLES, p. 44.

CATHEDRA AND CATHEDRAL.—Literally, a seat; the seat of a bishop. The Cathedral is the parish church of the diocese, because a diocese was originally the same as a parish is now. Cathedrals are controlled by the dean and chapter, and to some extent are not within the jurisdiction of the bishop's court. A Cathedral is the most natural and appropriate place for a more ornate and elaborate service, which in a village church would be most unnatural and inappropriate. See Whitehead, *Church Law*.

CATHOLIC. — Universal, common to all. (1) *The Catholic Church*. The Jewish Church was confined to a single nation; the Christian Church was made up of believers in all nations. Therefore it was Catholic. See BIDDING PRAYER. "Go ye and teach all nations" (Matt. xxviii. 19). "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi. 15) was the Apostolic commission, and accordingly the Apostles and preachers of the Gospel formed local churches in every city that they visited without respect to persons or race. These local churches coalesced, each keeping its individuality and relative independence, into a church covering a wider area which was called provincial, and again the provincial churches into larger wholes which became national churches. The different national churches were supposed externally to constitute the Catholic Church, and for that reason each provincial church and each local church was also styled Catholic, and every one belonging to the provincial or local church was a Catholic Christian. Christendom therefore and the Catholic Church are commensurate. "Wherever Christ is," says Ignatius, "there is the Catholic Church" (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. viii.).

(2). *The Catholic Faith*. This was the common faith held by those churches which were considered to form the Catholic Church. Thus when King Reccared and his court abandoned the Arian beliefs of Spain they were said to have adopted the Catholic faith—that is, the common faith of Christendom, in place of the faith peculiar to this or that nation, as the Goths. The nature of the common faith is not specifically marked by the word Catholic but by the word Orthodox; as, however, the faith common to all the churches was the true faith, the two words Catholic and Orthodox came incorrectly to be used interchangeably. The Catholic or common faith, found expression in the Creeds—the Apostles' or baptismal Creed, the Nicene Creed issued to exhibit the Catholic or common faith of Christendom in contrast to the peculiarities of Arianism, and the Athanasian Creed which declares the Catholic faith to consist of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the final Judgment.

The Roman use of the word Catholic is the exact opposite to that of the early Church. There the orthodoxy and catholicity of any particular church was tested by its conformity with the teaching of all the other churches of Christendom as exhibited at all times. On the Roman theory the orthodoxy and catholicity of the rest of Christendom is tested by its conformity with the teaching of one Church (which has forced its traditions upon certain other churches) at one (that is, the present) moment. In other words, the Roman Church has adopted the position of sectarianism and isolation and calls it catholicity.

Ritualists ordinarily give the title of Catholic to any mediæval tenet or practice which they desire to introduce. Sometimes they dispense with even the authority of the Middle Ages, as, for instance, when they pronounce Catholic the theory (formulated by Paschasius [see BERENGARIUS], but never universally or com-

monly adopted) of an angel carrying the Eucharistic Bread and Wine to heaven every time that a priest celebrates the Holy Communion, whereupon the Holy Ghost consecrates it and Christ presents it to His Father; or when they interpret "do this" as "sacrifice this" (*The Catholic Religion*, p. 247; *The Congregation in the Church*, p. 49), for which interpretation only one of the Fathers can be claimed, and that falsely. Generally, however, hey require the sanction either of the present Roman use, or of a Schoolman, or of the earlier Church, as when they say, "We speak of a person as being Catholic who agrees with the creeds, doctrines, dogmas, canons, traditions, and practices of the one undivided Church" (*ibid.*, p. 175), but in the last case the usual method is to attribute to the "traditions" of the undivided Church whatever they desire individually to hold or practise, and then to pronounce that thing Catholic because agreeable to what they have agreed to term the teaching and practice of the undivided Church.

In sum, a Catholic is a man who belongs to the universal Church; the Catholic Church is the Church universal; the Catholic faith is the faith of the Church universal; a Catholic doctrine is a doctrine considered to have been at all times held by the Church universal—such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement; a Catholic practice is a practice maintained by the Church universal—such as the observance of the Lord's Day, the administration of baptism and of the Lord's Supper. No doctrines or practices should be called Catholic except those which have been of universal obligation at all times in the Church of Christ. No man should be allowed the name of Catholic who claims that title for the inadequate reason that he belongs to one rather than to another section of the Church universal. The Church of England is Catholic as forming part of the universal Church and holding the Catholic faith as embodied in the Creeds. It is Protestant because it holds that faith in its purity, rejecting the corruptions with which the Roman Church has overlaid it. In the present circumstances of Western Christendom none can hold the Catholic faith aright who are not also, and for that reason, Protestants. [F. M.]

CELEBRANT.—A name sometimes given to the officiating minister at the Lord's Supper.

It is proper to speak of "the celebration of the Holy Communion," as the rubric does which precedes the first Exhortation in the Communion Service, for we speak of celebrating a victory or celebrating a feast; but the officiating minister is no more Celebrant of the Holy Communion than any of those who [illegible] who presides at the celebration of an anniversary or at a feast which is being celebrated is never called the Celebrant, but he is sometimes called the president or principal minister, and this is the title given to the officiator at the Lord's Supper by Justin Martyr in the first recorded description of its celebration (*Apol.* i. 67).

The reason why it is important that a name should not be given to the officiator which distinguishes him, as the Celebrant, from the rest is this: In Roman Catholic theology a sharp line of distinction is drawn between the Sacrifice (which is held to be a propitiatory and expiatory sacrifice—not only a sacrifice of thanksgiving) and the Sacrament. The Sacrament is a rite common to priest and congregation alike; the Sacrifice is supposed to be performed by the priest alone. His words change the bread and wine (each of them) into Christ. By the words of the priest Christ is supposed to be offered up as a sacrifice to God the Father. The priest's consumption of the bread and wine causes the mystical death of Christ, the death of the victim being necessary for the completion of a sacrifice. "And the priest's eating," says Dean Field, "is not for refection, but for consumption, that he may destroy Christ in that being wherein He is present, as the fire on the altar was wont to consume and destroy the bodies of those beasts that were put into it" (*Of the Church*, Append., Book iii.). When the priest has consumed what was bread and wine but has now become Christ, the Sacrifice is finished. With it the congregation has nothing to do, but to "assist," like non-communicating attendants. Then begins the administration of the Sacrament, the celebration of the Sacrifice having been accomplished. All this is alien from the teaching of the reformed Church: the celebrant no more offers a sacrifice than the rest of the congregation, all of whom offer the sacrifices of their praise and thanksgiving, of themselves and of their substance, as well as commemorating, by the whole ceremony, the Sacrifice of the Cross. The humblest communicant is a sacrificer as much as the priest who officiates.

Here, then, we see why the title Celebrant is so constantly used by Ritualist manuals. It is to suggest the idea that the officiating priest celebrates and accomplishes a Sacrifice by himself, and after that administers the Body and Blood of Christ to the congregation in the Sacrament—a conclusion which legitimately follows from the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Mass, repudiated by the Church of England. It is noteworthy that although the Prayer Book twice uses the expression "to celebrate," it does not term the officiating minister "the celebrant."

There is another reason why the word celebration, standing alone, is acceptable to Ritualists. This is, that it may answer to the word Mass in such phrases as High Celebration and Low Celebration. We are told that there are three kinds of celebrations: Low Celebration, Choral Celebration, and High or Solemn Celebration. At a Low Celebration, which takes place on Sunday mornings, "the celebrant is unassisted except by a server," and he celebrates "in a side chapel when there is one, or at the side altar." (Here we see why faculties are asked for second "altars.") Choral Celebrations are held at midday on Sundays, and "much of the office is sung by the choir." In High Celebrations "there is always a gospeller and epistoller in addition to the celebrant," "more elaborate music," "incense," "more imposing ceremonial," "more altar lights than usual," "banners carried in processions." "A Choral Celebration, however dignified and imposing with lights, incense, &c., but with only acolytes assisting, is not properly a High Celebration. *Missa solennis* and *La messe solennelle* means neither more nor less than a celebration with deacon and sub-deacon assisting" (*Congregation in Church*, p. 112). It is plain that Celebration is here used for Mass, because the English mind is not yet prepared for the word Mass, which, however, "will probably re-assert itself when the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is more perfectly understood among us" (*Catholic Religion*, p. 253).

The Church of England knows nothing of servers, acolytes, High, Low, Choral, or Solemn Celebrations. She has one Eucharistical office, and to that she gives the name of "the Order of *the Administration* of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion." See Tomlinson's *Prayer Book*, &c., pp. 89, 120. [F. M.]

CELIBACY, CLERICAL.—The single or unmarried state of the clergy. In the Romish Church this is compulsory; amongst the Ritualists it is rapidly spreading. The idea of the superiority of the unmarried to the married state is derived from a falsely limited application of the passage (1 Cor. vii. 25–40). For in this passage St. Paul is not addressing the clergy only but the Corinthian Christians generally, and he gives his advice, as he is careful to say, on account of the "present distress" (ver. 26), the peculiar circumstances of the time at Corinth. He also specially declares that he does not give this counsel "that I may cast a snare upon you" (ver. 35). Other passages of Scripture make it clear that marriage is permitted to the clergy. The Apostle Peter was called when he was a married man by Christ. St. Paul must have been a married man, since it seems evident that he was at the time a member of the Jewish Sanhedrin (see Acts xxvi. 10, R.V.). He asserts his right (*i.e.* as a widower) to be married like St. Peter and other Apostles (1 Cor. ix. 5). In the Pastoral Epistles, St. Paul refers to marriage as required, or at least permitted, in presbyters or bishops and in deacons (1 Tim. iii. 2–4, 10–12; and Titus i. 6). On the other hand, one of the marks of the apostasy is forbidding to marry (1 Tim. iv. 3), and no Church should dare to impose a burden upon clergy or laity which the Lord has not imposed (Matt. xix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 9). The priests and prophets of the Old Testament were generally married men.

But inasmuch as the Church of Rome considers ecclesiastical tradition of equal weight and value with the Word of God, she has allowed that "the law of celibacy is not of divine but of ecclesiastical institution" (Palmer, *Of the Church*, ii. p. 444). The facts of ecclesiastical history are opposed to Rome's position on this subject. It is certain that in the earliest ages the clergy were allowed to marry. Polycarp speaks of the wife of one Valens a presbyter (*Ep. ad Philip.* 11); Eusebius, of an aged bishop of Nilus who perished with his wife in a time of persecution (*H. S.*, vi. 4). Cyprian was a married man like Cæcilius, the presbyter, who converted him. Eusebius also tells us that Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis and Philorimus, had both wife and children. In fact there are abundant instances of a similar kind to be found in the history of the first three centuries (Bingham, B. iv. ch. 5). At the Council of Nicæa it was proposed to separate all married clergy from their wives, but the proposal was frustrated. In the Latin Church clerical celibacy crept in slowly, and by the seventh century it absolutely disallowed a married priesthood. From the prohibition of lawful marriage, terrible immoralities ensued; and the very means which was intended to increase the sanctity of the clergy proved the fruitful source of their degradation. So much was this the case, that the Council of Paris declared in 1429 that "the Church of God and the whole clergy is held in derision, abomination, and reproach among all nations." Gregory VII., A.D. 1074, first effectually imposed it. It is clear that the objections to the practice of auricular confession and the dangers connected with it are increased in the case of an unmarried priesthood.

The idea of a celibate order of ministers is abhorrent to the English people, yet clerical celibacy is rapidly increasing among the Ritualists. By the XXXIInd Article of the Church of England it is lawful for bishops, priests, and deacons "as for all other Christian men to marry at their own discretion as they shall

judge the same to serve better to godliness.' The Greek Church still adheres to a fixed rule laid down for the Eastern branch of the Church by the Trullan Council (692). Priests and deacons are allowed to live with wives married before ordination; bishops, if married, must be separated from their wives. In fact, "the whole Eastern Church," says Dean Stanley, "allows, and now almost enjoins, marriage on all its clergy before ordination, without permitting it afterwards." So too the Coptic. It seems strange, indeed, that the Church of Rome, which exalts matrimony to the position of a sacrament, should insist upon her clergy not partaking of it. See CONFESSION, MARRIAGE, ASCETICISM. [M. E. W. J.]

CEMETERY.—Literally, sleeping-place. A piece of ground set apart by public authority for the burial of the dead. A cemetery, technically so called, differs from a churchyard as being under a board of ratepayers, not under the control of the church or any religious body, and from its being legal to purchase a permanent grave in it. No burial-ground can be opened within one hundred yards of a dwelling-house without the consent in writing of the owner, lessee, and occupier. Part of each new burial-ground may be consecrated, and part unconsecrated, fences not being necessary between them. The new burial-ground, when consecrated, shall be the burial-ground of the parish, in which all parties shall have the same rights, fees, &c., as in the old ground. Chapels may be built thereon for churchmen and dissenters. See Whitehead, *Church Law;* CHURCHYARD.

CENSER, OR THURIBLE.—A vessel usually of brass or silver, in the shape of a cup, with a perforated cover, in which incense is burned by Romanists and Ritualists. The ritual use of incense has been repeatedly condemned by judgments of the Court of Arches. See Miller, *Eccl. Law*, p. 54. The censer is therefore necessarily illegal. See INCENSE.

CEREMONIES.—Gestures or acts preceding, accompanying, or following the utterance of words; the external acts of worship. Ceremonies entered abundantly into the worship of the ancient Jewish Church, for in the infancy of mankind God dealt largely with His chosen people as with children, teaching them by pictures and primers, so to speak, and suffering them to express their thoughts and feelings of devotion to Him by outward gestures and acts. But the case is very different with regard to the worship of the Christian dispensation. Whereas in the Jewish Tabernacle or Temple the material predominated greatly over the spiritual, in the Christian Church God has evidently intended the spiritual to predominate over the material. In proof of this we may point to tha lar development and advance in p spirituality in faith and worship whi be traced from the first dawn of rev to its present full noonday light. Ou also surely laid down in the New Tes once and for all the true principle of C devotion—that it must be spiritual—w said to the woman of Samaria, in con with this very subject of worship, that is a Spirit and they that worship Hi worship Him in Spirit and in Truth," that "the Father seeketh such to w Him" (John iv. 2, 3).

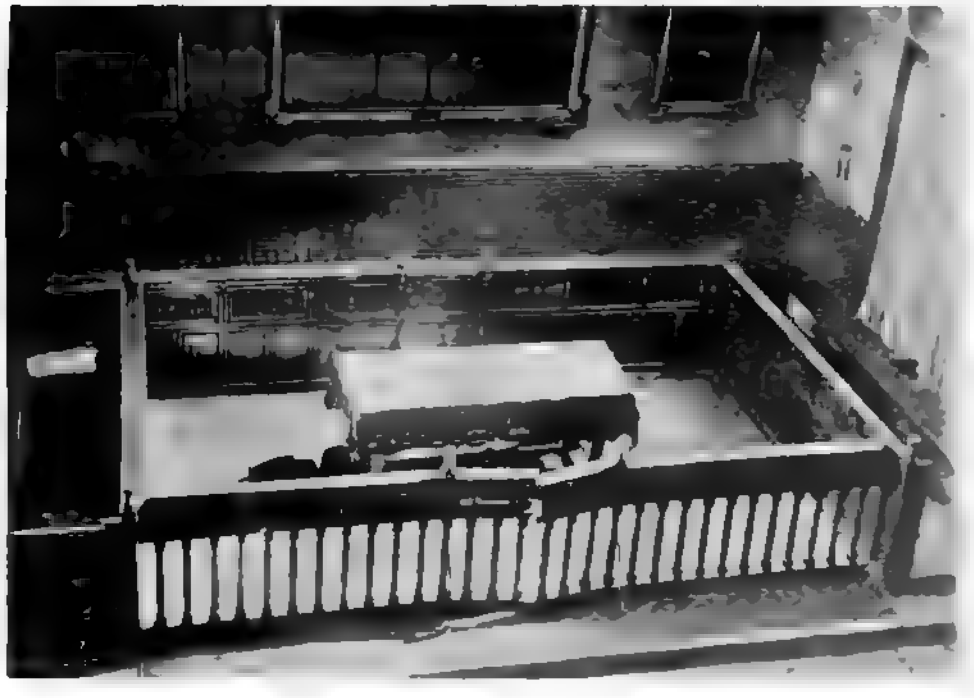
Yet how differently do Rome and h tators view this matter! By a vast ret sive movement they have revived with gorgeousness the "beggarly elements superseded dispensation. The whole te of the Romish system is to suffocate th of piety beneath a mass of outward cere and to encourage the great majority worshippers to rest contentedly in forms as the sufficient and proper sion of true religious service. For eac ticular Mass alone Rome prescribes r than 330 external acts or gestures.

In the chastened ritual of the Chu England, when the Prayer Book is interpreted, the spiritual part of worship is exalted while the material legated to a subordinate place; in fa is made of just so much outward fo may foster, and not carnalise, the re sensibilities, and quicken, without s the spirit of devotion. It has been wel with regard to the Romish system of w (and that of the Ritualists may be in also as affected by this statement) that all experience testifies, *every* religious mony, however calculated in itself t prove the heart, is thus liable to gro an empty form, what madness, yea, wickedness it is to make such cerem not merely the accessories, but the elements of worship, and by an elab constructed ritual to foster the native stition of the heart into portentous and luxuriance."

The following ceremonies have been d by the Judicial Committee of the Privy C or by the Archbishop's Court to be ille Kneeling or prostration before the conse elements; the use of lighted candles Communion Table except when requir the purpose of giving light; the use of i for the purpose of censing things and pe standing before the holy table with back people while reading the Collects next the Epistle (See EASTWARD POSITION), Collects following the Creed at Evening P

CHANCEL, HAYLE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE II. (1)



CHANCEL, WINCHCOMBE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE II. (2)

the mixing of water with wine during the administration of the Lord's Supper; elevating the paten or cup; the using of wafer bread instead of such bread as is usually eaten; the using of crucifixes or images ceremonially as a part of the service. The Archbishops have also recently published an Opinion that the ceremonial use of incense and of processional lights is not ordered or permitted by the law of the Church of England. Also that Reservation of the Sacrament for any purpose is illegal. For a longer list of condemned ceremonies see Miller's *Guide to Eccl. Law.*

[M. E. W. J.]

CHALICE.—A cup; the ancient name for the cup used for Holy Communion. Chalices were made in early times of glass, pewter, or wood. They are almost universally now of silver, or plated metal, occasionally of gold. There appears to be no direction in the Church of England as to the material of which the cup should be made; but the 20th canon directs that "the wine shall be brought to the Communion table in a clear and sweet standing pot or stoop of pewter if not of purer metal." See COMMUNION IN ONE KIND, MIXED CHALICE, &c. The cup and the paten are specifically spoken of in the administration, and the minister is to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated. As these vessels belong to the parish, they are sometimes under the custody of the churchwardens and kept in a strong chest deposited in the vestry, or the parsonage, or the churchwarden's house. Generally they are entrusted to the incumbent. See Dr. Pinnock, *The Laws and Usages of the Church and the Clergy*, p. 594, and *seq.*; Whitehead, *Church Law.*

CHALICE, DENIAL OF, TO THE LAITY.—See COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

CHANCEL.—The choir or uppermost portion of a church. The name chancel was originally given to this portion of the building, because it was divided from the body of the church by rails (Latin *cancelli*). This, although a division, did not intercept the sight. In later times, a specially sacred character was attributed to the chancel, so that the laity were debarred from entering it during divine service. This was altered at the Reformation, since which time a lay rector has a general right to a pew in the chancel. The parishioners are entitled to the use of the chancel for Holy Communion and marriages, and, according to the rubric before the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, for those offices also. Chancel screens therefore, although not illegal, are objectionable, as tending to maintain the obsolete distinction between the chancel and the body of the church, and also as possibly interfering with the seeing and hearing of the congregation (see Whitehead, *Church Law*). The Ritualists teach, without warrant, that the body of the church signifies the Church militant, the choir the Church triumphant in heaven, and the screen, the gate of death. The rector (not the vicar), lay or clerical, has the freehold of the chancel; but it is maintained that the lay-rector has no freehold in the church or the churchyard. He may not make a vault or affix tablets without leave of the Ordinary. The burden of repairing the chancel, in the absence of a custom to the contrary, rests of common right on the rector. See Cripps, Wheatley, Procter, Whitehead, also Hatch, *Growth of Church Institutions*, chap. xii.

CHANCELLOR was an official of the old Roman Empire. He was originally a sort of usher in the law courts, and derived his name from the fact that his station was *intra* or *ad cancellos*, that is the lattice-work partition which protected the Emperor from crowding when he sat in judgment. Afterwards in the Eastern Empire he rose to be a secretary, and later a judge, hence some have thought the name derived from *cancellare*, to cancel or cross out, as one of his chief functions was to cancel charters. From the Roman Empire the office passed into the Roman Church, which was, as Blackstone says, "ever emulous of imperial state," and into most of the European nations. There was a *chancelier de France* from very early times. And the modern German Empire revived the office of Imperial Chancellor in the person of Prince Bismarck. The title is said to have been introduced into England by Edward the Confessor.

The *Lord High Chancellor*, or Lord Keeper (which is another name for the same office), is with us the most important of functionaries, though he ranks after the Archbishop of Canterbury in point of precedence. He has the custody of the Great Seal, and is "Keeper of the King's conscience," is patron of the King's livings, and a member of the final Court of Appeal in causes ecclesiastical. In pre-Reformation times he was usually an ecclesiastic, the profession of the law being then chiefly in the hands of the clergy. The last clerical chancellor was the celebrated John Williams, Archbishop of York, who was appointed in 1621. No Roman Catholic is eligible for the office.

Diocesan Chancellor.—In the Church of England every diocese has an official called the chancellor. He is the judge of the Bishop's Consistory Court (see CONSISTORY), and his duties usually include those of official Principal and Vicar-General. Though appointed by the bishop under letters patent, he is an inde-

pendent judge and cannot be controlled by him; hence a bishop may institute a civil suit in his own Court (Whitehead, p. 100). The judicial position of the chancellor has been recently considered by the learned Dr. Tristram, Chancellor of London, and it appears that the relation of chancellor to bishop is similar to that of judge to king. Thus Dr. Tristram says: "Archbishops and bishops for convenience vested by letters patent their jurisdiction in such matters in their chancellors, as the king vested the decision of civil and criminal matters in the judges of the king's courts" (*Law Reports* [1901] p. 123). A bishop can be compelled to appoint a chancellor. Diocesan chancellors are usually laymen and barristers, but in some cases solicitors, and in others clergymen have been appointed. Under the canons of 1604 they must be twenty-six years of age, and learned and practised in the civil and ecclesiastical laws, and at the least a Master of Arts or Bachelor of Law. There are certain oaths and declarations required of them. They may not appoint a substitute or surrogate except he be a grave minister and a graduate, or a licensed public preacher beneficed in the neighbourhood of the Court, or, if a layman, qualified as above. Under the Clergy Discipline Act of 1892 the bishop may appoint a deputy chancellor for the purposes of that Act, who must be a barrister of not less than seven years' standing or the holder of a judicial appointment. See Whitehead, *Church Law*, title "Judges."

Chancellor of a Cathedral, is a sort of secretary to the dean and chapter. He affixes the seal, writes letters, keeps the books, &c. (See Murray, *Dictionary*.)

Also the heads of Universities are called "chancellor," and the name is given to other officers whose duties are purely civil, *e.g.* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. [B. W.]

CHANCERY (*cancellaria*).—The court in which a Chancellor sits, *e.g.* Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, Chancery Court of York. See ARCHES. [B. W.]

CHANTRY (*cantaria*).—A private religious foundation, of which there were many in England before the Reformation, established for the purpose of keeping up a perpetual succession of masses and prayers for the prosperity of some particular family and the repose of the souls of deceased members of it, but especially the founder and other persons named in the deed of foundation. They owed their origin to the belief in the efficacy of prayers and masses for the dead, and were swept away as superstitious at the Reformation.

Chantries were usually founded in a church already existing, in monasteries, cathedrals, or parish churches. All that was wanted was an altar with a little area before it, and a few appendages. Remains of these can readily be detected even now.

It was by no means unusual to have four, five, and six different chantries in a common parish church, while at cathedral and collegiate churches, such as St. Paul's, there were thirty, forty, and fifty at the time of the Reformation. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries there are said to have been 2000 founded in England, and there were over 180 in the city and suburbs of London. When there was no more room in the church itself chantry chapels were added, and were sometimes erected separately and remote from the church. These chantries sometimes served as chapels-of-ease and where the living was held by a person in minor orders, as was very frequently the case, the chantry priest may have said Mass for the parishioners. (*Penny Cyclopædia*; Cutts' *Parish Priests in the Middle Ages*.) [B. W.]

CHAPEL. — Properly, according to the etymology, a covering or canopy over an "altar"; then, the recess containing the "altar"; then, a place of worship. Chapels may either form part of a church or have been erected in a parish in addition to the parish church. Side chapels in a church must be separated from the body of the church by walls or screens before a faculty will be granted for placing an additional Lord's Table therein. Private chapels belong to persons of rank or to Institutions; and by the Private Chapels Act, 1871, the bishops may license a clergyman to perform all offices therein save matrimony. Public chapels are generally divided into chapels of ease and proprietary chapels. The former are so called because built in aid of the original church; the latter are the property of private individuals, but must be licensed for divine service by the bishop, nor can any one become the minister or officiate in them without his licence. A chapel-of-ease at a distance from the parish church having a chapelry, township, or district belonging to it, may (if endowed with a competent stipend for the minister) be made by the bishop, with consent of incumbent and patron, a "separate and distinct parish for all spiritual purposes" (1 & 2 Victoria c. 107, s. 7). The nomination to chapels of ease rests almost invariably with the incumbent of the mother church, unless it be otherwise established by either prescription or agreement. A chapel may be specially licensed for the solemnisation of marriages. (See Dale, ch. v.; Cripps, B. iii. ch. 2; Whitehead, *sub voce*.)

CHAPLAIN (Lat. *capellanus*).—A minister who regularly performs divine service in a chapel (*q.v.*), or private house. Originally applied to those who had charge of sacred relics. By

THE MASS VESTMENTS

ome the word is derived from *capsa*, or *capsella*, a box in which relics are kept, by others from *capa*, a cloak, in particular the "holy cloak" of St. Martin; the building or tent in which this and other relics were kept being called *capella*, chapel. The cloak of St. Martin was at first moved about with the court of the French kings, and the clergy who had charge of it performed the duties which are still associated with the office of court chaplain. The *capellani* are said, therefore, to have been "first of all what are still called court chaplains, charged with worship in royal chapels" (Wetzer and Welte).

Royal chaplains in Great Britain are divided into chaplains in ordinary and honorary chaplains, and consist of episcopal and presbyterian clergy. The chaplains in ordinary are forty-two in number, thirty-six being ministers of the Church of England (Episcopal) and six of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian). His present Majesty is, however, understood to be making some alterations in the staff, and has ordered the wearing of a distinctive badge.

Private chaplains are those who "depend upon" a man of worth for the instruction of himself and his family, the reading of prayers, and preaching in his private house where usually they have a chapel for that purpose. An archbishop or duke is said to be entitled to six private chaplains, a marquis or earl five, a viscount or bishop four, a lord chancellor or a baron three, and various other personages two or one each. A nobleman's chaplain (if of the Church of England) by custom wears a black tippet (wider than the ordinary clergyman's), called the chaplain's scarf (Whitehead, *Church Law*). The ministrations of a private chaplain become *public* if persons not constituting part of the household are admitted, and in such cases the services must be conducted in strict accordance with law (Whitehead, pp. 89, 99).

Chaplains to public institutions (*e.g.* schools, hospitals, &c.), if clergy of the Church of England, are now appointed under the provisions of what is somewhat curiously called "The Private Chapels Act, 1871." They have to obtain the bishop's licence, which must not include the solemnisation of marriage, and which is revocable by the bishop at any time. The chaplain so licensed is not subject to the control of the incumbent of the parish in which the chapel is situate, but nothing in the Act is to prejudice the right of such incumbent to the entire cure of souls in his parish elsewhere than within the institution and its chapel. The offertories at the chapel are at the disposition of the chaplain, subject to the direction of the ordinary.

Army chaplains have their sphere of duty marked out under Act of Parliament and orders in Council. There is a Chaplain-General for the Church of England, who receives a stipend of £1000 a year. There are also chaplains belonging to the Church of Scotland, and to Roman Catholics and other dissenters. See Whitehead, *Church Law*.

Navy Chaplains.—The head Church of England chaplain is styled Chaplain of the Fleet, and receives a stipend of £759 a year. For further particulars see Whitehead, *Church Law*.

Cemetery, *Lunatic Asylum*, *Prison*, and *Workhouse chaplains* are also the subject of special regulations, as to which see Whitehead. The Houses of Parliament have also their chaplains. See CHAPEL. [B. W.]

CHAPTER.—Literally, a head. A cathedral chapter is so called because "as a head" it advises the bishop in many things, and it anciently ruled and governed the diocese whenever the see was vacant. Since the thirteenth century this latter is the case only with regard to an archiepiscopal see. The chapter is generally composed of the canons and prebendaries presided by the dean. See Whitehead, *Church Law*.

CHARACTER.—Literally, a mark cut or engraved; then the peculiar qualities of a person or thing. Character is the disposition produced by the thoughts, words, and works of any one during the passing of years. It is especially affected by the dealings of God with the soul through the providences of life, which frequently leave, under grace, a lasting impress on the character. The Church of Rome travesties this solemn truth by using the term "character" in a technical sense for "a mark or seal," supposed to be made "on the soul, which cannot be effaced," but adds that "it is given by the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Order," irrespectively of the life and disposition of the person receiving any of those sacraments.

CHARMS.—See AMULETS.

CHASUBLE.—A cloak at first commonly worn by peasants; afterwards adopted as an ecclesiastical vestment.

The first writer that speaks of the *casula*, or chasuble, is St. Augustine, A.D. 354–430. He tells a story of a poor tailor at Hippo, a little before his own time, who lost his chasuble, and not having money to buy another, went to the Chapel of the Twenty Martyrs at Hippo and prayed that it might be restored to him on which the boys laughed at him for seeming to ask the Martyrs for 500 "folles," which shows us what was about the price of a chasuble, as a large-sized fish could be bought for 300 "folles" (*De Civ. Dei*, xxii.). In his own time, he speaks of the chasuble as a

common article of dress. "Will you go on," he says, "with a bad chasuble or a bad boot? Then why with a bad soul?" (*Serm.* 107). It was at this time a cloak enveloping the whole person, like the *manta* still worn in Spain, with the addition of a hood that might be drawn over the head. Being the ordinary dress of the poor, it was worn by monks, and Bishop Fulgentius, about A.D. 500, strictly ordered that his monks' chasubles should not be of a high price, or of a bright colour. Procopius, A.D. 530, speaks of the chasuble as being a cloak of a slave or of a common person, which a general, or a private soldier, would be ashamed of (*De Bello Vindal.* ii. 26). Archbishop Cæsarius, A.D. 540, left to his successor, in his will, a long-napped chasuble, which he distinguishes from his church robes. Pope Gregory I., A.D. 600, presented three pieces of money and a chasuble, that is, a cloak, to a Persian abbot who saluted him in the streets of Rome. Boniface III., A.D. 606, sent to King Pepin a chasuble made partly of silk partly of goat's hair with a long nap, on which he says that he might wipe his feet dry—a very singular use of a chasuble. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 620, in his *De Originibus*, describes the chasuble as a garment with a hood, and states that its name is a diminutive of *casa*, a house, because it covers the whole man like a little house (*Lib.* xix.). St. Boniface and a Council held at Ratisbon in 742, order presbyters and deacons not to wear the short military cloak, but the chasuble, as befitting the servants of God (*Labbe*, vi.).

Hitherto we have had no indication of the chasuble being a ministerial vestment, or a garment in any way peculiar to the clergy, but with the ninth century it becomes more specially clerical by ceasing to be the common dress of the people; and symbolical meanings become now attached to it. Rabanus Maurus, A.D. 800, repeating Isidore's derivation of the name from *casa*, a house, says that it covers all the other vestments, and therefore symbolises charity. Amalarius, A.D. 824, says that, as the chasuble is worn by all the clerical body of whatever degree, it symbolises "the works which belong to all, namely, hungering, thirsting, watching, nakedness, reading, psalm-singing, prayer, toil, teaching, silence, and everything else of that kind; when a man is clothed with them he has on his chasuble." The double fold of the chasuble between the shoulders indicated that good works should be performed both towards men and towards God; the double fold on the breast implied the need both of learning and of truth (*De Eccl. Off.* ii.). In a treatise of the eleventh century, wrongly attributed to Alcuin, the writer repeats that the symbolical meaning of the chasuble is charity (*De Div. Off.*). Ivo Carnotensis, A.D. 1100, knows no signification of the chasuble except charity (*De eccl. sacram. et officiis*), nor Hugo a Sancto Victore, A.D. 1120, nor Honorius Augustodunensis, A.D. 1125. To Innocent III. it also means charity, but he likewise sees in it the symbol of the Pre-Christian and Post-Christian Church, because it hangs in front and behind, which, he says, is right because on Palm Sunday both those who went before and those who followed after cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (*De sacro altaris mysterio*). Durandus, A.D. 1250, repeats the signification of charity, but adds that it also represents the wedding garment of Matt. xxii. 12, and the Catholic Church, and the vestment of Aaron, and the purple robe of Christ. By hanging both in front and behind, he says that it symbolises love to God and man, whilst its width shows that charity must reach to enemies. Its three folds on the right arm teach the duty of "succouring monks, clergy, and laity," and the three folds on the left arm the duty of "ministering to bad Christians, Jews, and Paynims."

Thus it appears that the chasuble, beginning as the ordinary outer garment of the poor, was retained by the clergy when other people changed the fashion of their clothes, and thus became their ministerial dress. But down to the end of the thirteenth century the idea of its being a sacrificial garment had not arisen. Its accepted meaning was charity. But in the thirteenth century Innocent III. and the Fourth Lateran Council introduced such wide reaching modifications of the Christian faith as almost to change its character. In 1215 Transubstantiation became the authorised belief, and auricular confession the authorised practice of the Latin Church. Transubstantiation, which is the basis of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and compulsory confession profoundly altered the conception entertained of the priesthood. The presbyter now became a sacrificing priest, and the victim that he sacrificed was no other than Christ Himself, while in the confessional he sat as the representative of God. His vesture must indicate the stupendous office which he held. The most noticeable, because the outside, garment that he wore was the chasuble; the chasuble therefore must symbolise sacrifice. By degrees it attracted to itself this character, and in the course of the subsequent centuries it became recognised as the priestly sacrificial vestment, while it underwent considerable changes in form.

But if the chasuble did not symbolise sacrifice for at least 1300 years, why should it be supposed to symbolise it now? The whole theory of the symbolical meaning of vestments, which first grew up in the ninth century, is

partly a pretty and quaint, partly a fantastic and foolish imagination. Ritualist fancy has again declared the chasuble to be necessary for the priest who offers the Sacrifice of the Mass, or celebrates the Holy Eucharist. Mr. Passmore pronounces it to be "an ecclesiastical vestment indispensable to, and characteristic of, the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar" (*Sacred Vestments*, vii.). The *Ritual Reason Why* tells us that the priest removes his chasuble when preaching "because the sermon is not directly a part of the sacrifice," and that "he lays it on the altar because it is a sacrificial vestment" (No. 430). *The Congregation in Church* is daring enough to state, without any regard to historical fact, that the alb, girdle, amice, maniple, stole, and chasuble "have been worn at Holy Communion from the days of the Holy Apostles"; the cloak which St. Paul left at Troas having been, no doubt, his chasuble. And it states that it is "the sacerdotal or priestly vestment worn by the celebrant at the Holy Eucharist" (pp. 54, 176). This theory is a reason why so strong a desire is entertained for restoring the use of the pre-Reformation vestments in the Church of England. It is not merely a matter of aestheticism, but of doctrine, although the sketch above given of the history of the chasuble proves that the connection between it and the doctrine which it is now supposed to symbolise is an arbitrary dictum of the later Middle Ages, unknown for more than a thousand years. [F. M.]

In England the chasuble was blessed "that all clad with this chasuble may have power to perform a sacrifice acceptable to Thee for quick and dead" (*Mon. Rit.* i. 144). It was placed by the bishop on the shoulders of the priest with the words "receive the Sacerdotal vesture" and was followed by the blessing of the priest's hands to "consecrate Hosts which are offered for the sins and negligences of the people." When Sawtre was degraded from the priesthood in 1401 the form ran "we pull from thy back the chasuble and take from thee the priestly Vestment and deprive thee of all priestly honour." Archbishop Parker and the High Commissioners in 1566 published a letter from Bullinger who denounced the "Massing apparel, *that is* in an alb and in a Vestment," and opposite the word "Vestment," they inserted in the margin "Casula," thus showing beyond all doubt what was then understood by the word "Vestment." In the English Pontificals the bishop was directed to come in procession to church in a cope, but to lay it aside for the "Vestment" when he was about to say Mass. The cope being unblessed, and not given to the ordinees, but worn by laymen, by children, and even by women, often out of doors, was not held to be a "sacrificial dress," and was therefore tolerated when the "Vestment" of the Mass-priests was finally laid aside. (See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 67, 70; Tomlinson on the Prayer Book, pp. 56, 96, 117, 119, 274; Mr. Edmund Bishop in the *Dublin Review* for January 1897, p. 17.)

[J. T. T.]

CHERUBIM.—The plural of cherub; a composite winged creature-form, which finds a parallel in the religious insignia of Assyria, Egypt, and Persia. Two of these symbolical figures were commanded by God to be made of gold and placed one at each end of the mercy-seat which was above the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 17–22). Two others, of colossal size, overshadowed the ark in Solomon's temple (2 Chron. iii. 10–13). Ezekiel i. speaks of four, and similarly the Apocalyptic "living creatures" are four (Rev. iv. 6–9). At the east of Eden were posted "the cherubim" as if of a recognised number; but that point is doubted by competent authorities. In Heb. ix. 5 the "cherubim of glory are referred to." Notwithstanding the commandments of God and the manifold precautions taken under the Old Testament dispensation to guard Israel from the sin of idolatry the Church of Rome actually draws from these cherubim an argument in favour of the use and adoration of images! But the real facts of the case are that the cherubim, so far from being "venerated," were never even seen by the people or by the ordinary priests and Levites, but by the high priest alone, and then only on the great annual Day of Atonement, and then only in a darkened chamber, and through a cloud of incense ("lest he die"). Even on the march the ark would seem to have been concealed as well as the holy vessels of the sanctuary (Num. iv. 5, 15, 20). Thus the adoration of these figures was made impossible for Israel. See IMAGE-WORSHIP.

[M. E. W. J.]

CHOREPISCOPUS.—The word properly means country-bishop. This class of bishops seems to have come into existence in the latter part of the third century. They discharged all kinds of episcopal duties including that of ordination, but had not the same jurisdiction as ordinary bishops.

CHRISM.—Oil consecrated by a bishop in the Roman and Eastern Churches and used for baptism, confirmation, orders, and extreme unction. The *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 56, calmly informs its readers, as though it was the authorised practice of the Church of England to-day, that "three kinds of oil are blessed by the bishop on Maundy Thursday: one the oil of the sick for the sacrament of unction; another

the oil of catechumens; and the third a mixture of oil and balsam, called the chrism, served for the anointing of altars, of the sovereign at consecration, and for use at baptism and confirmation." In the first Book of Edward VI. a form of anointing infants in baptism was prescribed, which Wheatley connected rather with confirmation which had often immediately followed baptism. Prior to the Reformation infants in arms were often confirmed, as is the practice in the Greek Church. This superstitious practice was wisely abolished by our reformers and has never been revived (see Wheatley, pp. 347–49). In the Roman Pontifical, the consecrating bishop, after breathing over the jar of oil three times in the form of a cross, exorcises from all evil spirits the oil, and then, mixing balsam with the oil, says, "Be this mixture of liquors atonement to all that shall be anointed of the same, and the safeguard of salvation for ever and ever." What must be thought of a system which considers the Atonement of the death of Christ insufficient and the anointing with oil a "safeguard" for eternal salvation? Surely any such so-called Christianity must carry with it its own condemnation. [M. E. W. J.]

CHRIST.—Anointed. The official title of our blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. The Greek name Christ is equivalent to the Hebrew Messiah. As prophets, priests, and kings were anointed with oil under the Old Testament dispensation, so our Lord was anointed to His threefold offices by the visible descent of the Holy Spirit at His baptism.

CHRISTIANS.—The baptized, professing believers throughout the world in the Lord Jesus Christ as the God-Man and in the doctrines of His religion. The name occurs three times in the New Testament, viz.: Acts xi. 26; xxvi. 28; 1 Peter iv. 16. Whitehead, in *Church Law*, p. 70, estimates their total number at the present time to be about 420,000,000, or about one-third of the population of the globe. Of these, the Romish Church is computed to number about 200,000,000; the Orthodox, or Greek Church, 80,000,000; other Eastern Churches, 10,000,000, and Protestants, 130,000,000.

CHRISTMAS.—The season at which we specially commemorate the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. The actual day (December 25) was fixed in Rome about the year 380, and Chrysostom says that the day was chosen in order that the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed, while the profane ceremonies of the pagan festival of Saturn (held on that day) were in progress. Nothing is known with certainty as to the precise date of our Lord's birth. It has been variously supposed to have occurred in December, April, and May. The earliest mention of Christmas is that of Clement of Alexandria (200), who says "there are some who over curiously assign not only the year but even the day of the birth of our Saviour, which they say was in the 28th year of Augustus, on the 25th day of Pachon" (May 20). The greatest part of the Eastern Church from very early times celebrated the Nativity on the Epiphany, or January 6; so does the Greek Church still. But it seems hardly possible that the birth of Christ could have taken place in the winter, as the shepherds of Palestine do not remain in the fields at that season. As to the year in which our Lord was born, it is considered for several reasons by the best authorities to have been four years before the received commencement of the Christian era. Sir Isaac Newton says: "The times of the Birth and Passion of Christ, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by Christians of the first age." The Epistle and Gospel are the same that were used in the most ancient liturgies; the Collect was composed in 1549. [M. E. W. J.]

CHURCH, THE—I. The foundation of the Christian Church was laid by our Lord's charge to His disciples after His resurrection, recorded in St. Matt. xxviii. 18: "Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, 'All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'" Our Saviour after His resurrection, and just before His ascension, thus addresses His eleven disciples, and solemnly declares that all power is given unto Him in heaven and in earth; and in the exercise of that power, He charges them to go and make disciples of all the nations of the earth. He explains also what He meant by making disciples. First, it involved baptizing them into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—revealing to them, that is, those Divine persons, that they might believe in them and love them, and enter by baptism into covenant with them; and in the second place, it involved teaching them to observe all things whatsoever Christ had commanded them. The great work of revealing God, as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, of bringing men into covenant with Him, and of teaching them to obey all Christ's commands, was thus entrusted by our Saviour to His eleven disciples. It is evident, moreover, that they were to hand on the same commission to their successors, since our Saviour says, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Here, therefore, we have a definite body of men, charged with a great commission, which is to last until

the end of the world; and the Saviour gives them a promise that He will be with them in the discharge of it. We know how the Apostles understood this commission. (See APOSTLE.) They, in the first place, completed their number to twelve by electing Matthias in the place of the traitor Judas, and then waited patiently at Jerusalem until, according to our Lord's promise, He had sent the Holy Ghost upon them at the Day of Pentecost; and from that time they went forth, as St. Mark says (xvi. 20), "and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them."

But they were not content simply to preach, and then to leave their words to their fate; as men do who come into a place, and give addresses, and leave it; or as others do who write books, and cast them upon the surface of society to find their own way, and to be read or neglected. But wherever they went, the persons who accepted their message were bound together in association by certain observances, and were placed under the direction of certain authorities. We are told respecting the first community of three thousand souls that they were first baptized, and that they then (Acts ii. 42) "continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread and in the prayers." (See BREAD.) In other words they were first brought into covenant with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit by baptism; and then they continued to be guided by the Apostles' teaching, and met together for the Sacrament of the Holy Communion and for common prayers. As long as the community was comparatively small, and was confined to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, there was no need for other preaching than that of the Apostles; and the Apostles were also able to superintend the offices of mutual charity in which Christian love soon found its expression. But before long these administrative duties were found to consume too much of the Apostles' time; and a new order of men, called deacons, or servants, were solemnly set apart by the laying on of the Apostles' hands for this work of administration, discharging also, as in the cases of Stephen and Philip, a very important part in the work of teaching. (See DEACON.) But, soon after, St. Peter was reminded, by a special vision, of our Saviour's commission to him and his fellow-Apostles, that they should teach all nations; and St. Paul was miraculously converted and added to the Apostles for this express purpose. St. Paul proceeded to preach the Gospel in Asia Minor, and made disciples in various towns; and then we find him at once making provision for the regular instruction and government of these various communities or churches. We read at the conclusion of his first missionary journey (Acts xiv. 23), that "when they had ordained them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed."

Such is the simple account, presented to us in the New Testament, of the manner in which the Apostles carried out our Lord's commission. In the various cities and centres of life they made disciples, and they formed those disciples into societies, under the guidance and authority of elders (see PRESBYTERS), who are also called overseers (see BISHOP); and these societies are described by a Greek word which means an assembly summoned by a formal call, and which is translated in our Bible by the word "Church." Each particular society, by itself, is called a Church; and in the last chapter of the last, if not the latest book of the New Testament, we read of our Lord sending messages to "the Churches" (Rev. xxii. 16). "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the Churches." But we further learn that the true members of these Churches were regarded as forming one Church, for St. Paul, especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians, speaks again and again of "the Church" which is the Body of Christ. "God," he says (Eph. i. 22), "hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him which filleth all in all"; and he declares (iv. 11), that our Lord "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ . . . that we . . . may grow up into Him in all things which is the Head, even Christ, from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."

We observe, then, as the conclusion of the work of the Apostles themselves in discharging Christ's commission, that they established bodies of disciples, called congregations or Churches, under the guidance of elders and deacons, those elders and deacons holding their commissions from the Apostles themselves; and towards the end of the Apostolic period, we also find St. Paul appointing men like Timothy and Titus to supervise the elders and deacons, or, as we now say, to be bishops (or overseers) over them, in the Apostles' place. Each of these distinct congregations is required to continue in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread and in common prayers. By this fellowship

and these sacraments the various Churches were kept in fellowship with one another, and we read of their being united in brotherly friendship, and giving each other mutual assistance. But we do not read of their being united under one general government, or of their being subject to the authority of any single Apostle. The Churches which had been founded by St. Paul looked naturally to him as their supreme guide during his lifetime; but he expressly disclaimed, in remarkable passages, any interference with other men's labours or provinces (Rom. xv. 20; 2 Cor. x. 13–16). When a difficult question arose as to the obligations of Christians in the Gentile Churches, how to carry out what Christ had commanded in such matters as the observance of the Jewish law, instead of appealing to any one supreme authority, the Apostles and elders came together and discussed the question among themselves, praying for the guidance of God's Spirit; and the decision which they came to in this Council was accepted as the guidance of God's Spirit for them. In Apostolic times, therefore, the external union of the Church of Christ was simply that of distinct communities who believed in the same truth, and accepted the same discipline, who entered into mutual consultation on important points of difficulty which might arise, and who submitted to the decisions which resulted from such consultations as expressing the judgment of the Spirit of God for them. But they were not all subject to the administration of any single visible authority, and in that respect did not present the characteristic of one single society. The Empire of England offers the spectacle of a single visible society because there is one visible authority which is acknowledged throughout it, to which, with certain qualifications, all its various parts submit. There was no such single administrative authority in the Churches of Apostolic times; and in this sense the various Churches did not form one visible body. There was, indeed, one authority to which they all submitted, but it was an authority ordinarily invisible—that, namely, of the Lord who, by His commission to His Apostles, had really founded the various Churches, who had promised to be with them until the end of the world, and who was believed through His Spirit to intimate His will to His representatives, when solemnly assembled in such a Council as that which met at Jerusalem. The various Churches, or rather the faithful members of them, were invisibly united to Jesus Christ as their Head; and they believed that their whole life and work, the work of their teachers and rulers, their own obedience and learning, their struggles and their prayers, were gradually bringing them all, more and more, into conformity and unity with that great Head; that His Spirit was working within them, and building them up into one great body, in which the glory of God would be fully manifested.

To the question then: What is the Church? the answer must be twofold. There is, first, the one great body, of which St. Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Ephesians as the Body of Christ, which is obviously not confined either to any one of such particular Churches as those which the Apostle founded, or to any single community existing on earth and at any one time, but is composed of all who, in every age, have been united to Christ their Head, by His Spirit. They are His members; they will be found, at the consummation of all things, when Christ is revealed in His full glory, with all His Saints, to form one vast organism, in union with Him, each with his place, his gift, his office, and his special blessing. But this Church—the Church in the highest sense of the word—is, and always has been, invisible. There are alas! members of the visible Churches who do not belong to it, because they do not belong to Him; they are false to Him in belief or practice, and are liable to His sentence: "I never knew you; depart from Me, ye that work iniquity." To the revelation of this great and glorious, though now invisible, Church we look forward as the great consummation, towards which the whole of God's dispensation in this world is directed; but, being as a whole an invisible body, it is not one which we can approach, to which we can appeal for guidance, or which can exercise any direct authority over us. We are in union with it, if we are true Christians, through Christ; and the Spirit which animates it is the same Spirit by which it is our privilege to be animated; and with this spiritual union with the one everlasting, but now invisible, Church we must in this world be contented.

But if we are to use the word Church of a visible body of which we are visible members, and towards which we have recognisable duties, then, according to the New Testament, any congregation of Christians who have received Christ's word and have been baptized, and who continue in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship and in the breaking of bread and in the prayers, is a Church of Christ; it is a congregation of believers in Christ, who acknowledge the truth, and who submit to the discipline, which He and His Apostles declared and appointed; or, in the words of the Article of the Church of England, "the visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in the which the pure word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all

ngs that of necessity are requisite me." There may be any number of rches, and no one of them has any authority over others. But as they ;ed to the same truth, the same), and the same Sacraments—as they lge one God the Father, and one is Christ who is their Head, and one whom they are regenerated and d—there is a real though not, for purposes, an external unity among ey are bound, so far as in them lies, te mutual communion and brotherly to take one another into consultation lties of faith and practice, such as ch arose in Apostolic times. Though ng, either individually or in combi- e one Church of Christ, they are the dies out of which that one invisible ing evolved; and in ordinary circum- is through union with one of them union with that invisible body is and maintained. Such, in its main is the ideal for the visible Churches which is set before us in the New t. That ideal, therefore, which has l and distracted so many minds, of ig one single visible society, under nment, which alone can claim to be e Church of Christ, and to whose every individual Christian must a peril of his salvation, is an ideal is no foundation whatever in the tament. There the various distinct such as those described in the last ie New Testament, have their distinct listinct responsibilities, as they have inct dangers and temptations. On responsibility, they are bound to be eir Head, which is Christ, and faith- e Apostolic doctrine and fellowship, ng with one another communion and all essential matters of faith and -a union for the maintenance of ancils like that held at Jerusalem are tolical method. But there is no human authority to which they have ccount. Subject, however, to this n of the freedom and responsibility ual Churches, there are few obliga- incumbent on them than that of main- ity. It is not given to one man, or ion, to grasp the whole of so grand erious a revelation as that of the needs the experience of many men any minds to apprehend its various nd, consequently, any Christian man, an community, who separate them- necessarily from their brethren, are and marring their own opportunities s for entering into "all the truth."

The Church of England separated from the Church of Rome under the pressure of dire necessity; but only the most deadly errors and the most violent action on the part of the Church of Rome led the English Church to that course; nor did the best divines of the English Church think that anything less than the conviction that the errors of Rome were of that character would have justified the separation. Every separation from the body of Christians to which a particular man or a particular community naturally belong, for less cause than similar necessity, is contrary to the fundamental principles of Christian charity, and cannot but be the source of incalculable misfortunes to the Church. The nature, however, of schism is the proper subject of another article. It is important to add that heresy and schism do not necessarily separate men or communities from the visible Church. So Hooker says (iii. 1, 7): "If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ . . . yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity." Again (§ 8): "Of the visible body and Church of Jesus Christ those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard . . . of some parts of their very profession, are . . . in the eyes of the sounder parts of the visible Church most execrable." Again (§ 11): "We must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church." The following passage from the fifth book of Hooker (lxviii. 6) affords an authoritative and comprehensive statement on this subject: "Because the only object which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, and whom none but the Church doth believe . . . we find that accordingly the Apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, accounting 'them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be His Church.' If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God either in deed, or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is; but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the unity that

ought to be in the Church of Christ; which notwithstanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and ceremonies of religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times and that about matters of no small importance, yea, her schisms, factions, and such other evils, whereunto the body of the Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retain by outward profession that vital substance of truth which maketh Christian religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to His glorious gospel, and have His Sacraments, the seals of eternal life, in derision." In connection with these broad statements, it may be well to notice the question, Whether the possession of Episcopal government, derived by succession from the Apostles, is of the essence of the Church. It is essential, in the belief of the Church of England, to the perfection of a Church; it is a condition of its *bene esse*, but it is not essential to its *esse*—requisite, in Hooker's phrase, to its "happier and better being," but "not properly of the being" of a Church. The statement in the Preface to the Ordinal of the Church of England is substantially justified by historical research. "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." But though the Church of England maintains this constitution for herself, she has never refused communion with other Protestant Churches, on the sole ground of their having lost it; and one of the most decided High Churchmen, Bishop Cosin, advised English Churchmen who were in Paris during the troubles of the Commonwealth to receive the Holy Communion from a French Protestant minister. As has been said, there are errors, like those of the Church of Rome, which render it a duty to renounce communion with a Church which holds them, though it remains a Church; but the mere loss of an Episcopal constitution, or of a breach in the Apostolic succession of ministers, is not, in the view of the most of authoritative divines of the Church of England, an error or fault of this nature. See APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

[H. W.]

[The Editors append a second article which was in type before Dr. Wace's was received, as it contains some additional matter.]

CHURCH.—II. The old English word "church," or "kirk," may be traced to the Greek κυριακόν (οἶκος), the "Lord's House." It is used to designate alike a material fabric used for worship, a particular body of Christians, the whole body of baptised professing Christians, and the inner circle of true believers, whether now living or departed in the faith of Christ. The Greek and Latin term, translated as "church," is *ecclesia*, which originally, as at Athens, meant "a legislative assembly of citizens." It is thus used in Acts xix. 32, 39, 41, and is also applied to the Congregation of Israel as the ancient Church and people of God in Acts vii. 38. In its Christian acceptation the term is employed in the New Testament in at least five different senses, which are closely connected together, and represent distinct aspects of the same truth. There is (1), as Hooker says, a mystical Church invisible whose members are known only to God; or in the language of the Communion office, "the mystical Body of Christ, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." (2) There is the outward visible Church, whose members are known to and may be counted by men, and is, according to Article XIX., "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same" (see Matt. xvi. 10, xviii. 17). Again (3), in the Epistles (*e.g.* Rom. xvi. 5; Coloss. iv. 15), the Christians of any particular family, or who met for worship in any house, are called a Church. (4) Also the Christian societies of a town or district are addressed by the Apostles as Churches—*e.g.* Corinth (1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1); Galatia (i. 2); Thessalonica (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). (5) There is once more the Church triumphant in heaven, for which the Church militant on earth is intended to prepare her members (see Hebrews xii. 22, 23).

The true and ideal Church is the spiritual and invisible, the living Body of the risen and glorified Redeemer, which consists of all believers in Him, who are led by His Spirit and build, and are being built, upon Him as the one foundation of their trust and hope. He is the Vine, of which they are the living branches. He is the Bridegroom, and they collectively are His bride. This is God's peculiar possession, purchased with His own blood, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" (see Acts xx. 28, Eph. i. 23); and it is His purpose eventually to "present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish (Eph. v. 27). Purity of character and life and the faithful use of the appointed means of grace are the chief signs of membership in this ideal society.

Such was the teaching of the early Fathers —*e.g.* Justin Martyr (A.D. 150), Clement of

Alexandria (A.D. 220), and Augustine (A.D. 480). The principal notes of this invisible Church are: (1) *Unity*, as distinguished from uniformity—its members are all being taught by one Spirit and agree in the essentials of Christian truth; (2) *Sanctity*, for all its members hate sin, are seeking separation from evil, and conformity to the image of their Divine Master, and are being gradually transformed into that image from glory to glory, even as by the Lord the Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 18); and (3) *Catholicity*, for their union is not limited by nationality or particular forms of worship and of church government. This Church is also (4) in the truest sense Apostolic, for its members are "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone" (Eph. ii. 20). Apostolic faith and practice are the main objects at which they aim. Such is the Church of Christ in the truest and highest aspect.

But it is at the same time a *visible* institution, set up by our Lord Jesus Christ as a Lighthouse in the world, and organised by His Apostles (see Matt. xvi. 18; xviii. 17; xxviii. 19, 20). The fact that Christ did found such an ordered society is evident from His ordaining the two Sacraments with outward and visible signs, the one for the admission of members, the other for their spiritual sustenance and edification. It also is evidenced from His giving to the Twelve, perhaps also to the Seventy, special commissions not extending to all Christians alike. This society He intended to continue to the close of this dispensation, for He promised to be with it always to the end of the age, and that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." This Church He intended to be at once a standing witness of His truth to the ungodly world, and a spiritual Home for the training of His faithful people. It is also like the scaffolding of His spiritual Temple, by means of which its inward and spiritual building could best advance, necessary at present but afterwards to pass away when that which is perfect shall come. This Church in its outward and visible character is (as Hooker says) divided into a number of distinct societies every one of which is termed a Church within itself. A Christian assembly may be called a Church, but the Church is not merely an assembly, but a society, and remains when all assemblies are dispersed. The communion its members enjoy consists in the public exercise of such duties as those mentioned in Acts ii. 42: instruction, breaking of bread, and prayer. Twice only in the Gospels is mention made of the Church. In the second passage (Matt. xviii. 17), it must mean the particular Church or branch of the Church, to which the offended person should belong. In the Acts and Epistles the term is frequently used of local and particular Churches (*e.g.* Acts xiv. 27; xv. 3, 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Gal. i. 22; Rom. xvi. 4, &c.). Thus, there gradually grew up an outward visible Body, a Body with many different members, loosely connected together by the authority of the Apostles and of the overseers whom they appointed, but never, as Bishop Westcott points out, absolutely in union. At best this was an imperfect, struggling, fallible representation of the true spiritual Body of Christ, of which only some Christians were genuine living members. Thus this visible Church grew and extended itself, not as an end in itself, but as a means to a far more glorious end, "the perfecting of the saints, the edifying of the Body of Christ," and so preparing the way for the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic vision, in which St. John saw "the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. xxi. 2). Meantime this earthly institution, however imperfect though divine in origin, retains in some measure the marks of the heavenly society. It is called "catholic"; because it is intended to be universal, extending itself "throughout all the world;" "holy," because all its members are called to be holy, and its ministrations are designed to make them such; and "one," not because it imposes one cast-iron yoke of uniformity, but because its members profess "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," and should endeavour to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." In those respects it is now an object of faith, not of sight, and as such it is proposed to our contemplation in the Creeds. Very great and irreconcilable is the difference between the doctrine on this subject of the Church of England and of other truly Protestant Churches and that of Rome. She claims to be the one true Catholic Church, "the mother and mistress of all Churches" (Creed of Pope Pius IV. Article x.); and declares that "outside her communion there is no salvation" (*ibid.*, Article xii.). This monstrous claim is chiefly based on the assumption that "the Pope has received by divine right authority to teach and govern the whole Church." This arrogant assertion rests chiefly on the false interpretation of our Lord's words to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). This cannot be discussed in the present article (see PETER, POPE, &c.). With the failure of that passage to establish this dogma, especially when it is examined in the light of other Scriptures and of Church history, the whole superstructure of Papal supremacy and of Romish exclusive-

ness immediately collapses. So far from being the "one true Catholic Church," the Church of Rome, if she be still a branch of that Church, is indeed a thoroughly corrupt and unsound branch, for she has adopted and teaches many of the worst heresies and unscriptural doctrines. Her arrogance and presumption would seem to be foreshadowed by St. Paul in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. The Church of England does not owe her origin any more than her allegiance to Rome. Centuries before Augustine converted a part of England to Christ there was an independent British Church in this country, and both previously to his arrival and long afterwards, Christianity was spread by Celtic missionaries from Iona. Even ecclesiastically our position as a Protestant Church is secure. As defined in her Articles and formularies it is both comprehensive and scripturally sound. Her fundamental principle on this subject is that whilst the Church of Christ is one it has many branches. In her XIXth Article she defines "a visible Church of Christ as a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." And it is added that, "as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch" (the three great Patriarchates recognised in the sixth canon of the Council of Nice), "have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." Accordingly, the Church of England makes no attempt to unchurch those who do not belong to her communion. Whilst she pronounces these Churches to have erred, she does not exclude them from the Catholic Church; so, on the other hand, whilst she declares her own ministers to be scripturally ordained (Article XXXVI.), she does not say that others not episcopally ordained are not true ministers of Christ. In the preface to the Ordinal she does indeed assert that there have always been from the Apostles' time bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church. She does not infer that where these orders are not found, there is no true Church. To do so, would be to contradict the principles which, since the Reformation, she has maintained, as well as to oppose the large and comprehensive teaching of Holy Scripture. Thus she proves herself at once truly catholic and scriptural.

[W. B.]

CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—This powerful organisation was originally called into being to resist the pressure exerted on the bishops and on the Established Church by the numerous Associations which, as early as 1844, the priest-party had formed for that purpose. At length, in 1860, their various local Guilds and Unions were welded to form the present "English Church Union," which has ever since menaced the purity of the faith and subverted the discipline of the Church of England. Litigation also had been freely resorted to by the Sacerdotalists.

The earliest suit under the Church Discipline Act was theirs. Not only Bishop Hampden and Mr. Gorham, but Mr. Langley, Mr. Starkey, Mr. Piers, Mr. Shore, Mr. Edouart, and Mr. Faulkner figure among the Evangelicals thus attacked. Pusey and Keble were among the guarantors of the costs incurred by "nominal objectors" put forward to represent the assailants of Bishop Hampden. Jowett was proceeded against by Dr. Pusey himself; and *The Church Review*, founded by the E.C.U., and edited by its secretary, clamoured for the prosecution of Bishop Waldegrave. The official organ of the English Church Union said: "Dark will be the gloom which obscures the horizon of England's Church when there shall not have been found among her sons any who will have the moral courage to bring before the courts to which they be amenable those who are engaged in poisoning the streams of religious knowledge at their very fountain head."

The bishops were afraid to exercise their disciplinary powers, when they knew that the offender would be screened by the E.C.U., and they sought to excuse their own inaction by professing that they were in doubt as to what the actual requirements of the law were. It became necessary, therefore, for defensive purposes, that Protestants should combine to protect the Reformation Settlement which was being so rigorously assailed. This led to the formation in 1865 of the "Church Association to uphold the Principles and Order of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to counteract the efforts now being made to assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome." In the very first report of the C.A. it was plainly stated that, "Its object is to defend the Church. A revision of the Liturgy forms no part of its plan." At the same time it appealed to the bishops and to a Royal Commission to lay down with authority what needed to be done; and also to the laity, by holding meetings and distributing educational literature in order, as their report said, to "stop Romanising by assisting aggrieved parishioners to obtain protection from practices which drive them from their parish church"; remarking that "those who have set aside the usage of three centuries and defied the concurrent voice of the great body of the English clergy and laity, are not likely to be restrained by warnings which seem nugatory to them because not

enforced by penalties." Thus at the very outset it was made clear that the legal rights of churchmen were intended to be vindicated by an appeal to the courts of justice. No one could have joined the C.A. even in its first year without knowing fully that litigation was contemplated. In 1867 a formal Declaration was drawn up which has since been renewed year by year and which embodied the main issues of their contention :—

"While we freely allow to every member of the Church the same liberty of conscience, within the latitude of her Articles and other formularies, which we claim for ourselves, we protest against the public inculcation, by clergymen ministering within her pale, of doctrines repugnant to the letter and the spirit of her authorised formularies.

"The doctrines against which we specially protest at the present time, are as follows :—

"1st. That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice for sin and an oblation to God the Father of the body and blood of Christ, corresponding on earth to the intercession of our Lord and Master in Heaven.

"2nd. That the body and blood of Christ are objectively present, under the outward visible part or sign, or form of bread and wine.

"3rd. That the wicked receive the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper, albeit they do not receive it to salvation.

"4th. That ministers of the Church of England are Sacrificing Priests, representatives of the Great Head of the Church, and exercise by delegation His powers and prerogatives.

"5th. That, in the exercise of these powers, the clergy of the Church of England possess judicial authority to forgive sin, and that the forgiveness of sin is not complete without the absolution of the priest.

"6th. That in order to exercise the disciplinary powers of their office, for the exclusion of unbelieving or impenitent persons from Communion, clergymen of the Church of England are authorised to hear Confessions, as a habitual part of religious practice, and to give formal absolution from sin.

"7th. That 'Christ himself, really and truly but spiritually and ineffably, present in the Sacrament, is therein to be adored' (that is, under the form of bread and wine).

"We utterly reject the seven doctrines above enumerated inasmuch as they are innovations on the faith once delivered to the saints, and are 'grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.'

"We protest against the attempt to represent these doctrines as the doctrines of the Church of England, not only because her authorised formularies do not contain them, but also because they specifically exclude and condemn them."

In the volume of Essays published in 1868, of which the late Bishop of Guildford was editor, will be found evidence from its own official reports that the English Church Union was a standing menace to the bishops in the discharge of their duty, and that the Union offered to protect the Romanising clergy from their bishops (*Principles at Stake*, pp. 7-11). The Primates of that day assured the Council of the Church Association that the bishops were ready to enforce the law if its exact requirements were duly laid down by authority. In July 1871 the Archbishop of Canterbury again replied to a deputation that "he could not answer for what other bishops might do," but that "he was fully prepared to act in his own diocese, if sufficient evidence of direct violation of the law was brought before him." He added "that the bishops if called upon, would no doubt act" (C.A. Seventh Report, p. 35). Relying on this promise and in order to aid the bishops in doing their duty, a series of suits was commenced by the Association with the result that in no fewer than sixty instances, the law was declared to condemn as illegal the inculpated practices of the Ritualists. Unhappily the leaders of both the great parties in the State were themselves sacerdotally inclined, and this fact had a very demoralising effect upon the right reverend bench; so that, instead of "ministering discipline" according to their consecration vow, their lordships actually vetoed prosecution after prosecution! The Superior-General of the leading Ritualistic "Confraternity" was protected from trial *no fewer than three times* by successive vetoes! After a time, extreme partisans were selected even for the Episcopate itself, so that all hope of obtaining redress at the hands of a bishop was seen to be a thing of the past. Under these conditions it was recognised that the sole chance of reform was from the lay members of the Church of England combining to remedy the defects of the ecclesiastical law, and also to send to Parliament staunch and convinced Protestants, so as to improve the administration of the higher patronage of the Crown. At the present moment this policy is being furthered by itinerating vans and colporteurs, and by electoral rolls, worked by a staff of able agents, employed in organising the Protestant electorate for combined action. Meantime information on disputed points of doctrine and ritual as well as on the laws regulating the conduct of public worship is being continually put forth in leaflets, tracts, pamphlets, and larger works, as well as in the monthly organ of the Association, the *Church Intelligencer*,

in which the controversial writings of the Romanisers are reviewed and subjected to a searching exposure. Never during the thirty-six years of its activity was the work carried on with so much vigour, or receiving from the Protestant public nearly so large a measure of support as now. Full use is made also of the platform, and an enormous correspondence is carried on for advising parishioners or incumbents who are suffering from the Romanising plague. See ENGLISH CHURCH UNION.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—See DISCIPLINA ARCANI, EXCOMMUNICATION, PENANCE, &c.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE ACT OF 1840, by its 23rd section, abolished all other procedure in a criminal suit against a clergyman "for any offence against the laws ecclesiastical." Thus the summary jurisdiction of the bishops was got rid of. Since 1874, however, the Public Worship Regulation Act has offered an alternative procedure in matters of ritual; and the Clergy Discipline Act of 1892 has removed suits for crime or immorality from the jurisdiction and procedure of this Act. The Benefices Act, 1898, has also dealt with non-residence, or neglect of duty, by a different process. The Act enables any person to complain; but the bishop may refuse to entertain the complaint. Or, he may appoint a Commission to report whether a *primâ facie* case exists. If the Commission reports in favour of the accused, the trial cannot go on; but after the appointment of a Commission, the bishop can no longer refuse to let the suit proceed. The bishop may either summon the accused to appear before himself and by consent pronounce sentence himself without appeal; or else, articles of charge having been served, hear the case in person sitting with three assessors; or else he must send the case direct by "letters of request" to be dealt with in the Court of the Province, thus saving the expense of an appeal from the bishop. From the decision of the Judge of the Province further appeal lies to the King in Council, and is heard by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council aided by four bishops as assessors, appointed under the rules of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876. The Royal Order in Council, which follows their "advice," is a very brief document, and does not embody the reasons assigned for the advice offered by the Judicial Committee.

[J. T. T.]

CHURCH MILITANT, THE, PRAYER FOR.—This is a prayer in the Communion office of the Church of England. Intercession is herein made, as the word "militant" implies, for all Christians on earth who are fighting against sin, the world, the flesh, and the devil. No petition is preferred for any other than *living* Christians; the allusion which the prayer contains to departed saints having reference only to their good example, our thankfulness for the grace given to them, and our hope of future reunion with them in God's heavenly kingdom. The Ritualists most disingenuously assert that we here pray for "all who died in the faith," and they thus seek to maintain the doctrine of prayers for the dead. See PRAYER FOR THE DEAD.

CHURCHING OF WOMEN (Fr. *bénédiction des accouchées*) is a rite which has been retained in a modified form by the Church of England, but which is rejected by some Protestant Churches as having no Scripture warrant. Anciently child-bearing was supposed to defile a woman (see Leviticus xii.), but now among Christians generally this is not considered to be the case, and consequently no purification is necessary. The woman is perfectly free to enter a church; but, nevertheless, from very early times the custom has prevailed, that pious women, some weeks after accouchement (among the Greeks strictly on the fortieth day), should present themselves in church and receive a blessing. This is usually accorded to lawful mothers only, but exceptions are allowed. Sometimes the child is taken also to church. This is usually the case in the East. The rite may only be administered in private houses in very exceptional cases. According to the Roman form the priest receives the woman at the porch. She kneels, holding a lighted taper, and after some prayers the priest hands her the end of his stole, which she grasps. He then leads her, still carrying the lighted taper, into the church and up to the altar, where he formally blesses her and sometimes sprinkles her with holy water (Wetzer and Welte).

The Church of England has, of course, rejected these formalities and also the misleading phrase, "The Order of the Purification of Women," which appeared in the transition Prayer Book of 1549, but which was expunged in 1552, the title being changed to "The Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth, commonly called the Churching of Women." This rite is intended by the Church of England for *all* women safely delivered in child-birth, and therefore it cannot be refused because the child is illegitimate or the mother a dissenter. The woman must be "decently," *i.e.* neatly apparelled, but a white veil cannot be enforced (Whitehead, *Church Law*, p. 70).

[B. W.]

The Puritans objected to this rite, and not without solid grounds. Cotton Mather, in his valuable work on the *Types*, characterised it as "an apish imitation of the purification of women." The second title of the service in

ook of Common Prayer is "commonly l the Churching of Women." Now "com- called" in a second name of any service iformly used in that book to indicate hing erroneously so termed. See heading esentation of Christ in the Temple," &c. has been a great deal of superstition egard to "churching" which prevails y districts of our country, and bad con- ces have been caused thereby. Women working classes, to conform to custom, ttend church for this service too soon, r up the seeds of future bodily illness. t considered respectable in many places ar in public until that service has been rough. Hence even a bar-woman will urched" as soon as possible so as to be attend to her customers. The attempt fy the practice by an appeal to Psalm a gross perversion of Holy Scripture. is no sin connected with "conception," e Psalmist had no such idea in his mind. n in the Christian Church are subject to bility arising from the laws of nature. hrist Jesus there is neither male nor " "but a new creature," Gal. iii. 28, 15. The service in the Prayer Book rever, far from giving any support to perstitions referred to, but alas! they l common in England.

[C. H. H. W.]

HWARDENS.—Wardens or guar- of the parish church and its goods. lly, two are elected annually for each —one by the incumbent and one by the oners; but frequently there is only one warden. In some places there are more ro; but they are a kind of corporation, ould always act jointly if possible. have no right to alter anything church, or to do more than ordinary without a faculty. By Canon 89 all wardens or questmen shall be chosen joint consent of the minister and the oners; if they cannot agree, the mini- all choose one and the parishioners ier. This does not, however, alter the custom to the contrary. The elec- akes place in Easter week, and the elected churchwardens should make a tion before the Ordinary at a visita- s soon as possible after the election, hey will serve the office faithfully. n persons are exempt, but poverty is no Churchwardens may receive goods for nefit of the church, but cannot dispose n without consent of the parishioners. n London can they hold land. They set up monuments or add to the fabric ails of the church without the consent ier parishioners or the Ordinary. The principal duties of churchwardens are to levy voluntary contributions for church purposes, sometimes to collect pew rents and hand them to the minister to collect alms and oblations in the church, to arrange for the seating of the congregation, to enforce orderly behaviour in church and churchyard during divine service, to provide for the duties of a benefice during a vacancy, to receive and duly publish the bishop's notice of his intention to admit a new incumbent, and to make presentments or reports to the bishop or archdeacon of any misconduct of the clergy or parishioners. Churchwardens are entitled to ask a strange clergyman officiating to produce his letters of orders; but when this is done their authority ceases. By Canon 52 they are to see that a record is kept of all strange preachers, and that no one preaches who is not duly licensed. One of two churchwardens cannot safely act alone even in matters beneficial to the parish, but one may promote a suit in opposition to the other. See Whitehead and Cripps.

CHURCHYARD.—The burial-ground around a church. The freehold of the churchyard belongs (subject to the parishioners' right of burial) to the incumbent. He may not turn cattle in so as to disturb the graves or injure the trees or tombstones, nor remove monuments without the bishop's consent, nor remove the soil nor cut down trees, except for the repair of the chancel. He may lease the herbage. He is not bound to repair or fence in the churchyard, which must be done by voluntary subscriptions of the parishioners. Additions to churchyards must be consecrated. The "consecration" is in law effected by a formal "sentence" of the bishop: the "service" being voluntary. The effect of such consecration is to place the land under the perpetual jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Private rights of interment in closed churchyards may be exercised by leave of the Secretary of State when the burial is not prejudicial to health.

The clergyman is the proper person to proceed, with the consent of the Ordinary, in order to prevent the erection of improper monuments, as if an inscription be contrary to the Articles, or obscene, &c. Sir H. Jenner ruled that an inscription on the grave of a Romanist exhorting to prayers for the dead is not so contrary to the Articles as to necessitate its removal. He admitted that the Church of England discouraged such prayers. See Cripps, *The Laws of the Church and Clergy;* Dale's *Clergyman's Legal Handbook;* and Hook's *Church Dictionary*, s.v.

CIBORIUM.—Literally, a receptacle for food. The name is variously employed by the Roman Church for a canopy (otherwise called a baldacchino, under which the sacred elements are

placed in a vessel suspended by a cord from the interior of this canopy) resting on columns or suspended from the roof above the altar, for the pyx in which the consecrated elements are kept. By Ritualistic imitators of the rites and ceremonies of Rome, the term is applied to a kind of shallow cup or chalice with a cover to it. This is sometimes used instead of a paten at the Holy Communion, and the consecrated bread is also reserved in the ciborium for the sick. "The bottom of the bowl is slightly elevated inside to enable the sacred particles to be readily removed." All this is illegal in the Church of England. See *Ritual Reason Why*, p. 27; Bingham, viii. vi. 19; *Catholic Dictionary*, under "Baldacchino."

CINCTURE.—In Ritualistic nomenclature a broad sash confining the cassock at the waist. See Wright, *Mass in Greek and Roman Churches*, p. 43.

CIRCUMCELLIONES.—See DONATISTS.

CIRCUMCISION.—The Jewish rite for initiating male children at eight days old into the Abrahamic covenant made with the Jews by God. Circumcision, therefore, prefigured the Christian sacrament of baptism, which, for this reason as well as others, is administered to infants. Female children were not circumcised (though even that is done sometimes by Mohammedans), because the female sex was under disabilities from which St. Paul informs us the sex was relieved under the Christian dispensation (Gal. iii. 28). St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 14, speaks of the children of Christians as "holy," *i.e.* holy, in some sense, by birth and parentage. The child is "holy" as a covenanter's child; the sign and seal of admission to the covenant position may, therefore, surely be given to it. In the *hereditary* sense, the child is a Christian. Our Lord submitted to both circumcision and to baptism. But He was baptized only with "the baptism of John." His circumcision is commemorated by the Church of England on 1st January in order to point to the active obedience of our Saviour in fulfilling all righteousness, and to teach us our need of the "true circumcision of the Spirit." The feast of the Circumcision is not of any great antiquity. The first mention of it under this title is in Ivo Carnotensis, who lived about the year 1090, a little before St. Bernard, who has a sermon upon it. By earlier writers it is called the "Octave of Christmas," and because it fell on a day celebrated amongst the heathen with disorder and revellings, its observance was forbidden by the sixth General Council. This, however, has not hindered Christians in later ages from observing it.

CLEMENT, EPISTLE OF, TO CORINTHIANS.—See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CLEMENT, HOMILY, GENERA TERMED SECOND EPISTLE OF. APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CLEMENTINES, THE.—Certain Greek ings, probably of Eastern production abo close of the second century, running i name of Clement of Rome, with whose h and opinions they purport to be occ One of the set is entitled *Homilies;* an *Recognitions*[1]; and there is an *Epitome*, a ing the *Homilies*. They can be seen lea edited, with a Latin version, in the firs second volumes of Migne's *Patrologia* (The *Recognitions*, which have attracted attention, are in form an autobiograp Clement. The plot which suggested the of this fiction is the scattering into E lands, through a series of mishaps, of a Roman pagan family during the infan the autobiographer, one of its member their all coming together again, in his hood, in Palestine, through a successi surprising recognitions, to find each Christian or ready to become such. The thread of the tale carries us in the ste Clement, who, starting from Rome in qu his long-lost relatives, and landing at Cæ met the Apostle Peter, by whom he was verted to Christianity. Thenceforth Cl was Peter's companion in travel, the one pose of which was to follow the track of S Magus and everywhere refute that arch-he teaching. Victorious contests with Simon again and again in the course of this rom and it transpires that while Simon is nom the heretic dealt with by Peter, the do Peter wants to put down is in reality P That momentary difference which on Antioch (Gal. ii. 11) placed the two in Apostles apart, is by this apocryphal inv thus audaciously exaggerated into a r and permanent breach affecting their lines of teaching, the purpose of the Cl tine writer being to depreciate the theolc Paul and exalt certain Ebionite views own, which he dares to ascribe to Peter. that Paul's name is ever openly brought the standing opponent is always "Si that typical father of all heresy; but the sion is not to be mistaken, and on one occ comes out in the grossest manner, as "Simon" is challenged to show why should have remained on earth with hi ciples and instructed them an entire ye one might be formed into a teacher a apostle in the vision of a moment.[2]

The *Clementines* must be regarded serious and dangerous attempt to dis

[1] Now known in a Latin version only.

[2] *Hom.* xvii. § 19, *Patrol. Græc.* ii. 401

among the Hebrew race, who formed a powerful body in the religious world still, the Pauline view of Christ's relation to Moses. That view taught, as was so largely set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the Mosaic Law was but a preparation for Christ. No, say the *Clementines;* the Law was perfect and complete in itself from the beginning, needing no supplement, carrying no prophecy. It revealed the Divine unity; it taught the true way of pleasing God—obedience. All that Christ did was to renew that revelation when it had become obsolete. Christ is the great Teacher, re-proclaiming a forgotten moral law. The Gospel, rightly understood, declares nothing new; proclaims no *work* of Christ. Let but the Jew hold fast the Mosaic law in its integrity, in the path of obedience, and he need not become a Christian; rather he is already one, provided he blaspheme not Christ. The Gentile Christian need only adhere to the simple instruction of the Christ of the Gospels; he can discard all the pretended supplements and developments of this spurious new apostle.[1]

So early in Church history is seen that emasculated Christianity which, when taught over and over again in divers manners, ripened into Pelagianism and prepared the corruptions in doctrine and worship which have deadened the Church of Christ in all its periods of decadence. As though for an undying antidote to the assertion that the Gospel proclaims no *work* of Christ, the Lord himself planted in the very heart of it the words—"My body given for you"; summoning Paul, by a special conversion, to be the expositor, along with Peter, of their meaning and their consequence to both Jew and Gentile. A translation of the *Clementines* is given in Clark's Ante-Nicene Library. See Clementines in CANON LAW. [C. H.]

CLETUS.—See ANACLETUS.

CLINIC BAPTISM.—See VISITATION OF SICK.

CLOISTER.—See MONK.

COLLECTS.—Short prayers used at Morning and Evening Service and before the Epistle and Gospel. The term probably meant prayers said when the people were *collected.* The collects are *condensations* of scriptural teaching, and the name has also been explained in that sense. It afterwards was applied to prayers of a like character. See Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.*

COLLYRIDIANS.—The Collyridians were a sect of female devotees who appear to have existed in the latter part of the fourth century. Their original locality was Thrace, from whence they migrated to Arabia. Their name is derived from the Greek word κολλυρίς, a cake, owing to their practice of offering cakes to the Virgin Mary in their acts of worship. Their rites are thought to be closely akin to the pagan cultus of Ceres. Epiphanius condemns the sect in severe terms in his book on the Heresies (Section 79). Bishop Burnet remarks how the severe criticism which Epiphanius bestows upon them clearly proves that no prayers were then offered to the Virgin Mary by the orthodox (Burnet on Article XXII.). Bishop Harold Browne (*On the Articles,* pp. 513–514) says: "Epiphanius tells us that whereas some had treated the Virgin Mary with contempt, others were led to the other extreme of error, so that women offered cakes before her, and exalted her to the dignity of one to be worshipped. This, he says, was a doctrine invented by demons. 'Let Mary be honoured (ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω), but let Father, Son, and Holy Spirit be worshipped. Let no man worship Mary (μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω).'" (See Robertson's *Church History,* vol. ii. p. 62; also Schaff's *Post-Nicene Christianity,* vol. i. pp. 417, 418.)

[C. J. C.]

COLOURS, CHURCH.—The employment of colours for symbolical uses is mediæval, and was unusual in the first eight centuries. White, however, was often viewed as the emblem of purity. The significance attached to red, green, violet, and black was of later growth. "According to Old English use, blue, brown, grey, and yellow were also employed." Colours are employed by Ritualists for the stoles of the clergy, which are illegal. They are used also in the Church of England, and for the frontals of the communion table, in order to make the "table" look like an "altar." The sequence of colours in the "uses" of Sarum has no sanction from the Church of England. The colour of the "carpet" is subject to the discretion of the Ordinary.

COMMANDMENTS, THE TEN.—The original form of the Ten Commandments is, no doubt, that of Exod. xx. With God for their author and written upon tables of stone they cannot have been intended to be a temporary but a permanent expression of the will of that God who "changes not" (Mal. iii. 6). Although, therefore, Christians are not "under law" but under grace, yet are they "under law to Christ" (1 Cor. ix. 21). Thus the Decalogue is the guide to the Christian as to his duty both towards God and his neighbour. It is, of course, understood and observed by the disciple of Christ according to the spirit and not according to the letter, as regards inward

[1] See *Homily* viii. 7, in connection with the comments of Neander, *Church History,* ii. 33, 34, 35: tr. Torrey, 1847.

thought and desire no less than outward act and deed, as interpreted by our Lord and His Apostles (Matt. v. 28; 1 John iii. 15). The Church of England is careful to teach the Ten Commandments in her Catechism, ordering them to be learnt in the Office for the administration of Baptism, and to be committed to memory by the Christian child before coming to confirmation. She also directs them to be publicly read in the Office for the Holy Communion. By the 82nd canon the Ten Commandments must be set up on the east end of every church and chapel where the people may best see and read the same, or (according to the order of the Privy Council) as nearly so as the nature of the structure will permit (Whitehead, *Church Law*, p. 298).

The division of the Commandments in use in the Romish Church (though this may not have been the original purpose) serves to conceal from her people the strictness of God's law with regard to the worship of images. The second commandment is joined to the first as one, and the first clause of the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," forms the ninth, and the remainder the tenth. In comparatively few Romish Catechisms are the Commandments set forth in full. This, perhaps, is scarcely to be wondered at, since Rome maintains that her system is not founded upon the Bible but upon tradition. It should be added that the mode in which the Commandments are divided in our Service Book agrees with the most ancient authorities, Jewish as well as Christian, and with the usage of the Eastern Church. It appears to be based on the clearest view of the subject matter, as it is set forth in the sacred text. On the other hand, the other arrangement, which is first found distinctly stated by St. Augustine of Hippo, was used by the Church in Britain before the Reformation, and is still retained by the Lutheran as well as the Romish Church (see note on Exod. xx., *Speaker's Commentary*). It is certain that the Ten Commandments form the basis of all codes of law in all truly civilised or Christian countries. [M. E. W. J.]

The Ten Commandments are called in Hebrew "the ten words" (Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4). According to the common Jewish division, the first paragraph in Exod. xx. commences at the words, "I am Jehovah thy God," and includes all up to the end of ver. 6. That passage contains both the First and Second Commandments. The second paragraph, according to the Hebrew division, is that which contains the third, given in ver. 7. The Tenth Commandment is in the Hebrew Bible divided into two paragraphs, (1) "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," and (2) "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife or his servant, &c." Such are the ten paragraphs in the Massoretic text. Exactly in the same way the Ten Commandments are paragraphed or divided in Deut. v. In Deut. v., however, the clause "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," forms the Ninth Commandment, and precedes "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, &c."

This division is incorrect. The First and Second Commandments are essentially different. The Massoretic divisions are not inspired. But that is the ordinary Jewish division, and on it is based the division in use in the Roman Catholic Church. In a shortened form of the Commandments, therefore, the real Second Commandment might possibly be omitted as an explanation of the first clauses. The Hebrew paragraphing was designed to prevent the text in Deuteronomy being altered to that found in Exodus. The Roman division is retained in the Lutheran Church.

There is, however, a better Jewish division, and one probably more ancient than that in the Hebrew Bible. This division makes "the first word" consist only of "I am the LORD thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt." According to that arrangement also, what are commonly known as the First and Second Commandments are united into one. But it avoids that stupid division of the last Commandment into two. See the *Speaker's Commentary* on Exod. xx. 12, and Dr. C. Taylor, Excursus iv. in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 2nd edit. Camb. Univ. Press: 1897. [C. H. H. W.]

COMMENDATION OF THE SOUL.—A technical term in the Roman Church for the recitation of prayers by the priest at the bedside of a dying person. The Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the Prayer Book also contains a thoroughly scriptural "Commendatory Prayer for a sick person at the point of departure."

COMMINATION.—A threatening. The name is applied to a service in the Prayer Book to be used on the first day of Lent and at other times as the Ordinary shall appoint. It is sometimes ignorantly and flippantly objected that members of the Church of England meet at this service to curse their neighbours, but the alternative title of the service is the "Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgments against Sinners." What is read is "the *general* sentences of God's cursing"—not man's—"against impenitent sinners" taken from His Word. It is also objected that the "godly discipline" referred to in the opening address as having existed "in the Primitive Church" dates only from about the ninth century, and

that its restoration is not "much to be wished" as the service asserts that it is. But these words evidently refer only to the discipline of the early Church, not to the superstitious practices of later ages. The "open penance" in the address excludes the idea of private "Auricular Confession." The ceremony of applying ashes to penitents, revived by some Ritualists, is a Jewish superstition which has no sanction in the Prayer Book and is illegal (see Whitehead, p. 242). Still, the service as here prescribed has been often found edifying. The opening exhortation is impressive, the recitation of the fifty-first Psalm kneeling appropriate and helpful, and the other prayers are such as Christians can join in with devotion. The service is omitted from the American and the Spanish versions of the Prayer Book, but has been partially reinstated in the former. It is retained in the Irish Prayer Book, but the reference to the restoration of discipline has been expunged. The Office was composed by our Reformers. [M. E. W. J.]

COMMON PRAYER.—Worship in a tongue understanded of the people is the principle of the Church of England as embodied in her Prayer Book and expressed in the XXIVth Article. The principle and practice of the Church of Rome in her services are thus completely opposite to those of the English Church. The Decrees of the Council of Trent on this subject run as follows: "Although the Mass contains great instruction for the faithful people, nevertheless it has not seemed expedient to the Fathers (*i.e.* of the Tridentine Council) that it should be everywhere celebrated in the vulgar tongue" (Sess. xxii., canon 9); and again, "If any one saith . . . that the Mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue only . . . let him be anathema" (*ibid.* c. 9).

As regards the teaching of the Apostles, 1 Cor. xiv. is the sole passage bearing on the subject. The "gift of tongues," of which St. Paul is there speaking, seems to have been granted for (1) the conviction of unbelievers, (2) the assistance of private devotion. At Corinth an unedifying display had resulted from the introduction of this miraculous gift into the *public* services of the church. This St. Paul reproves, and in the course of his reproof he makes it abundantly clear that one great end of public worship is general edification. When power to speak in unknown tongues hindered this, it was forbidden in public worship. And St. Paul adds emphatically, "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." How much more is the practice reprehensible now that miraculous gifts have ceased! That the practice of the Church of the ages immediately succeeding to the Apostolic was alien from that of the Church of Rome, learned Romanists, *e.g.* Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, and Harding, have confessed. Nor is it possible for them to avoid doing so in the light of early Church history. The primitive Christians joined together in the responses and in the singing of psalms and hymns, as we find from Cyril and Chrysostom and Hilary and Justin Martyr. In a very distinct and decisive passage, Origen (A.D. 184–255) says: "At prayer the Greeks use the Greek language, the Romans the Latin, and so every one in his own dialect prays to God, and gives thanks as he can, and the God of all languages hears them pray in all dialects" (*Contra Cels.*, viii.). The same testimony is borne with regard to the responses of the congregation. Justin Martyr (A.D. 114–164), in the earliest extant account of worship after the Apostolic age, speaks of the assenting "Amen" of the people, and Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 315–386), mentions the response to the words "Lift up your hearts," which is still used at Holy Communion in the Church of England, viz., "We lift them up unto the Lord," and the words following, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord. It is meet and right so to do."

The liturgy of the primitive Roman Church when chiefly composed of Greek-speaking people was Greek. See Warren's *Liturgies of the Ante-Nicene Church*, pp. 108, 164. But later the Romans strove to impose their own tongue on their colonial subjects. The old Latin liturgies came thus to be used and imposed. So the Latin tongue was employed in the worship of Western Christendom, and the error of Rome to-day in this matter is her perpetuation of what had become an obvious abuse, even to the extent of fencing it round with an anathema (*Council of Trent*, xxii. 9). It can hardly be doubted that selfish and unworthy reasons have in part led to the continuance of the evil. The maintenance of the Latin tongue tended to foster Rome's influence over the European churches, and also in the case of an illiterate and superstitious people, threw an air of mystery over religious rites and thus helped to increase the power of the priesthood. In spite of some honourable efforts in the other direction, the Council of Trent rendered any general reformation in this matter hopeless by establishment of the Latin tongue in all important offices. The Church of Rome supports her practice in this particular by four principal arguments, viz. (1) that by offering everywhere prayer and praise in one and her same language the Church testifies to her unity throughout the world; (2) that it is essential to the preservation of the right faith

that the formularies of the Church should be embalmed in a dead language and so incapable of change; (3) that it is practically very difficult, if not impossible, to adapt Church services to the changes of a vernacular tongue; and (4) that by means of translations and expositions the people are enabled to follow mentally the priest's prayers.

To these arguments it may be replied (1) that such a forced uniformity as that of the use of an unknown tongue, is external, fictitious, valueless, and therefore no true unity at all. As Pope John VIII. (880) says, "We are admonished to praise the Lord not in three tongues only (*i.e.* Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), but in all: for Holy Scripture directs, 'Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise Him, all ye people'; and St. Paul strikes the same note, 'Let every tongue confess to God' (Labbe, *Concil.* vol. ix. *Ep. Joann.* Ps. cxlviii.); (2) that this argument applies to some extent in the case of Creeds and Articles of religion but not to common prayer—symbols may require the protection of a dead language, united prayer demands the elasticity and vigour of a living tongue; (3) that a sufficient answer is returned by the services of the English Prayer Book, which for more than 300 years has suffered scarcely any verbal alterations, and to-day there is hardly a book in the English language more intelligible to the poor and uneducated; (4) that for forms of prayer especially, translations and expositions are at once cumbrous, incomplete, and inaccessible. (See Bishop Browne on the Articles (XXIV.), and Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book xiii. ch. 4.) [M. E. W. J.]

COMMUNION.—See LORD'S SUPPER.

COMMUNION, EVENING.—The Church of England has laid down no rule respecting the time at which the Holy Communion should be celebrated. Therefore she leaves the question open to be decided according to the judgment of her ministers. They may fix the early morning, or midday, or the evening, according as they think will be most conducive to godliness. They will be guided in their judgment by two inquiries which they will make of themselves—(1) At what hour is it likely that the minds and souls of the parishioners will be in the best state for so solemn a rite? (2) What has been the practice of the Primitive Church, and of the English Church, and why?

It is a matter of experience that our feelings are not the same in the early and the later hours of the day. The morning is the more suitable time for grave thoughtfulness and calm reasoning. In the evening, imagination and warmth of feeling have more power over us. So far, there is no reason for confining the administration of the Lord's Supper either to the morning or to the evening—both thoughtful gravity of soul and warmth of devotion are wanted in the communicant. The morning hours do not exclude enthusiastic devotion, nor does the evening as such prevent the solemnity of soul with which we ought to approach God's table. The case against evening Communions is rested by some on the fact that the communicants will not at that time be fasting; but, as we show under the head of Fasting Communion, there is no reason why they should be, provided they are not oppressed, nor their devotional faculties clouded, by food and drink lately taken in abundance. It is urged that this must be the case in the evening after a late dinner, but it is forgotten here that the very great majority of our communicants do not eat a late dinner. They have their chief meal soon after midday, and its effect of making the body or soul heavy will have quite passed away, if it existed at all, before the evening. The argument may hold good for the upper classes, particularly in the case of those who, according to a late and evil practice, make Sunday a day of entertainment. But it does not apply at all to labourers, servants, or shopkeepers. Whenever, therefore, a congregation mainly consists of those classes, and there are very few congregations which do not, then an evening celebration of the Holy Communion cannot on this ground be regarded as undesirable; the more, as the early morning communions now popular are impossible for the large class of domestic servants to attend. In parishes where the early morning administration prevails, followed by a so-called High Celebration at midday when individual communicating is discouraged, this vast and important class of Church people is excluded from the Lord's Table. It is not a matter to be wondered at that earnest pastors should ask themselves whether it is not their duty to supply this need, if that can be done without transgressing Church order.

2. The practice of the primitive Church from the second century onwards is unfavourable to evening Communion. The Holy Communion was from that time usually celebrated at the forenoon service, or even occasionally at the Ante-lucan service. The usual hour was nine o'clock in the morning. One of the spurious Papal Decretals attributed to Pope Telesphorus, A.D. 127, orders "that no one should presume to offer the sacrifice before the third hour" (nine o'clock). Damasus, A.D. 366, is made to issue the same regulation. This shows what was the belief on the subject of those who composed the Decretals and such like spurious documents in respect to earlier practice. Epiphanius (fourth century), Sidonius Apollinaris (fifth century), Gregory of Tours (sixth century),

Gregory I. of Rome (sixth and seventh centuries) state that nine o'clock was the usual hour. On days other than Sundays it was celebrated sometimes at twelve o'clock; on fast days at three o'clock; on Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Vigil of Whitsunday, and the Saturdays of the four Ember Weeks at midnight. Only on Maundy Thursday was the custom of evening Communion kept up. But if the example of the early Church from the second century onwards is adverse to evening Communions, that of the first century is just the reverse. It is probable that not one of the Apostles or of those who were converted by the Apostles ever communicated except in the evening. The order followed by the Church of the first century was a service of prayers, hymns, psalms, Bible-reading, and exhortation held before daylight, and the Agapé, including the Lord's Supper, in the evening. This order continued till Trajan's jealousy of club meetings compelled the Christians of the second century to transfer the Holy Communion, and for a time the social meal also, to the forenoon. It was not any objection to evening Communions, as such, which produced this change of practice, but the pressure of Imperial law enforced by secular magistrates through fear of conspiracies being hatched at evening meetings. Can we be justified in condemning a practice followed by all the Apostles and probably by all their immediate converts, a practice which was ordered by St. Paul in all the churches which he established, and which he refrained from altering when some great evils showed themselves as a seeming consequence of it, a practice which was not changed on any religious or ecclesiastical motive, but simply because the law of the land at the time required it? Staley in *Catholic Religion* says, "The rapidity with which the change was accomplished, and its universal acceptance lead to the conclusion that it was made on the authority of the Apostles themselves" (p. 257). But (1) no Apostle was living when the change was made, and (2) it was the compulsion of the Imperial law which caused the rapid and universal alteration and acceptance.[1]

It is true that evening Communions have not been usual, perhaps not known, in the English Church till of late. This raises a presumption against the practice, but it is only a presumption and not one of much force. It is easily overborne if reasons can be given for the contrary practice. Our ancestors observed earlier hours for all the functions of life. We rise later, we dine later, we go to bed later than they did. Evening services, in the form of evensong, have been the growth of little more than a generation in place of afternoon services. It is probable that the idea of evening Communion did not present itself to our reformers; but they have nowhere condemned it, and it is one of those indifferent things which is left to each generation to decide for itself.

The *Congregation in Church* pronounces evening Communion to be a "strange, irreverent, and possibly sacrilegious custom" (p. 46). Were all the Apostles and their contemporaries "irreverent and sacrilegious?"

The *Ritual Reason Why* says St. Paul commanded early and fasting celebrations amongst other things which he set in order when he came" (p. 407). We have proof to the contrary. He settles the question of evening and fasting Communion in his epistle, and says that it is only *the rest*—that is, other things—that he would set in order when he came (1 Cor. xi. 34). And we know from the *Teaching of the Apostles*, (ch. x.), and from Ignatius' Epistles (*Ad Smyrn.* viii., with Lightfoot's note) that the evening Lord's Supper continued in A.D. 100 and a little later. See on this whole subject J. T. Tomlinson's *Review of Canon Knox-Little's Answer to Archdeacon Farrar*. London: Church Association. [F. M.]

COMMUNION, FASTING.—The facts with regard to Fasting Communion are as follows. There is no injunction in its favour in Holy Scripture; there is no suggestion in Holy Scripture from which it might be gathered that it is a desirable practice. It is certain that not one of the Apostles practised it, nor any of those who were converted by the Apostles. It is certain that St. Paul instituted the Holy Communion in the churches that he founded at such an hour and with such an environment that it was impossible that it could have been received fasting. It is certain that when some abuses in its administration had been reported to him he did not alter the hour or the environment of its reception, but on the contrary ordered his converts to eat before they received it in case they felt hungry. It is certain that, till about the year 110, no Christians received it fasting, although they were in the habit of fasting before receiving adult baptism. It is not known how soon after that date they may have begun to fast before reception of Holy Communion, but it is evident that by the fourth century they counted it a rule to do so.

When, however, we say that fasting before Communion was the rule of the fourth and

[1] But it should be noted that Tomlinson, in *Review of Knox-Little*, p. 25 and p. 26, shows that evening Communions are referred to without condemnation by Cyprian and others.—EDD.

following centuries, we must remember that the fasting then demanded was a totally different thing from the fasting ordered by the Papal Church, and urged by some Ritualists, which dates only from the thirteenth century. The rule laid down by Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1270, which is binding on the members of the Papal Church, is that no meat or drink must have passed the lips since the previous midnight, in order that the stomach may be empty of food when Christ enters it. But in the early Church any one was considered fasting who communicated before the midday dinner. The order of meals was this. In the early hours a light refection or breakfast, called *jentaculum*, was taken; about midday came the dinner, called *prandium;* and in the evening the supper, called *coena*. Until a person had eaten his *prandium* he was said to be *impransus* and was regarded as fasting. There is hardly any, if any, distinction to be drawn between such a communicant and a communicant of the English Church, who approaches the Lord's Table three or four hours after a moderate breakfast at which no intoxicant and no oppressive amount of food has been taken, and before his luncheon or early dinner. What we should aim at is such a state of body as would not interfere with the sober devotion of the soul. Are we more likely to be nearer that state after a hurried rush from our beds, which we have left at an unusual hour, or after the quiet family prayers and the modest breakfast, and an hour's public worship in the church with the well-known confessions, and prayers, and hymns, and lessons used at morning prayer? Can any one believe that the mere fact of our not having eaten since twelve o'clock at night will make our service more acceptable to God, or make us more fit to offer it?

In matter of fact, the real reason why Fasting Communion is demanded by its advocates to be made a rule of the Church is not because they believe that the recipient's soul will thus be in a better state of preparation, but something quite different. Since the origin and growth of the theory of the objective presence of Christ in the elements—introduced into the Western Church in the ninth century by Paschasius and into the Church of England about fifty years ago by Robert Isaac Wilberforce—it has come to be believed by some that it is an irreverent thing to admit into the stomach anything on the day of Communion before Christ, who, according to this theory, is supposed to be taken into the mouth and to descend into the stomach of the communicant. Such a juxtaposition as (1) common food and (2) Christ is regarded as profane, though the necessities of nature have obliged these theorists to see no profanation in the juxtaposition of (1) Christ, and (2) common food, there being no difference except the order in which the two are taken. Logically, no common food should be taken until the Host, which has become Christ, had been digested. But a fast of five hours after every communion would be too great a trial for even the most ascetic to bear, so the necessary consequence of the theory is ignored.

If there were no other argument against obligatory Fasting Communion than the encouragement it gives to the false imagination that the elements are made to become Christ, that alone would be sufficient to show that the practice is most dangerous. But there are many other serious practical objections as well. Cases have been known where sick women have been forbidden by their self-chosen directors to attend the Lord's Table because they were too ill to rise early in the morning and too weak to go without food till after midday. And the controversy on Reservation has been sharpened by the necessity that the priest feels to go without food himself until he has received the bread and wine with the sick person at whatever hour of the day that may be. According to the Roman and Ritualist theory the priest's consumption is necessary for a consecration (else there would be no sacrifice), whereas if he could bring a Host and wine already consecrated, he would not himself have to communicate with the sick person, and would thus escape much bodily distress.

The Church has laid down certain requirements for those that come to the Lord's Supper. They are: Self-examination, repentance, steadfast purpose, faith, thanksgiving, charity. It is in the highest degree presumptuous for any one to add another requirement which she has not laid down, and to say, Beside the spiritual conditions required by the Church, I enjoin a further bodily or mechanical condition without which you shall not come.

The *Congregation in Church* says: "If you are really desirous of venerating the Blessed Sacrament, you will be jealously careful that no other food shall pass your lips before it" (p. 95). If by "venerating the Blessed Sacrament" is meant worshipping the Host, and if that is considered desirable, the advice is sensible.

The *Ritual Reason Why* tells us that "mystically the fast before Communion from previous midnight . . . may serve to recall the 'new tomb wherein was never man laid,'" Here the conceit rests on the supposition of the read being the Body of Christ *in the stomach*.

The *Practical Religion* states: "The English Church holds the custom of fasting reception of the Holy Sacrament to be binding, *not for anything she herself has said*, but because, as part of the Catholic Church, she inherits the obligations of a practice which has universal tradition on its side" (p. 233). Here the whole of the first century's tradition is ignored, and further a principle is laid down which cannot be acquiesced in. See Bishop Kingdon, *Fasting Communion*. [F. M.]

COMMUNION, FREQUENCY OF.—When we have found by experience that a thing is a good thing, we have a natural inclination to repeat it. What is good once, we argue to ourselves, will be good twice: but unfortunately, this is not always the case. Experience soon teaches us the contrary in physical things. Neither food nor medicine will bear an immediate repetition. If we attempt it, we find not only that the second meal or dose does us no good, but that it takes away the good derived from the first. Mental actions are subject to the same law. An act of repentance and confession to God, deeply felt at ten o'clock, cannot be re-enacted at eleven o'clock with the same fervency, though its effects may and do remain in permanence. Prayer, kept up with great earnestness for one hour, cannot be continued for a second hour without becoming dull and languid. If a spiritual exercise be performed too seldom, it ceases after a time to be valued. If, with too great frequency, the devoutness which characterised it on the first occasion will become less and less in a systematic progression until it becomes merely mechanical; and in either case the person most concerned will be the least aware of the deterioration which has been wrought in him. Is the Lord's Supper a rite which produces more beneficial effect on the soul according as it is celebrated very frequently or at comparatively longer intervals?

There are good reasons for its comparatively frequent celebration, but it is clear that there are objections to its very great frequency.

1. One of the most valuable parts of habitual Communion at certain intervals is the preparation made for it by the earnest soul. Our Catechism has taught us, best of all, what that preparation should consist in, namely—

(1) Self-examination.
(2) Repentance for the past.
(3) Steadfast purpose for the future.
(4) Faith, (*a*) lively, (*b*) in God's mercy, (*c*) through Christ.
(5) A thankful remembrance of Christ's death.
(6) A spirit of love or charity.

Many of us know well the immense value of such a book as Bishop Ashton Oxenden's *Earnest Communicant*. It consists of a meditation, self-examination and prayer for each day of the week from the Invitation Sunday to the Communion Sunday. What an infinite amount of spiritual good the 650,000 copies of that little book have done, especially in the first years after confirmation, none can say. How solemnly does the young Christian listen to the Church's invitation on the previous Sunday to the celebration of the Sacrament, and in the evening before going to bed turn to his or her *Earnest Communicant*, and each evening of each day during the week pour out the soul's heartfelt supplication as it meditates and examines itself, and prays on Repentance, Faith, Holiness, God's Word, Prayer, the Sufferings of Christ, Love. Such earnest communing with God as a preparation of this nature supplies stamps a character blessed and lasting on the young communicant, and fits him or her to receive the grace which is bestowed through the ordinance on the humble, faithful, loving soul. This preparation would not be feasible with weekly, much less with daily communion. The special prayers and meditations and exercises, having become an ordinary practice, would lose their effect and force, which they borrowed from the practice being extraordinary; and after a time they would assuredly be dropped, thrust out by other spiritual needs and aspirations, which must have room for their expression. The week's preparation would very soon become the Saturday's preparation, curtailed as would then be necessary. And the solemn feeling which renders it impossible either to turn the back on the Lord's Table, or to come to it except with a clean heart and a guileless spirit and kindest thoughts towards others—how would it bear the trial of familiarity? Would not the service cease to be the sacred thing that it had been? Would it not be approached with no more awe and no stronger resolution than Matins—unless, indeed new ideas were attached to it, to which the Church of England gives no sanction, or unless it might be witnessed without being partaken of?

2. The natural consequence of the introduction of very frequent Communions is the growth of a practice of non-communicating attendance. Encompassed with infirmities as we are, we cannot be at all times fit for the joyous feast which is celebrated at the Lord's Table in glad recognition of the state of peace in which we are with our Father through the adoption in Christ; nor can we at all times gather ourselves up into that state of spiritual energy and warmth which the service demands. What is one accustomed to very frequent Communions to do in such a case—to come in spite of the remonstrances of conscience? That would end in substituting ritual observance

for true penitence. To stay away? But he has been taught that it is his duty to come, and he recognises the ordinance as a means of grace from which it is wrong to abstain when opportunity of being present is given. Is there no middle course? There is not, but men invent one. It was shortly after daily Communion had grown up, introduced not authoritatively but by the action of individual Presbyters in the fifth century, that the practice of attendance without communicating first made its appearance. It was unknown to St. Augustine and was denounced by St. Chrysostom. Nevertheless it spread, and in the Middle Ages became the chief devotion of the people, known by the name of Hearing Mass. Analogously, the same practice, under the title of non-communicating attendance, has been springing up amongst ourselves for the first time after its repudiation at the Reformation, since, and not until, the enormous increase in the frequency of the celebrations of the Holy Communion which the last forty years have witnessed. Assuming (for this is not the place to exhibit the easy proof) that non-communicating attendance is alien to the spirit and to the principles of the Church of England, we have a right to point to the tendency which very frequent celebrations of the Communion have to produce that unhappy practice, as an objection to them.

3. The question of frequency in communicating depends to a great extent on the view that we take of Holy Communion. Is it a memorial or a means of grace, or an offering, or a sacrifice, or, if it be all four of these, which is the dominant idea of it? Its memorial character militates against a very great frequency of repetition. If *we* must be reminded of Christ and His work for us so constantly, it follows that our love for Him must be slight. If we think that *God* requires to be so often reminded of it, we must have a very inadequate apprehension of the effects of Christ's passion and the reconciliation wrought by it, and our consequent sonship in Christ—a state that is not lost and renewed every day, but is permanent in the faithful Christian. It is not of the nature of a memorial to be repeated daily.

If the sacramental character of the Lord's Supper, as a means by which grace is conveyed to us, is the dominant idea, a greater frequency may be looked for, but only such a frequency as will not interfere with the due and solemn preparation of our souls for the grace which is only given to those who are duly prepared. If that grace followed necessarily upon the *opus operatum*, then celebration of the rite should be continuous; but this is not so. No good but harm will be derived if the frequency is such as to dull the soul's recipient powers of a benefit which is only a benefit if rightly received.

If, however, we hold that the chief purpose of the rite is to offer a sacrifice, greater frequency no doubt becomes reasonable. But this is a false view of the Sacrament, which consists in receiving something from God rather than giving something to Him. It is true that while seeking His grace we do make offerings of our praises and thanksgiving, of ourselves and of our substance, which may be called sacrifices—but that is a secondary part of the ordinance; while the theory that in it we offer the sacrifice of Christ to His Father is not only a dangerous fable and deceit, but an impossibility, as in many other ways, so from the very nature of a sacrifice. For no one can sacrifice anything unless it is his very own, first to offer, and then to divest himself of the ownership of it, whereas no man owns Christ, nor can he divest himself of Him, as something which he wholly parts with, without the perdition of his soul. Another effect, then, of very frequent Communion is to foster the impression that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is of more importance than the sacramental, and this is an error, although in a loose and figurative sense the Sacrament may be regarded as sacrificial.

4. A further mistaken conception is encouraged which is of grave import. There are two great classes of Jewish offerings, propitiatory and thanksgiving. Propitiatory sacrifices have ceased, propitiation of God having been fully accomplished on the Cross, and now only to be commemorated. Thanksgiving must always exist, and the Eucharist may, as we have seen, be regarded as an offering of thanksgiving to God. But let a man day after day attend the Eucharistic rite, and there will insensibly grow up in him the notion that its purpose and effect is not only to thank God and to rejoice in the light of His countenance, but to propitiate Him; and so the rite passes over from the peace offerings to the sin offerings. God is regarded as still unreconciled until appeased by our ritual observances. If a man be a non-communicant worshipper, he will the more readily fall into this very serious error.

An objection is offered. It is urged that Holy Scripture and Apostolic practice close the question, because we read that the Apostles "broke bread" daily (Acts ii. 46). But it is impossible that this "breaking of bread" can mean the celebration of the Holy Communion. We will examine the other passages in which the expression occurs. In Acts xxvii. 35, when St. Paul's vessel was in danger of shipwreck, and the Apostle was assured of the escape of the crew, he said to the heathen sailors, "I

pray you to take meat (food): for this is for your health: for there shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you. And when he had thus spoken he took bread and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it he began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took meat (food)." Is it possible to imagine that this means that he celebrated the Holy Communion at such a moment and with such an environment? In St. Luke xxiv. 30 we find that our Lord, as He "sat at meat" with the two disciples at Emmaus, "took bread and blessed and brake it, and gave to them." The two disciples, it will be remembered, had no idea who He was. Could they have received the Holy Communion from an unknown stranger? From these two passages it seems clear that "breaking of bread" was a Hebrew expression for any meal, and the blessing or giving thanks was a pious Jewish practice, answering to our saying grace. The very passage on which has been founded the idea of the Apostolic daily Communion, when examined carefully, shows that it will not admit of such a construction. "They continuing daily in the Temple and breaking bread from house to house (at home) did eat their meat (food) with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people" (Acts ii. 46.) "Breaking bread at home" by itself might be understood of a Communion, but when we find that the breaking of bread is epexegetically described as "eating food with gladness," we see that, as in the other cases, breaking of bread merely means partaking of a meal. In the Clementines Peter's eating his meals with a glad heart and taking his daily bath is emphasised with the view of showing that the Christian life was not one of asceticism, like that of John the Baptist, but one which the Master had deigned to commend as His own practice under the name of "eating and drinking." In the two other passages of the Acts where breaking of bread is mentioned (ii. 42, xx. 7) it is probable that the meal specially meant is the Agapé.[1]

That the Apostles and their converts held a weekly Agapé, in the course of which the sacred elements were administered, cannot reasonably be doubted. At the same time it should be observed that an administration so conducted could not lead to the evil practice of non-communicating attendance, nor to the belief that the Holy Eucharist is primarily a sacrifice, seeing that the bread and wine were received, in the evening, as the commanded memorial of the departed Lord, nor could it have led to the idea that the consumption of that memorial food was a propitiation of God. It was not till the social meal and the sacred feast were separated, about the year 110, that any such misconceptions could arise; nor did they arise till five or six centuries later when old traditions and conceptions were overthrown by the barbarians being swept into the Church, at the time of their irruption into the Empire, without knowing what the continuous belief of Christians up to that time had been.

We do not fix on any interval between celebrations of the Holy Communion as necessarily the right interval. The Church of England has not done so. She has ordered that where there is a staff of many clergy, as in Cathedrals, the Communion shall be celebrated weekly. But that she has not intended that to be the universal rule she has shown, first by ordering it only as an exceptional case, and next by ruling that the Exhortation to Holy Communion shall be read, not every Sunday, but only when the minister is proposing to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and it is also, perhaps, indicated by her appointing how the Ante-Communion service shall conclude when there is no Communion. The minimum she fixes is three times a year, the maximum for the clergy, a weekly celebration. Perhaps a monthly reception may be regarded as a reasonable medium between the

[1] It is no doubt true that when the Lord's Supper is referred to in 1 Cor. x. 16 the breaking of bread is mentioned. But so is also "the cup which we bless." The Lord's "breaking of bread" recorded on other occasions prior to the institution of the Lord's Supper was accompanied with solemn thanksgiving. See Matt. xiv. 19; xv. 26, Mark viii. 6, 19, John vi. 11, 23. In all those cases an ordinary meal took place. In the case of the shipwreck recorded in Acts xxvii. 35, 36, St. Paul after he had taken bread and given thanks and had broken the bread "he began to eat," and then those on the ship were of good cheer and "they also took some meat." The expression "breaking of bread" occurs in the Old Testament in Isaiah lviii. 7, Jer. xvi. 7, Lam. iv. 4, &c. The act of "breaking of bread" by the father, or chief person of the family, among the Jews was considered of peculiar importance, and was always accompanied with "thanksgiving." Such "thanksgiving before the breaking of bread" in all social gatherings is enjoined in the Talmuds. See *Berachoth*, 35 *a*, 46 *a*, &c. It should be also noted that in Acts ii. 42 the article "the" is found in the original before both "breaking of bread" and prayers, indicating that those were both Jewish ordinances still observed by the believers—"the breaking of bread," the rite in connection with the family meal "at home," and "the prayers" those in the Temple, at which Peter and John attended as before (Acts iii. 1).

[C. H. H. W.]

two, though this, in populous places, would imply an administration more frequent than monthly to give adequate opportunities of attendance. Bishop Cosin declares this to be the custom of the Church in the seventeenth century (*Regni Angliæ Religio*, xvii.).

[F. M.]

COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.—The Church of Rome mutilates the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by withholding the cup from the laity. Her rule is that the celebrating priest only shall receive the chalice, so that when others of the clergy are present and communicate, even theirs is, at best, but half-communion. Four authoritative arguments were advanced by the Council of Trent in support of the practice. These are as follows:—(1) Christ said not merely, "Whoso eateth My flesh *and drinketh* My blood hath eternal life" (John vi. 54), but also, "The bread that I will give is My flesh which I will give for the life of the world" (John vi. 51), and, "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever" (John vi. 58). But the teaching in John vi. as to feeding on Christ, although it undoubtedly illustrates very clearly the nature and use of the Lord's Supper, yet it cannot have had direct reference to that, since this Sacrament was not instituted until about a year after the words were spoken, and they would have been utterly without meaning to those Jews to whom they were first addressed. Even accepting Rome's interpretation for the sake of argument, that larger statement of John vi. 54 must, by the well-known rule of interpretation, be held to include the narrower of verses 51 and 58. Another similar case occurs with regard to baptism as mentioned in Matt. xxviii. 19, and Acts viii. 16, and xix. 5. In the first text our Lord enjoins baptism "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," in the two texts in the Acts baptism "in the name of the Lord Jesus" is referred to. Yet the Roman Church does not hesitate to say that baptism by the latter formula is invalid and that the narrower statement must be read in the light of the broader one. (2) The practice of withholding the chalice is defended on the ground of its having been practised by the early Church in time of persecution, and for sending to the sick, &c.; as also on the plea that all the Apostles at the institution of the Lord's Supper were priests and so might receive in both kinds. Replying to the first of these two arguments it may be pointed out that all the cases contemplated were exceptional Communions, made *out of* church and *apart from the Liturgy*. They were also all cases of *necessity*. Judging, too, from the continued custom of the Eastern Church, of moistening from the chalice the Sacrament reserved for the sick, it is highly probable that such was the ancient custom also; and therefore that these Communions were really Communions in both kinds. The argument that the Apostles were priests and so might receive in both kinds seems hardly appropriate, since Rome excludes all priests also from the cup when not celebrating. This is, in fact, no argument, since our Lord did not take the chalice Himself and withhold it from the Apostles. (3) Those who receive one kind only are "not defrauded of any grace *necessary* to salvation," because Christ is received entire under each kind. This doctrine, that of "concomitance," is based chiefly on the words, "Whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink the cup of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body *and* blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi. 27—R.V.) The "or" of the first clause, however, on which the argument is built is a doubtful reading. The A.V. reads "and." But in any case, the language of 1 Cor. x. 16 is perfectly plain, for the grace conferred under each kind is distinguished, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Further, 1 Cor. xi. 27 merely proves intimate association of the two parts of the Sacrament and not a mutual inclusion of each in the other. (4) The Church has the right to change details in the administration of the Sacraments, and her custom is to be considered as a law. But if custom militate against the truth of the Sacrament, it cannot be allowed. The early Fathers were of this opinion. The earliest account, that of Justin Martyr, tells us that "The Deacons gave to *every* one that was present to partake of the bread . . . and of wine mixed with water." Tertullian says (*De Vel. Virg.*, i.): "Our Lord Jesus Christ called Himself the *Truth* and not the *Custom* . . . Whatever savours of opposition to the truth, this is a heresy, even if an old custom." Cyprian speaks of the Deacons offering the cup to those who were present, and he says, "Custom without truth is only antiquity of error" (*Ep.* lxxiv.); and Augustine, "Let no man prefer custom to reason and truth . . . when the truth is made plain custom must give way to truth" (*De Bapt. cont. Donat.* iii. 11; vi. 71).

Certain other unsatisfactory reasons are advanced by modern Romanists for withholding the cup, such as, "The danger of spilling the blood of Christ, which could hardly be avoided if all were to receive the cup; the considerations that wine soon loses its virtue, and that the Sacrament could not well be kept for the sick in both kinds; that some constitutions can endure neither the taste nor the smell of wine; that genuine wine in some

countries is very hard to be met with; and the opposition of those heretics that deny Christ is received, whole and entire, under either kind" (*Grounds of Catholic Doctrine*, p. 31: Dublin, 1838). It may be sufficient to say that if these objections had any weight at all they would have had so much weight that our Lord would never have instituted the Lord's Supper in two kinds. Such reasons can, however, have no influence with any thoughtful and really devout mind.

The testimony of Scripture is against the practice of Rome in this matter. It is at least remarkable that our Lord laid a special emphasis upon the reception of the cup by *all* the apostles—which emphasis he did not lay upon the other part of the Sacrament. "Drink ye all of it" (Matt. xxvi. 27), and another evangelist records that "they all drank of it" (Mark xiv. 23). St. Paul is careful to mention both parts of the Sacrament in writing to the Corinthians, and if his words mean anything they must mean that he expected the laity would continue to receive the cup until the Lord's return (1 Cor. xi. 26, 28).

The testimony of history is opposed to this modern innovation of Rome's. The later advocates of this practice freely confess that for twelve centuries there is no instance of it, except a few cases in private administration. The Council of Constance (1415), which condemned priests persisting in giving the cup to the laity under penalty of excommunication and burning, admitted that "in the primitive Church this Sacrament was received in both kinds by the people." But Cardinal Bona admits that anciently all, both clergy and laity, men and women, received in both kinds in public, but in the twelfth century many bishops forbade it to the people to avoid the risk of irreverence and effusion." The Greek Church, more ancient than the Roman, still communicates her members in both kinds.

Finally, *the testimony of four Popes* condemns the innovation as a heresy. Pope Leo the Great declares abstinence from the chalice to be a Manichæan heresy (*Hom.* xli.). Pope Gelasius I., in a letter embodied in the Roman Canon law (*Corp. Jur. Can. Decret.* III. ii. 12), speaking of persons abstaining from the cup, says, "Let such persons . . . either receive the Sacrament in its entirety or be repelled from the entire Sacrament, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot take place without great sacrilege." His reference is evidently to laymen, not to priests, especially since there is no threat of suspension or deposition. Pope Urban II. presided in 1095 over the Council of Clermont, which decreed, in its 28th canon, that "No one shall communicate at the altar without he receive the Body and Blood separately and alike, unless by way of necessity, and for caution." Pope Paschal II. wrote in 1118 to Pontius, Abbot of Cluny, "We know that the Bread was given separately, and the Wine given separately, by the Lord Himself, which custom we therefore teach and command to be always observed in Holy Church, save in the case of infants and of very infirm people who cannot swallow bread" (*Ep.* 535, t. 163, p. 442, ed. Migne). The withdrawal of the cup from the laity is forbidden by Article XXX. Yet in defiance of that fact, the Roman custom is copied by some Ritualists who are wont to appeal to ancient usage in support of the practice, with what little justice has been already shown. [M. E. W. J.]

COMMUNION OF SAINTS, THE.—This is the third clause in the third section of the common Creed of Western Christendom (the Apostles' Creed in its present form). It is not found in any Eastern Creed; certain Creeds in Greek contain it, but they are comparatively modern translations from the Latin. In the Western Creed *The Communion of Saints* is the last inserted article. It first appeared, probably, in any widely used form, about the latter half of the fifth century. The evidence is briefly as follows:—

There is a well-known *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* (*symbolum apostolorum*) by Tyrannius Ruffinus, of Aquileia, in Italy, written about 390. He comments on the Creed as recited at Aquileia, with occasional notices of variant details in other forms, notably in the Roman. For instance, the clause, *He descended into hell* (*inferna*) was used at Aquileia, but not at Rome. But he makes no allusion to the existence anywhere of a clause, *The Communion of Saints*. As a fact, we find no indication of the presence of those words in any form of Creed till at least a century later. The (probably) first such reference is found in a baptismal Creed of the South-Gallican Church, collected from certain sermons ascribed to the bishop Eusebius Gallus. His date is about 600. Heurtley (*Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 57–60) prints the Creed and discusses the authorship of the sermons, inclining to assign them to Gallus. But Caspari, with whom Swainson (*D.C.B.*, i. 710) concurs, assigns them to Faustus, bishop of Riez, in Provence, whose date is about 480. This view is taken also by Ad. Harnack (Herzog-Plitt, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Apostolisches Symbolum*). In the Creed, as restored from these sermons, the three clauses occur consecutively, as now, *The Holy Catholic Church, The Communion of Saints, The Remission of Sins*. Next may be cited a sermon included in the works of Augustine (vol. vi., *de Tempore*,

...dus Ch... ...s] atque oratione ...stur.

But no individual exposition of the ... to assimilation of its terms by unsc ...fs, in the total absence of an ... rative primeval exposition, no ... its value as an expression of s... And assuredly it is a truth tha... an Church a profound ... ...wn through Christ, and by His ...tween every true member and all ... We may, and should, in the light of S... wholly repudiate the thought of a tran... of supposed "merits" from member to ... and the assertion (as if it were reveal... intercession by the glorified Church ... militant, and the dream of an interce... the militant Church for supposed pu... sufferers. But we are not the less t... to prize the fact that :—

> "One family we dwell in Him,
> One Church, above, beneath,
> Though now divided by the strea...
> The narrow stream of death."

Nor are we the less to prize the living ... in Christ of all the members of the C... still in pilgrimage; "knowing that ... sorts of suffering are being carried ... good for your brotherhood in the world" (*τὰ παθήματα τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*: 1 Peter v. 9).[1]

We trace briefly the history of inter... of the clause in the Roman and other C...

As we have seen, the earliest extr... ments, whatever be their worth, explai... rum" to refer to *persons* rather than ... This, however, was evidently not ... versally recognised view. For exa... Heurtley's *Harmæ Symbolicæ* (pp. 91-93) i... ...ent *Gallican* Creed (given in Old ... Norman French, and Latin, clause by ... preserved in the library of Trinity ... Cambridge. Here this clause stan... Halegan hiiumesse; *In communion d... clerus; sanctorum communionem.* In t... ...hism of the Council of Trent (sixteen ... where the Creed is explained through ... *communio sanctorum* (i. x. 21) is taken ... rather to things than to persons; in f...

[1] In other words, all Christ's people ... expect trials and temptations. In conse... that they form a brotherhood in wh... things are common to all the member... Himself forewarned His people to exp... xv. 20 such trials. And St. Paul speak... common sufferings and of the common ... tions and such sufferings in 2 Cor. i. 5-... See by all means Swete, *The Apostl...* § viii.

applied to participation above all in the Sacraments and their blessings, notably, of course, those of Baptism and the Eucharist. But the reference to persons is also, subordinately, admitted; each pious member of the Church has beneficial share in the holy doings and sufferings of all other pious members. Lastly, the clause is taken to teach that "the truly Christian man possesses nothing which he is not to think common to all other Christians with himself." Here a great truth is well stated, but one which is not, perhaps, in distinct view in this clause of the Creed.

In the Churches of the Reformation, some differences of interpretation appear. Luther (see Köstlin, in Herzog-Plitt, *l.c.*) interpreted the clause as if strictly expository of the previous clause, *The Holy Church*. He explained *communio* to mean the Christian *community* (*Gemeinde der Heiligen*), and to teach distinctively that all blessings in it are common property. It is at least very doubtful whether the word *communio* can historically bear this meaning; certainly its *proper* reference is not to a body of participants, but to the participation enjoyed by such a body. With Luther agree many of the "Reformed" theologians, though they add a more explicit reference to the doctrine that the elect alone constitute the true Church.

Calvin (*Inst.* iv. i. 3) deals carefully with the clause, and gives the right reference to *communio*: "Every one of us must maintain brotherly concord with all the sheep of the flock, give due authority to the Church, and, in short, conduct ourselves as sheep of the flock. Hence the additional expression, the 'communion of saints'; for this clause, though usually omitted by ancient writers, must not be overlooked, as it admirably expresses the quality of the Church; just as if it had been said that saints are united in the fellowship of Christ on this condition, that all the blessings which God bestows upon them are mutually communicated to each other . . . If they are truly persuaded that God is the common Father of them all, and Christ their common Head, they cannot but be united together in brotherly love, and mutually impart their blessings to each other . . . In the very term, communion, there is great consolation; because, while we are assured that everything which God bestows on his members belongs to us, all the blessings conferred on them confirm our hope."

The *Heidelberg Catechism* takes much the same view, as might be expected. The question (55), "What understandest thou by the Communion of the Saints?" is answered thus: "First, that believers, all and several, have communion in Christ and all His blessings, as His members; then, that each member is bound promptly and gladly to contribute the blessings he has received to the common good and to the salvation (*Heil, salus*) of all."

The same is the explanation given in the *Westminster Confession* (xxvi. 1).

In Bishop Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* the clause is, of course, treated. We present a summary of his remarks.

After a brief examination (supported by a careful note on authorities) of the date of the clause, as "something later than any of the rest," he tabulates the different aspects of the truth confessed "both according to the Fathers who have delivered it, and according to the Scriptures from whence they derived it." He finds it thus to refer to the communion of the saints with the several Persons of the Holy Trinity, with the angels, with unworthy members of the Church (in respect of external connection), with true saints in this life, and with all saints "departed out of this life, and admitted to the presence of God." He quotes, on this latter head, Heb. xii. 22, &c., as referring to "that part of the Church which is in heaven"; and cites from the *Præfatio Passiones S. Perpetuæ* (third cent.) the (not fully scriptural) words, *communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus et per illos cum Domino Jesu Christo.*

This part of the exposition is prefaced by an inquiry into the proper meaning of the word "saints." Pearson decides that in this context it means *the true and living members of the Church*, "who do not only profess the Gospel, but are sanctified thereby . . . called with an holy calling, and not disobedient thereto . . . endued with a holy faith, and purified thereby . . . sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and by virtue thereof leading a holy life."

"The spiritual conjunction of the members to the Head is the true foundation of that communion which one member hath with another." Such "conjunction" is, of course, not broken by death, and thus our "communion" with the blessed departed is unbroken.

"This communion of the saints in heaven and earth, upon the mystical union of Christ their Head, being fundamental and internal, what acts or external operations it produceth, is not so certain. . . What they do in heaven in relation to us on earth . . . or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures nor can be concluded . . . from any principles of Christianity. They which first formed this part of the Creed, and delivered their exposition unto us, have made no greater enlargement of this communion, as to the saints of heaven, than the society of hope, esteem, and imitation on our side, of desires and supplications on their side; and what is now taught by the Church of Rome

is, as unwarrantable, so a novitious interpretation."

He quotes under this last statement, in a note, from Bellarmine (*in Symbolum : Opp.* vii. 1227 B.) as follows : "The Church on earth . . . communicates her suffrages to the Church in purgatory, and the Church in heaven communicates her prayers and her merits to the Church on earth." Which statements, adds Pearson (as regards the "suffrages" and the "merits") "are novel expositions of this Article not so much as acknowledged by Thomas Aquinas, in his explication of the Creed, much less to be found in any of the ancienter expositors of it."

Finally, Pearson discourses on the benefits of a belief in the Communion of Saints. It promotes holiness, gratitude to the Giver of our union in Christ, "ardent affection" for living saints, "reverent respect" for the departed, and practical benevolence. The exposition closes thus : "They [the truly sanctified] have an intimate union . . . with all the saints on earth, as the living members of Christ; nor is this union separated by the death of any, but as Christ in whom they lived is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, so they have fellowship with all the saints that from the death of Abel have ever departed in the true faith and fear of God, and now enjoy the presence of the Father and follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth."

In conclusion, we call attention to an important passage on the *Communio Sanctorum* in Dr. C. H. H. Wright's *Intermediate State* (1899, pp. 298-303). He refers to the decision with which, in some recent Anglican writings (*e.g.* Dean Luckock's *After Death*), this clause of the Creed is claimed as testifying to the belief of the Church in the duty and benefit of prayers for the departed. The late Dr. R. F. Littledale writes without reserve (in a leaflet on *Prayers for the Dead*) : "When we say in the Creed, 'I believe in the communion of saints,' we pledge ourselves, if we mean what we say, to prayer for the dead. . . If the departed do not pray for us, and we for them, there is no interchange of good offices, and therefore no communion between us at all." Such positive assertions assume what we do not possess, certainty as to the intention with which the words *communio sanctorum* first came into the Creed. As we have seen, the very date of their first appearance is uncertain ; the first expositions of them are only private ; and in the clause itself some obscurity attaches to the precise meaning of *communio*, and more still to that of *sanctorum*. Dr. Wright refers to an article by Theod. Zahn (*Expositor*, August 1898), in which he cites "many reasons to show that . . *sanctorum communionem* not improbably referred to the participation of 'holy things,' or sacraments, rather than the communion or intercourse of 'holy beings.'" "We are not fully prepared," continues Dr. Wright, "to endorse this latest interpretation as necessarily the correct one. But surely it may be urged that when an article of a Creed is so doubtful and obscure, it cannot be employed to establish any disputed doctrine or practice." [H. C. G. M.]

COMMUNION OF THE SICK.—The appointment of a special Office for the Communion of the sick in their own houses is one of many strong evidences of the Church's disapproval of the practice of Reservation. In 1549, when the first tentative Prayer Book was issued, all reservation was rejected except that the priest was permitted to reserve a sufficient amount of the bread and wine for any sick person who wished to receive it *on the same day* as the celebration of the Holy Communion in church, and if such a case occurred, he was "to go and minister the same so soon as he conveniently may after the open Communion in the church." Or if more sick persons than one had to be visited on the same day, the "curate" was ordered to "reserve" at the first administration "as much of the sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the other sick persons," on the condition that "he shall immediately carry it and minister it to them." This did away with the pernicious practice, which up to that time had been usual, of keeping the bread in the church for adoration and for bestowing benedictions. It was never to be in the church, except possibly for a few hours if the priest were accidentally unable to go direct from the church to the sick beds. These regulations, valuable as they were, were not considered stringent enough when the first Prayer Book was revised. The permission to reserve any of the consecrated elements even for immediate use in the sick room was withdrawn. The whole of the bread and of the wine used at a celebration of the Holy Communion was to be consumed in the church immediately after the blessing, and for each sick person there was to be a fresh administration in the sick man's house. Reservation for both its purposes, for adoration and for private communion, was thus absolutely prohibited, and a substitute for the unreformed use was found in the Office for the Communion of the sick.

These rules of the Church were founded on the rejection of the doctrine of the objective presence of Christ in the elements, and of the prevailing tenet of the *opus operatum*. If the bread were not Christ, then to worship it, reserved in a pyx or exhibited in a monstrance, could not but be idolatry, against which the

Church must guard its children; and if the benefit of the Communion arose not *ex opere operato*, from the mere swallowing of the elements changed into or containing Christ, but was dependent on the frame of mind—the repentance, the faith, the love—with which they were received, then the value of the service in preparing the soul by prayer and lesson and recital of the Lord's acts and words, became apparent. One of the points in which the Church of England is superior to any other body of Christians is its Office for the Communion of the sick.

The English practice is not favoured by clergy of extreme views. If they could carry with them the reserved bread and wine they would not have to communicate, whereas if they consecrate afresh they must, because they think that the priest's reception is necessary for the "sacrifice" which they suppose is offered by him in consecration, and only completed by his communion. Having to communicate themselves, they have to be fasting until the rite is finished at whatever hour it may be, because they think (erroneously) that that is the law of the Church and a "catholic" custom. This involuntary fasting on non-fasting days is a painful process causing irritation of mind through the craving of the body, whereas carrying the bread—that is, "Christ"—in a procession of choristers and with the sound of a bell, would be a delight, even though it should as yet be necessary to carry the wine, that is, according to Anselm's dictum, "a second Christ," together with "the Host." Probably it would soon be found that the risk of spilling the wine or some other difficulty was an "insuperable" objection to carrying it, and the bread in the form of a wafer would then alone be taken, according to the present modern Roman custom.

Another reason why the Communion of the sick, as ordered, is not favoured in the same quarter is that the rubric desires that two or three persons should communicate with the sick person, except in cases of plague and other like contagions. This order, like the analogous rubric at the end of the Communion Service, forbids the practice of private Masses, which is displeasing to those that wish to restore them.

The above are the real objections to the Office (in addition to there being no consecrated "altar" in a cottage on which to offer Christ) on the part of those whose desire it is to assimilate the ceremonies of the Anglican and Roman Churches. The objections sometimes put forward, such as that no "convenient place in the sick man's house" could be found, or that the service would be too long for the sick man if the prayer of consecration were used, need not be considered, for they are unreal. Those who in ministering to the sick have used the Offices of the Visitation of the sick and the Communion of the sick, not being themselves at the time distressed by the importunities of hunger, would grieve indeed to see pious sick folk deprived of them in favour of the Roman custom. [F. M.]

COMMUNION, SPIRITUAL.—This is explained by Romanists and Ritualists to be an earnest desire, or so-called act of faith, by which a person present at the Lord's Supper, but not communicating, is said to be able to do so in thought and intention. Such teaching is plainly contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England and the rubrics in the Order for Holy Communion in the Prayer Book, and is unknown among Protestants generally. The third rubric after the Office for the Communion of the sick contemplates spiritual communion, but of a very different kind. There is no analogy between persons physically prevented from receiving the outward symbols of bread and wine, and persons who deliberately refuse to "draw near" to the Table of the Lord when publicly and solemnly invited to do so.

COMMUTATION.—A term in use in the Romish Church for the change of a good work, promised or of obligation, to another considered approximately equal by competent authority. Thus commutation money is money accepted for pious uses in lieu of penance.

COMPLINE.—This is the name given by the Church of Rome to the service which *completes* the daily course of services called the canonical hours. It is held about nine o'clock P.M., the hour in which it is supposed by some that our Lord was buried, and in which He agonised in Gethsemane. Such services have no place in the Prayer Book, and yet they have been revived, and forms have been prescribed for them somewhat differently arranged from the Roman.

CONCEPTION, IMMACULATE.—On December 8, 1854, Pope Pius IX. decreed that the Immaculate Conception of St. Mary was a dogma of the faith, and since that day belief in that dogma has been as necessary on the part of a Roman Catholic as in any doctrine of the Christian religion. Ritualists do not generally hold this dogma, but there is a tendency amongst them to allow it as a pious opinion that may, or may not, be entertained, and they searched diligently for some support for it in the early history of the Church. At the first Bonn Conference, in 1874, Dr Döllinger was asked by an Englishman present whether there might not be found some almost hidden rill of tradition in favour of the doctrine although the main stream ran in the opposite direction

and he shook his head and replied, "None whatever."

The growth of the opinion of the sinlessness of St. Mary, which has culminated in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, may be traced through five phases as follows:

Period I. Centuries i.–v.
II. Centuries vi.–xii.
III. Century xiii.
IV. Centuries xiv.–xviii. and a half.
V. The second half of Century xix.

I. In the first period we must carefully distinguish between opinion within the Church and without it. In Holy Scripture, it need hardly be said, there is no indication of any view which could lead up to such a doctrine as St. Mary's Immaculate Conception. Holy Scripture does not tell us who her parents were, and we do not know. Perhaps her father's name was Heli, perhaps not: of her mother's name we are left quite ignorant. As to herself, it is noticeable that on the two occasions when she comes most prominently forward, at the marriage of Cana and when she and His brethren would have restrained our Lord from preaching, there is a sound of reproof in the words addressed to her by Christ. The opinion entertained within the Church during the whole of the period was that she was a pious and holy Hebrew woman, "highly favoured," but yet liable, like all the children of Adam, to fall into the sins of infirmity, into which she in fact fell. Tertullian in the second century (*De carne Christi*, vii. 315, and *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 19), Origen in the third (*Hom. in Luc.* xvii.), Basil in the fourth (*Ep.* 260), attribute unbelief to her. Chrysostom in the fifth century declared her guilty of "foolish arrogancy" (vii. 467), and Cyril of Alexandria spoke of her failing in faith and understanding (iv. 1064, vi. 391). These Fathers represent on this, as on other points, the sentiments of the Church of the first five centuries, and we are surprised at the strength of the expressions they use.

But meantime there was an opinion growing up outside the Church, in the Gnostic and Collyridian sects, which becoming at a later date admitted within the Church, has in the course of nineteen centuries been developed into the dogma of St. Mary's perfect freedom from sin, original as well as actual.

As early as the third century, possibly the end of the second century, legendary tales about the birth of St. Mary (formed after the model of St. Luke's history of our Lord's birth) were composed and published. A little later appeared similar legendary tales about her death. These Apocryphal Gospels of her Birth and Death contained the germ of the "deification" of St. Mary (to use Dr. Newman's expression in his *Essay on Development*, p. 409). The whole affair was outside the Church and belonged not to it but to Gnostics and Collyridians. It is a "device and deceit of the devil," said Epiphanius, voicing the sentiments of the Church of the fourth century.

II. Centuries vi.–xii. In the sixth century, when the irruption of the barbarians overthrew old traditions, an exaggerated veneration for St. Mary crept across the border into the Church, and the belief gradually spread that she had probably been saved from the actual commission of sin by the special grace of Christ. This was the prevailing sentiment from the sixth to the twelfth century, the veneration changing as time went on into adoration, and the verse in Solomon's Song, "Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee" (iv. 7) being regarded as scriptural proof of her immaculate *life*. In the last century of this period her holy conception as well as her immaculate life began to be obscurely advocated, but was vehemently condemned by St. Bernard as trenching upon the prerogative of Christ, of whom alone it might not be said that He "was shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin" (Psalm li. 5).

III. Century xiii. In opposition to the idea of a Holy Conception, which equalled St. Mary with Christ, Bernard urged the theory of a holy birth. Like Jeremiah and John Baptist, she had been sanctified before birth. The difference does not seem at first sight great, but in Bernard's eyes it was vital, because a holy birth did not involve exemption from original sin and a holy conception did. The Christian tradition in this form assimilated itself to the earlier Mohammedan tradition, which taught that while others were touched by the devil at their birth (which made them cry), God drew a veil between Mary and her Son and the evil spirit, so that he could not reach them; for which reason they were neither of them guilty of sin like the rest of the children of Adam. Peter Lombard, followed by Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III., Honorius III., and Innocent V., all accepted and adopted Bernard's compromise, and it was the authorised belief of the thirteenth century. But things could not rest there.

IV. Centuries xiv.–xviii. and the first half of xix. In 1303, Duns Scotus, a Franciscan friar, went to Paris to take his doctor's degree, and he advocated before the University the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with so much ability that he earned the title of the Subtle Doctor; and he is said to have converted the University to his view. His palmary argument was that God *could* do anything and *would* do whatever was most to the honour of Christ's mother, and as it was more to her honour to be conceived without sin than in sin,

her conception must have been immaculate. This *à priori* method of arguing was excellently adapted to an audience already willing to be convinced. "Two hundred arguments" of his adversaries were triumphantly refuted by Duns Scotus, with the assistance of St. Mary, who came on purpose to help him; and St. Bernard was seen by a monk, dressed indeed in white, but with a dark patch over his breast, because "he had written what he ought not about the conception." All was not, however, yet plain sailing. If St. Bridget had a revelation that the Immaculate Conception was true, St. Catharine of Siena had another, that it was not, for St. Catharine belonged to the Dominican party. A fierce struggle between Franciscans, followers of Duns Scotus, and Dominicans, followers of Thomas Aquinas, ensued throughout the Roman Catholic world. The University of Paris refused to grant a degree to any one who would not profess the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and it bound itself by an oath to bring about the triumph of the Franciscan doctrine. One section of the divided Council of Basle pronounced in favour of it. Still, however, the Dominicans were too strong to be ignored, and Sixtus IV. ordered that the Immaculate or Maculate Conception should be regarded as an open question. But the more superstitious side was sure in the end to prevail. The oath of the University of Paris was taken by the theologians of Mayence and of Cologne. In Spain the Franciscans and the Dominicans hurled stones at one another, but the Franciscan side was the popular one, and the whole weight of the Jesuit organisation and influence was thrown on their side, not because the Jesuits were interested in the question, but because, being engaged in a deadly strife with the Dominicans on the subject of Free Will and Grace before the Roman congregation called *De Auxiliis*, they found it necessary to create a diversion by organising a Franciscan attack on their adversaries and destroying their popularity in the Peninsula. "Let your Reverence see that you and yours take pains," wrote Cardinal Lugo to a brother Jesuit at Madrid, "to reawaken the devotion of the Conception, which is very popular in Spain, in order that by this means we may turn off the attacks of the Dominicans who are pressing us hard here (at Rome), having taken up the defence of St. Augustine on grace. If we don't occupy them with some other matter, they will beat us on the principal point of the controversy in the *De Auxiliis*." Accordingly the Jesuits threw themselves into the fray. "By St. James," said the Jesuit Father Aquete, preaching to the mob that had attacked the houses of the Dominicans at Alcalà, "we must defend the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin with sword and dagger, by blood and fire; for the Virgin would rather be damned eternally, and live with the devils than have been conceived in original sin." The Dominicans made answer by hurling stones through the Father's windows (Guettée, *Histoire des Jesuites*, ii. 210). But the Jesuits had better weapons than stones or sermons; they had on their side royal authority, backed up by popular superstition. What were the Dominicans to do when the King of Spain issued an ordinance commanding all preachers, before beginning their sermons, to declare belief in the Immaculate Conception, and the people would not listen to any one that did not obey the ordinance? The Dominicans lost all their popularity, and the Immaculate Conception became the universal faith of Spain, as well as the prevailing belief in France and Germany.

V. Century xix., second half. In 1854, the Jesuits came to the conclusion that the belief had now sufficiently permeated the whole Roman communion to make it safe to declare the Immaculate Conception as a dogma, and this they did by the mouth of Pius IX., who, after a vain effort to walk alone, had become their puppet, and was known to have a deep personal devotion to St. Mary, and a conviction that he could add to her glories by his proclamation. A few French theologians and one Spanish Dominican protested; the rest of Latin Christendom for the time acquiesced.

It may be asked, What harm can be done by belief in so preposterous a doctrine? What has it to do with the Christian faith, or with Christian practice? Much, in many ways. In respect to the faith, it takes away from Christ the unique position of the Sinless One. If it were true, there would be not one only person, but two persons, exempt from all sin, original and actual. And next, it is hardly compatible with the doctrine of the Incarnation. For if it were true, the nature which our Lord took of his mother could hardly be said to be the nature of man, but a nature peculiar to itself. With respect to practice, it crowns the system of Mariolatry, which from beginning to end we regard as wrong, and it invites to still further extravagances of devotion to her, which have already made their appearance. Being sinless, how can she be considered by the people, and how can she be, anything but divine, and a fitting object of worship in herself? Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the manner in which the dogma has been imposed on the Latin Church commits those who accept it to the theory that the Church and the Pope can fabricate new doctrine on the false plea of development, and as soon as it has become sufficiently popular, demand

its belief on pain of the eternal damnation of those that hold to the earlier faith.

[F. M.]

CONCLAVE.—Alexander III. (1159-1181) deprived the clergy and the people of Rome of their right to elect the Pope and vested the right in the College of Cardinals. In 1274 Gregory X. issued a bull definitely settling the method of election. Nine days were allowed for the obsequies of the deceased Pope and for the journey of non-resident cardinals to Rome. On the tenth day they were to be shut up, each with only one attendant, in a common room called a conclave, without separation of walls or curtains; a small window is removed for introducing the necessaries of life, but the doors are doubly locked and guarded by the civil magistrates of Rome. If the election be delayed more than three days their meals are reduced to a single dish at dinner and supper. After the eighth day they were allowed a mere pittance. Cardinals were obliged to suspend all their governmental duties and privileges during the interregnum except in any serious emergency. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. xii. ch. 69, pp. 295–297, ed. 1819; also Cartwright, *Papal Conclaves:* London, 1868.

[C. J. C.]

CONCOMITANCE.—The Roman and Ritualistic doctrine of Concomitance means that the Body and Blood of Christ are both received by communicating in one kind only. The twofold words of administration in the Office for the Holy Communion show that this doctrine is not held by the Church of England. The theory of Transubstantiation naturally led to the belief that, inasmuch as the elements were wholly changed into the substance of Christ, therefore the whole Christ, His Body and Blood, was contained in either element; and hence that, if only one element was received, yet Christ was fully received under that one element. But once this false and unscriptural figment is overthrown, the superstructure falls with it. See Browne on Article XXX., and COMMUNION IN ONE KIND. It may be also noted that at the original institution the words were not pronounced over the cup until the Apostles had actually partaken of the bread—for the bread was eaten at the close, and as part of the passover feast, while "the cup" is distinctly termed "the cup after supper" (1 Cor. xi. 25) —there was an interval between the two parts given. This fact is fatal to all ideas of ceremonial fasting, and proves the separateness of the two parts of the sacraments. The separation was the sign and witness of the actual death of Christ which the sacrament set forth and proclaimed.

CONCORDAT.—A concordat was an act of agreement between a prince and the Pope, usually upon the question of benefices. There are several notable instances. The Concordat of Worms, ratified September 23, 1122, between the Emperor Henry V. of Germany and Pope Calixtus II., put an end to the long struggle between the Papacy and the German Empire on the question of investitures. The Emperor ceded the power of nomination to bishoprics, and outside Germany he claimed no jurisdiction over the appointments. Within Germany the investiture by the Emperor was to precede consecration, and the bishop was acknowledged to be the vassal of the Crown rather than of the Church (Robertson's *History of the Church*, vol. v. pp. 26–28, ed. 1875).

At the close of the Council of Constance in 1417, separate concordats were drawn up by Pope Martin V., immediately after his election, with the German, French, and English representatives at the Council. The framing of separate concordats was a device to foster international divisions and jealousies, and so to lead to the postponement of genuine measures of reform. In the German concordat, Martin agreed that the number of the cardinals should be limited so as not to exceed twenty-four, and that the dignity should be distributed amongst the various nations. The English concordat provided that Englishmen should be admitted to hold offices in the Roman Curia. The French concordat aroused opposition and was rejected by the Parliament of Paris (Robertson, vol vii. pp. 398–400).

The Concordat of Bologna in August 1516 was between Francis I. and Pope Leo X. It was afterwards ratified by the Lateran Council. "In case of the vacancy of a see, the king was within six months to present to the Pope, a person not under twenty-seven years of age and having certain other qualifications. If he should present one not so qualified he might within a further time of three months present another; and in case of delay the Pope might appoint a bishop, as he was also authorised to do when a vacancy was caused by the death of a prelate at the Roman court. Exceptions were, however, made as to some of the qualifications in the case of persons of royal or high title, and of friars who in the statutes of their order were unable to take the prescribed degrees. A like rule was established as to monasteries where the heads were to be chosen from persons of the same order to which the monks belonged, and not under twenty-three years of age. . . . The Pope in order to conciliate the king made over to the Crown a large part of the privileges of the French Church" (Robertson, viii. pp. 329-330).

Descending to later times, Benedict XIV. concluded a concordat with Spain in 1753. He renounced the right of appointment to the

smaller Spanish benefices, except in the specified cases of fifty-two, and the King of Spain pledged himself to compound by a sum of 34,300 scudi annually for the loss which the Curia would suffer by its concession.

The Concordat of Fontainebleau was arranged between Napoleon and Pius VII. January 25, 1813. Herein, the Pope consented to reside in France, and promised to abandon Rome as the seat of the Papacy. This concordat was, of course, rendered null and void soon after by Napoleon's fall. A former concordat in 1801, when Napoleon was First Consul, had been much more favourable to the Papacy, for it re-established the papal authority in France, and gave the Pope the right of investiture in the case of the Gallican bishops (Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. ii. pp. 434, 459–464). [C. J. C.]

CONFESSION, AURICULAR.—Confession of sin whispered, or uttered secretly, into the ear (Lat. *auris*) of a priest. This form of confession is also sometimes called "sacramental confession" because closely connected with the Romish "sacrament" of penance. The Lateran Council (1215) ordered every man and woman to privately confess their sins to their own priests at least once a year, and the Council of Trent (canon 6) pronounces an anathema on any one who shall deny that "sacramental confession was instituted by Divine command, or that it is necessary to salvation or . . . is foreign to the institutions and command of Christ, and is a human invention."

With regard to the question of "Divine command," we do not fear to examine Scripture. In the Old Testament, Lev. v. 5, 6 and Num. v. 6, 7 are quoted upon Rome's side. But upon comparing these together it is clear that what is spoken of is public confession to the Lord, not private confession to a priest. The Levitical laws regarding leprosy, again, are cited to as little purpose. For they have to do with a bodily not a spiritual cure, and the priest merely gave the cured leper a certificate of his cleansed condition. Once more, Romanists adduce Joshua vii. 19–21 as an example of confession to the priest. But Achan's confession was made to Joshua the civil magistrate, and was extorted from him that the justice of his punishment might be manifest to all. In the New Testament, Matt. iii. 6 and Acts xix. 18, to both of which Rome appeals, speak again of public and not private confession. Another, and indeed Rome's chief *locus classicus* on this point, is James v. 16: "Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another that ye may be healed." Yet no one, probably, would have imagined *à priori* that this text could be supposed to inculcate confession to a priest with a view to absolution. Is it not apparent that the confession is a mutual one, as the prayer is, and that the object sought is not absolution at all but rather bodily healing? It is highly probable that St. James was alluding to a custom of the Jews of his day in regard to sickness. When this experience befell a member of a synagogue, the elders were wont to visit the sick person to remind him that sickness and death came from sin, and exhort him to confession if any sin lay on his mind, and then to pray for his recovery (*cf.* James v. 14, 15). The enumeration of all sins committed was never required under either the Old Testament or the New Testament, and the Jews were entirely unfamiliar with the idea of human absolution. The claim of Rome with regard to this, as based upon Matt. xvi. 18, 19 and xviii. 18, has been dealt with in another place [ABSOLUTION].

While no text of Scripture can be fairly quoted as commanding or even implying secret confession of sin to a human priest, many might be cited, both from the Old Testament and the New Testament, directing or taking for granted confession of sin to God. It is to this only that the early Church Fathers exhort. Chrysostom and Augustine, both canonised saints of Rome, may be called as witnesses. The former says: "I entreat and beseech you to confess continually to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-servants, nor do I compel thee to uncover thy sins to men." (*De Incarn. Dei Nat.*, Hom. v. 57, tom. i. p. 490). Augustine, in his *Confessions*, wrote: "To what purpose do I confess my sins to men as if they themselves could heal my distresses?—to a set of men inquisitive in inquiring into the lives of others, but indolent in amending their own. And how shall they, who know nothing of my heart but by my confession, know whether I say true or not?" (*Confessions*, lib. x. 3, tom. i. p. 171: Paris, 1672). In fact, in early times confession was public and voluntary. It was made compulsory for the first time in 763 (Fleury, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. xiii. p. 390: Oxford Library). In this matter Rome's own champions contend against her. Bellarmine says: "The secret confession of all our sins is not only *not* instituted or commanded *Jure Divino*, by God's law, but it was not so much as received into use in the ancient Church of God" (*De Perit.*, lib. iii. c. 1,) and the Jesuit Maldonatus says: "All state that confession was only introduced by ecclesiastical law" (Bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive*, Part ii. p. 250).

The objections to Auricular Confession are not few, and are of an extremely grave character. Indeed to Englishmen, and to Protestants generally, they appear insuperable and impossible of exaggeration. They may be

grouped for convenience under four heads: (1) The claim of the priest infringes *the sole right of Almighty God.* To Him alone it appertains to forgive sins, and the Jews of our Saviour's day were right when they exclaimed, "Who can forgive sins but God only." But the priests sit in the Confessional as "judges" in "the tribunal of penance" and possess (they say) power from Christ to grant or withhold absolution at their discretion. In the Catechism of the Council of Trent (Part ii. quest. 7 ch. ii.) it is asserted that "they are deservedly called not only angels but even Gods, because they hold amongst us the energy and divinity (*vim et numen*) of the immortal God." Hence (2) the *power of the priesthood* is enormously, unwholesomely, and unnaturally *increased.* The priest becomes acquainted with all the secrets of a family, and although what he hears in the Confessional is received under the seal of silence and he is supposed to know less than what he does know, instances have not been wanting where the information thus supplied has been used for purposes of betrayal. At any rate the whole household is at his mercy; and it cannot be fitting or right for a husband and father to know that thoughts which his wife could not reveal to himself or his daughter disclose to her mother, are confided to "the priest." On the other hand should the priest become acquainted through the Confessional with contemplated murder or other crime he is forbidden to divulge his knowledge. Thus we reach (3) the third objection, viz., that the confessional is *immoral.* Priests and penitents must there converse on subjects most immodest. Here, then, is afforded a fertile source of extreme danger to both penitent and priest. No shame is allowed to stand in the way of a full confession, for it is a mortal sin for any one, even a female, to conceal anything in the Confessional from shame. Corrupt and corrupting questions are often asked, details must be inquired into, especially as to the mental pleasure experienced in the contemplation of sins, defiling thoughts, and the like. The Roman Catholic Treatises on the nature of sin by Liguori, Dens, and others, for guidance in the Confessional, are recognised as unfit for publication. The "Examination of Conscience" as prescribed in *The Garden of the Soul*, a well-known Romish Prayer Book, is full of obscene suggestions. Even children have been thus initiated into the knowledge of sins whose very names are unknown to children in Protestant schools. The priest himself must store his own mind with all that is filthy and contaminating. It is not, therefore, surprising, that many priests have, through the Confessional, fallen into sin, and many penitents have been thrust by those who should have rescued them, deeper into those waters from which they were trying to emerge. These awful dangers are admitted by Liguori and others. Thus Liguori exclaims, "Oh, how many priests who before were innocent have lost both God and their soul!" (*Mor. Theol.*, vol. ix. p. 97). Two Popes issued Bulls against the abuses of the Confessional. (4) The last objection is that Auricular Confession is *opposed to* the doctrines and intentions of the *Church of England.* The practice of secret confession was revived in the Established Church by Dr. Pusey in 1838. It is still maintained by the Ritualists equally with the Church of Rome though not so systematically. They teach that the priest "acts in God's stead," that "he is like a judge pronouncing judgment"; that "he acts in the person of Christ" (Gresley's *Ordinance of Confession*, p. 96). They say, "the man who confesses to God may be forgiven; he who confesses to a priest must be forgiven" (*Six Plain Sermons*, by Richard Wilkins, Priest, pp. 28, 29. London: E. Longhurst), while perfect identity with Rome at this point is thus confessed in *The Ministry of Consolation* (p. 34): "The mode of making and receiving a confession is substantially identical. The same questions are asked . . . . it appears to us somewhat dishonest to pretend that it is otherwise." Rome on her side acknowledges that the Ritualists are doing her work. The notorious book, *The Priest in Absolution*, issued under the directions of the Ritualistic secret Society of the Holy Cross, 1866–1872, to be used as a *vade mecum* by Ritualistic clergy acting as confessors, was exposed by Lord Redesdale in the House of Lords, and severely censured by the then Archbishop of Canterbury and all the Bishops present in the Convocation of Canterbury in 1877.

Dr. Pusey confessed to the existence of the same dangers to Ritualistic clergymen of the Church of England as assail the celibate priests of Rome. "You may," he says to the former, "pervert this sacrament into a subtle means of feeding evil passion and sin in your own mind" (*Manual*, p. 102). The Ritualists have not scrupled to appeal to the Warning before Communion in the Prayer Book in support of the doctrine of systematic Auricular Confession. But if that passage be fairly examined it will be apparent that the circumstances contemplated are quite exceptional; that the benefit sought is, in part at least, "ghostly counsel and advice"; that the minister need not be a priest at all, but may be a deacon or even a godly layman (see *Homily of Repentance*); that the presence of a third party is not

prohibited; and that the benefit of absolution, so far as it is sought and conferred, is "by the ministry of God's holy word," not by the word of a human priest. That here is intended by the Church of England no licence for Auricular Confession is evident from the fact that in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. the word "secretly" which was before attached to the above Warning was expunged, together with every allusion to such kind of confession, and has never been replaced, while the form of absolution, now confined to the Visitation of the Sick, was also removed. The rubric in the Visitation of the Sick concerning the moving of the sick person to a special confession of his sins has also in view peculiar circumstances, showing clearly that no regular, systematic, private confession is intended, and the absolution is to be pronounced only "if he humbly and heartily desires it." The intention of the Church of England on the matter is shown by the Homily on Repentance which declares explicitly against the practice in question in the words, "It is most evident and plain that this Auricular Confession had not his warrant of God's word," and in these, "it is against the true Christian liberty that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore in the time of blindness and ignorance" (Part ii.). Finally, as with individuals so with regard to the nations which individuals compose, religious doctrines and practices must be testified by their effects. "By their fruits ye shall know them." It is the Roman Catholic Continent which is the home of superstition, irreligion, infidelity, and immorality. See case of Poole *v.* Bishop of London in Brodrick and Fremantle's *Eccl. Cases.* [M. E. W. J.]

CONFESSIONS AND CREEDS.—The early Church denoted by a creed either a confession of faith for public use, or a short formulary containing a summary of certain articles of belief held to be necessary for the salvation or at least for the well-being of him who professed his belief in them. The earliest names by which creeds were known were *κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* or *τῆς ἀληθείας*, *regula fidei*, *regula veritatis*, which phrases occur in Irenæus (A.D. 170) and Tertullian (A.D. 200). "Symbol" is an expression first used by Cyprian (A.D. 250). It has been observed that a creed does not precede faith but presupposes and expresses it.

In Protestant Churches the authority of creeds depends upon their fidelity to the teaching of Holy Scripture (Article VIII.). Both the Greek and the Roman Churches claim absolute authority for their Confessions of Faith. Creeds have been classified under three heads: (1) those of the Ancient Church before the separation of East and West in the eleventh century; (2) the distinctive creeds and confessions of the Greek and Latin Churches after the separation; (3) the Protestant creeds and confessions of the age of the Reformation.

The Apostles' Creed was originally and essentially a Baptismal Confession, the need for which was the probable origination of all creeds, our Lord's words in St. Matthew xxviii. on baptism in the name of the Trinity constituting alike the starting-point and the model.

Its first commentator is Rufinus (A.D. 390), who regards it as containing the "first elements of the Church and of the Faith" (Sect. 38). The Greek text comes to us from Marcellus of Ancyra (A.D. 336–341). It may date from the second century when Greek was the vernacular language of the Roman Church. It did not supersede other forms in the Western Church till the eighth century. The Creed of Pirminius is the first that agrees in all respects with our present Apostles' Creed.

It is called "Apostolical" because it contains the doctrines of the Apostles and the historic truths which they preached. The tradition that it was written by the Apostles is valueless, for (1) the early Fathers made creeds for themselves which would have been needless had there been a literally Apostolic Creed; (2) the 141 Greek bishops at the Council of Florence in 1439 when the Apostles' Creed was presented to them replied "we neither have nor do we know any creed of the Apostles."

The Nicene Creed closed originally with the words "And in the Holy Ghost." It was the authorised form of the creed from the Council of Nicæa in 325 to the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The present form with the added clauses (except the clause "And from the Son") can be traced to the two creeds drawn up by St. Epiphanius in 374, and most of them appear as early as 350 in the Creed of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. There is no evidence that the last paragraph as it now stands was officially authorised by the Second General Council in 381, but it was read by Aetius the deacon at Chalcedon, in 451, as the "Creed of the 150 Fathers" (*i.e.* of A.D. 381) and accepted as orthodox together with the older form called "The Creed of the 318 Fathers," *i.e.* of Nicæa. The words, "And from the Son," were added by a Spanish Council at Toledo in 589.

The creed put forth respecting the union of two natures in the one Person of the Incarnate Christ by the Council of Chalcedon has great dogmatic and historic value. But it is not used as a creed in any part of the Church, and is merely a "Definitio Fidei" on one great point of doctrinal interest.

The Athanasian Creed is only used in the

Greek Church for private devotion; in fact it has a higher place in the Church of England than in any other part of Christendom. It is justly called Athanasian as containing the teaching of Athanasius, though it states the Trinitarian doctrine rather in the Augustinian than in the Oriental form. But its original form is Latin, its earliest MSS. are Gallican, and its authorship is most probably to be traced to Hilary of Arles or Vincent of Lérins, in the period between the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies (A.D. 428–451). It deals with some matters which were not under dispute in the lifetime of Athanasius. It is rather a hymn in the form of a creed than a creed proper, and it has some analogies with the "Te Deum Laudamus." See ATHANASIAN CREED.

The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, 1545–1563, the Creed of Pope Pius IV., 1564, summarising the former, and the Canons and Decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870 constitute the modern body of doctrine held by the Roman Catholic Church. But the Tridentine Creed holds the highest place as definitely summing up the judgment which the Roman Church passes upon the theology of the Reformation and the doctrinal position which it intends to assume for all future time in connection with Protestant controversy.

The Evangelical Confessions range chiefly from 1530 to 1577, the period of creative activity in the Reformation epoch. They combine three elements; (1) the ecumenical, which they share in common with the early Church; (2) the Augustinian doctrines of grace characteristic of the later Western Church; (3) the distinctive evangelical element revived in the sixteenth century. The Augsburg Confession is the most highly esteemed among the Lutheran Churches, and the only one generally recognised (A.D. 1530); next comes the Shorter Catechism of Luther (1529), used for catechetical instruction. Melanchthon's Apology is a contemporary commentary upon the Confession and is used for doctrinal purposes. The *Formula Concordiæ* was drawn up by six Lutheran divines in 1577, and was subscribed by all the Lutheran princes except Frederick II. of Denmark. It is included in the *Libri Symbolici* of the Lutheran Church, as are also the *Articles of Smalkald* signed by the Lutheran divines in 1573. See CONSUBSTANTIATION.

The Reformed or Calvinistic Confessions embrace a larger and more national area. The most widely accepted are: (1) the Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, used in the Palatinate; (2) the second Helvetic Confession, 1566 [the first was in 1536]; and (3) the Canons of the Synod of Dort in 1618. Of the thirty Reformed Confessions nearly all have merely an historic interest. They may be divided into the Swiss, the German Reformed, and the Franco-Netherland Confessions.

The English Formularies.—(1) *Semi-Reformed.*

(*a*) Articles to stablish Christian quietness and unity, 1536.

These were ten in number, put forth by the king, and are in great measure his own composition. They are Roman in doctrine but not papal. The tenth article on purgatory is wavering and uncertain. The Pope is called "the bishop of Rome."

(*b*) The Bishop's Book, or "The Institution of a Christian Man," 1537.

This contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the "Hail Mary," with Articles on Justification and Purgatory. It was the work of the Reforming party on the Episcopal bench, and represents the most advanced stage to which Reformation doctrines attained in Henry's reign.

(*c*) The King's Book, or "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man," 1543.

This contains a declaration of faith, the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, articles on Free Will, Justification, and Good Works, and a prayer for souls departed. The Formulary belongs to the reactionary period of Henry's reign and its tone is more Romanising than that of the "Institution." At the same time the papal pretensions are even more strongly denounced.

(*d*) The London Articles of 1538, thirteen in number, agreed upon by a Committee of English and Lutheran divines in order to form a basis of union between English and Continental Protestantism. This proved abortive by the action of the king, but these Articles are important as showing a link of connection between the Augsburg Confession and the XXXIX. Articles.

(2) *Authoritative.*

The XXXIX. Articles, appearing first as the XLII. Articles of 1553, and modified at the Elizabethan Settlement, 1563, and finally completed in 1571.

"The *Catechism* first appeared in the Confirmation Service of the first book of King Edward ending at the answer to the question, 'What desirest thou of God in this prayer.' The remainder was added in 1604." "In 1552 a Catechism, knows as Poynet's, was sanctioned by Convocation. In 1561 it was determined to improve upon it, and Dean Nowell was employed for the purpose. His work, commonly called Nowell's Catechism, was approved by Convocation in 1562, but, says Procter, 'not formally sanctioned, apparently because it was treated as part of a larger design which was not realised,' that design being to publish in

one book the Articles, Nowell's Catechism, and Jewel's Apology, with public approval. The only authorised Catechism of the Church of England is that contained in the Prayer Book" (Blakeney: Larger edition, chap. xiv. sect. 1).

It has often been supposed that the Sacramental Section in the Church Catechism was the work of Dean Overall, but in reality it was only edited by him from Nowell. But the edition of the Catechism from which the materials were taken was not the larger or Middle Catechism published by the Parker Society, but the Shorter Catechism of Dean Nowell approved by Convocation in 1562, 1571, and 1603. It is alluded to in No. 79 of the Canons of 1604, "On the Duty of Schoolmasters."

The *Homilies* (so called from the Greek word ὁμιλία, meaning a familiar discourse) were sermons upon the subjects contained in the XXXIX. Articles, and intended to serve as explanations of and commentaries upon them (*cf.* Article XI.). They appeared in two separate books—the first, in Edward's reign, the work of Cranmer, Becon, Latimer, and others; the second, in Elizabeth's reign, largely the work of Bishop Jewel.

Later Formularies which are not authorised may be briefly mentioned: (1) Nowell's Catechism of 1570, which may possibly be a larger and distinct work from that already alluded to. (2) The Lambeth Articles of 1595, nine in number, which are confined to the distinctive tenets of Predestinarian doctrine. (3) The Irish Articles of 1615, put forth in a Convocation held at Dublin. They consist of 104 paragraphs arranged under nineteen general heads. Many are borrowed from the XXXIX. Articles, and some are of a homiletic character. They are strongly Predestinarian. In 1635 they ceased to retain their position of authority, the XXXIX. Articles gradually taking their place (see Hardwick, *On the Articles*, ch. viii.). (4) At the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 136 in number, held in July 1643, the Presbyterian majority adopted the Solemn League and Covenant; and drew up the Directory for Publick Worship, the Westminster Confession, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which are still used in the Church of Scotland. See Dr. Schaff's work on *Creeds and Confessions.* [C. J. C.]

CONFESSOR.—*See* **CONFESSION.**

CONFIRMATION.—The act of confirming or strengthening; an establishing or making good; a ratification. Confirmation is an ordinance in the Church of England in which persons come to years of discretion, and previously baptized as infants, publicly take upon themselves the vows and promises made for them in their baptism by their godparents, and in which the gift of the Holy Spirit is specially sought for to strengthen in their resolutions those who submit themselves to the ordinance. Confirmation is also administered to persons baptized as adults, since the ordinance is considered as a necessary step previous to coming to the Holy Communion. (See rubrics at end of the Office for the Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years, and at end of the Order of Confirmation.) At the same time this rule is relaxed in the latter rubric in favour of those who are "ready and desirous to be confirmed." The rite must be performed by a bishop in the English Church, and also in that of Rome, but may be by a priest in the Greek Church, and it is performed by pastors in the Lutheran churches and in the Reformed Church of France. In the Greek Church there is no imposition of hands, and confirmation follows immediately after baptism. By the Canon Law there must be a confirmation in every parish once in three years unless the bishop is unable by reason of some infirmity, and the ministers are to see that the candidates are properly prepared. Although of ancient date, being mentioned by Tertullian (*ob.* 225), there is no proof that confirmation was instituted by Christ, for which reason the Church of England does not regard as a sacrament. The Church of Rome, however, does, *assuming* that our Lord instituted confirmation either "at the Last Supper or between the Resurrection and Ascension." We cannot even affirm that confirmation, as we understand the ordinance, was instituted by the Apostles. But the Church of England claims in her office the example of the Apostles as a warrant for the practice of laying on of hands, and is justified in doing so by Acts viii. 15–17, xix. 6, and Hebrews vi. 1, 2, although the imposition of hands was then used especially for the communication of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as prophesying and speaking with tongues. Confirmation, in fact, as retained in the Church of England is the solemn ratification of baptismal promises and vows with imposition of hands as a sign of Divine blessing, and as such was instituted at a later date. In the Romish Church, the person confirmed takes the name of a patron saint and requires a sponsor. See CHRISM. [M. E. W. J.]

CONFIRMATION OF BISHOPS is an authoritative attestation of the regularity and validity of the election of a candidate (where the bishopric is elective) and is also the conferring upon him jurisdiction over a limited area. From the fourth century at least, Van Espen says, "confirmation was held to confer upon the bishop, *not yet consecrated*, the power of Jurisdiction but not that of Order" (Smith's

Dict. Christian Antiq., p. 221, col. 1). Jurisdiction is not derived from, nor conveyed by ordination. As, on the one hand, "we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's word, or the sacraments," as our Thirty-seventh Article declares, so, on the other hand, all jurisdiction both civil and ecclesiastical is derived (either by formal grant, or by passive connivance) from the civil ruler. In England this is done either by Orders in Council, as in the case of Bristol, Wakefield, Sodor and Man, &c., where no Cathedral Chapter has been organised to conduct the "election," or else as in most of the older dioceses, by Royal Commissioners delegated by the Crown for that purpose. These Commissioners are commonly themselves bishops, but this is not required by law, and their acts are purely ministerial. The Royal Letters Patent commonly addressed to the Archbishop of the Provinces run in such words as these: "We signify you by these presents requiring and strictly commanding you by the faith and love by which you stand bound to Us to confirm the said election," &c. The Primate's commission runs: "We therefore being desirous with that duty that becomes us to fulfil and obey Her [or His] Majesty's commands in that behalf," &c. And the Vicar-General, in executing this commission says: "In obedience to the commands of our Sovereign, we do take upon us the duty of the confirmation of the said election, and do decree that it be proceeded with according to the force, form, and effect of the said Letters Patent." Accordingly, this lawyer pronounces the words: "We do commit unto the said bishop elected and confirmed the care, government, and administration of the said bishopric." In the case of Archbishop Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, the language of the Commissioners was: "We confirm the election of the venerable man, Mr. Matt. Parker, by the supreme authority of the said most Serene Lady our Queen, committed unto us in this behalf." Under Edward VI. in England, and in Ireland from 1560 till 1860, jurisdiction was imparted (without any election) merely by the Royal Letters Patent: and in renewing the charter of the old East India Company, the Act 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sec. 51, provided that no bishop appointed should either *have* or use any jurisdiction but such as should be "limited to him by His Majesty by letters patent." Even now, under 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, the Crown appoints by Letters Patent whenever the Dean and Chapter refuse to elect the royal presentee. If the candidate thus appointed, or else elected and confirmed as aforesaid, be a layman, he has from that very moment all the jurisdiction of the diocesan. Again, during the vacancy of a bishopric the jurisdiction is exercised by the Dean and Chapter either of the diocese itself, as at Durham and at Salisbury, or of the Metropolitan Church of the Province, as is now more usual.

The *Church Times*, in an editorial answer to its correspondents, January 5, 1883, said:—

"Jurisdiction has nothing to do with Orders. A newly elected Pope even if still a layman receives at once jurisdiction over the Roman Church *before his ordination or consecration*, and the same holds good of any priest or layman nominated to be bishop of a Roman diocese, for he enters at once on all *legal* powers within it. It is thus a mere creature of human law."

Hence, though the form may vary (as in a Republic, or in a disestablished Church) the fact remains always that jurisdiction does not belong to the office of bishop as such, but is conferred by consent of the civil ruler upon the office-bearer to whom the Church has delegated its representation for the time being. As Hooker says (*Eccl. Pol.*, viii. vi. 2 and 3), "the power which Christ did institute in the Church, they from the Church do receive"; its exercise being controlled by the Civil Executive whenever coercion is needed, or the mundane interests of society are in any way affected.

[J. T. T.]

CONFRATERNITY.—A brotherhood. In the Church of Rome a confraternity is defined as "a society or association instituted for the encouragement of devotion, or for promoting works of piety, religion, and charity, under some rules and regulations, though without being tied to them so far as that the breach or neglect of them would be sinful." Similar societies have been introduced into the Church of England by the Ritualists, *e.g.* the "Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament," &c. See GUILDS. [M. E. W. J.]

CONGÉ D'ÉLIRE.—A licence to elect a bishop. In Saxon times bishoprics were royal donatives (see Blackstone, *Commentaries*), but in the Norman and Plantagenet period the clergy, backed up by the immense power of the Church of Rome, were able to wrest the right of appointing bishops from the king, who retained only the useless form of granting a licence to elect. In the reign of Henry VIII., the ancient right of nominating the bishops was restored to the Crown, but the form of *congé d'élire* was retained. The royal licence is sent to the dean and chapter, but accompanied by a letter missive from the sovereign containing the name of the person whom they are to elect, and if the dean and chapter delay their election above twelve days the nomination devolves on the sovereign, who may by letters patent appoint such person as he pleases (Whitehead's *Church Law*).

It is often charged as a blot on our church system that the dean and chapter, before electing the sovereign's nominee, pray for guidance in making their choice, knowing full well that they have no choice. But it is conceived there is no legal obligation upon them to use any such prayer, which is, to say the least, inappropriate at the present time; and in some cases certainly no such prayer has been used. (See *Church Intelligencer*, 1892, p. 77.) [B. W.]

CONGREGATION.—The word is of a peculiar significance in the Old Testament, in the translation of which the LXX. render it sometimes by συναγώγη (our English *synagogue*) and ἐκκλησία. It might often be rendered *convocation*. The name is sometimes used so as to include *aliens*, but at other times it is applied only to Israelies properly so called (Num. xv. 15). It is used in the Book of Common Prayer for "church" (see Article XXIII.), and signifies persons convened together for *public worship*. See CHURCH.

CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.—One of the most important of the seven Congregations or Committees of Cardinals, and appointed for the special purpose of literary censorship. The index (*Index Expurgatorius*) is the catalogue of books prohibited by the Church of Rome. It was first drawn up by the Inquisition, approved by the Council of Trent, and confirmed by a Bull of Clement VIII. in 1595. The earliest instance of prohibiting books was the action of Archbishop Berthold of Mayence in 1486, who inhibited both the printing and sale of books without a licence. In 1502 a censorship was established in Spain, which was first exercised by the Crown, but afterwards transferred to the authority of the Inquisition. The Lateran Council of 1513 established a similar censorship when the Bull for the setting up of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Italy was issued by Paul III. in 1542. Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV.) issued a decree that no book new or old was to be printed without his permission. [C. J. C.]

CONGREGATIONALISTS.—See INDEPENDENTS.

CONSECRATION.—A making holy; a setting apart for sacred uses. In the Communion Office of the Church of England the prayer immediately before the administration of the elements is called the Prayer of Consecration, and the symbol of consecration is the laying of the priest's hand upon the bread and the chalice or flagon in which there is any wine to be consecrated. The teaching of the Church of England is that this is merely setting apart for sacred use and that no change in the bread and wine takes place, for they "remain still in their very natural substances . . . . and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven and not here." (Black Rubric at the end of Communion Service.) The doctrine of the Church of Rome and of the Ritualists is, of course, very different. [TRANSUBSTANTIATION.] In the English Church the ordination of a bishop is called his consecration. Churches and burial-grounds are consecrated by the judicial "sentence" of a bishop, but Archbishop Whately (*ob.* 1863) never used a consecration service, considering it forbidden by the Act of Uniformity. In the Romish Church water, ashes, bells, &c. are consecrated by a bishop. [M. E. W. J.]

CONSISTORY.—The name given to the Bishop's Court for the trial of ecclesiastical causes. The original meaning of the word (Lat. *consistere*) is that of a "standing place," or "waiting room," and was given to the Roman emperor's ante-chamber when he held his councils and delivered judgments. It was then applied to the Pope's senate of cardinals and to bishop's courts. In several of the Reformed non-episcopal churches it means a court of presbyters—a presbytery. But the names of such courts are not always alike.

The Consistory Courts of the Church of England were, in mediæval times, instruments of great oppression. They are now shorn of much of their dignity, as their jurisdiction in matters of probate and divorce was taken away in 1857, and much litigation which formerly took place in them is now dealt with by the secular courts, *e.g.* matters relating to tithes, pews, brawling, &c.

The judge of the Consistory Court is called the Chancellor. See ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS and Whitehead's *Church Law*. [B. W.]

CONSUBSTANTIATION.—The doctrine of the Lutheran Church concerning Consubstantiation is entirely different from that taught by the Ritualists in the Church of England, as is admitted by Dr. Pusey and others of that party.

The most important authoritative Formularies of the Lutheran Church are the four following: (1) The *Augsburg Confession* (Aug. 1530); (2) The *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*, drawn up by Melancthon (in 1531) in reply to the *Papal Confutation of the Augsburg Confession* presented to the Diet of Augsburg by the Roman Catholic theologians; (3) The *Articles of Smalkald*, drawn up by Luther in 1539; (4) The *Formula of Concord*, drawn up thirty-six years after Luther's death, which set forth the final teaching of the great majority of the Lutheran Churches of Germany.

The Lutheran Church teaches in these that in the Lord's Supper there is an actual presence of the real body and blood of Christ "in, with, and under" the bread and wine. Ritualists maintain that "the Real Presence is attached to the elements by the words of consecration," and is in the consecrated elements *prior to*

the reception of those elements by the communicants. But the Lutheran Church holds that the Real Presence is not connected with the bread and wine by virtue of any priestly "consecration." The Real Presence does not adhere to the bread and wine lying on the Holy Table, either before or after consecration. The Real Presence is imparted by Christ only at the time when the bread is being eaten and the wine being drunk by the communicants.

Thus the *Formula of Concord* (pars i. cap. vii. *De Coena Domini* iii., iv.) affirms: (iii.) "As regards consecration we believe, teach, and confess, that no human work, nor any pronouncing (of words) by the minister of the Church, is the cause of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, but that this is to be attributed to the sole omnipotent power of our Lord Jesus Christ." (iv.) "Nevertheless, we unanimously believe, teach, and confess that in the use of the Supper the Lord's words used by Christ at its institution are by no means to be omitted, but are to be publicly recited, as it is written (1 Cor. x. 16), 'The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?' &c. But that blessing is made by the recitation of the words of Christ."

Further, the *Formula Concordiæ* (in pars ii. cap. vii. *De Coena Domini*) quotes, as ought specially to be noticed, from an earlier "Formula," signed by Luther and other theologians in 1536, the following:—

"And although they deny that transubstantiation takes place, nor believe that any local inclusion in the bread takes place, or that there is any durable conjunction outside the use of the sacrament: yet they grant that by sacramental union the bread is the body of Christ; that is, when the bread is handed out (*porrecto pane*), there is also (*simul*) present and truly exhibited the body of Christ. For outside the use (*extra usum*) while it is being replaced or preserved in the pyx or [tabernacle], or shown in processions, as is done by the Papists, they believe that the body of Christ is not present."

Thus the Lutheran churches deny that the priest has that very "power over the Lord's body," which Lord Halifax, in his essay on "Worship," maintains is "the distinctive glory and possession of the Catholic Church.[1]

Hence an anathema is hurled against the Lutheran doctrine in Canon iv. of the Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent: "If any one shall say that when consecration has taken place there is not the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the wonderful sacrament of the Eucharist, but only in its use while it is being taken (*sed tantum in usu, dum sumitur*), but not before or after, and that in the hosts or consecrated particles, which are reserved or remain over after communion, there does not remain the true body of the Lord, let him be anathema."

Moreover, in the Russian office for the reception of a Lutheran into the so-called Orthodox Church, the following question is put:—"Dost thou renounce the erroneous opinion that in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist the bread is not changed into the body of Christ, and does not remain the body of Christ; and that the wine is not changed into the blood of Christ, and does not remain the blood of Christ; but that the presence of the body of Christ is in some manner only for a short time in contact with the bread, which still remains simple bread?"[2] The question shows clearly the interpretation the Russo-Greek Church puts upon the teaching of the Lutheran Church.

The Lutheran Church denounces in distinct terms the doctrine that the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice, and denies that it is offered up for the sins of the living and the dead. The Lutheran doctrine on that point will be found in the *Articles of Smalkald*. It is there affirmed that "the Mass" is "the greatest abomination in this Popish Church," "the most specious of all Popish idolatries." The Mass is asserted to have produced "many abominations and idolatries," and it is affirmed, "When the Mass falls, Popery will fall also."

Erroneous, therefore, as the Lutheran doctrine may be, it is still Protestant, because it distinctly denies the idea of a sacrifice being made in the Lord's Supper, and opposes the notion of "Eucharistic adoration," and the idea of any veneration being paid to the consecrated bread and wine. The Lutheran doctrine puts an end to all "reservation" of the elements. The Lutheran doctrine on the Lord's Supper is, therefore, far from identical

[1] In *The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, treated in a series of Essays by Various Authors; with a Preface by Robert Linklater, D.D., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Stroud Green. London: Longmans, 1892. See p. 23. The awful meaning of such a pretended "power over the Lord's body" is drawn out more fully by Alphonsus Liguori in his *Visits to the Holy Sacrament*. See the quotation in my *Primer of Roman Catholicism* (Religious Tract Society, price 1s.), p. 54, also at pp. 78–9.

[2] We quote from the translation given by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck in *The Guardian* of April 7, 1897. See also my *Service of the Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches* (published by the Religious Tract Society in two forms, at 1s. and 8d.), at pp. 94 ff.

with the Ritualistic teachings of the present day, and it may fairly be pronounced clear from idolatrous tendencies.

The Church of England, however, distinctly denies that the wicked eat the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, which is affirmed by the Lutherans. The *Articles of Smalkald* state that "the true body and blood of Christ is not only given and received by pious, but also by impious Christians." That doctrine is expressly repudiated in the 29th Article of the Church of England, entitled, "Of the wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." The Article reads: "The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing."

The phrase there quoted from Augustine is "do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." The words of the Article which follow were inserted in opposition to the well-known doctrine of Luther. For the doctrine of Luther, as set forth by his adherents in the *Formula Concordiæ* (pars ii.), is that there is a double eating (*manducatio*) of the flesh of Christ. "One spiritual, concerning which principally Christ treats in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, which takes place in no other way (*non alio modo*) than by the spirit, and by faith in the preaching of, and meditation on, the Gospel, no less than when the Supper of the Lord is taken worthily and in faith. This spiritual eating is by itself useful and salutary, and is for all Christians, and, indeed, at all times is necessary for salvation. . . . Therefore, to eat spiritually is nothing else than to *believe* in the Word of God which is preached:" in which, the *Formula* proceeds to say, Christ is set forth as the way of salvation, saving us by His blood, applied by faith. But the *Formula* further goes on to state that there is another eating of the body of Christ, namely, "the sacramental eating which is done *with the mouth*." In opposition to the latter theory the 29th Article asserts that "the wicked in no wise (*nullo modo* is the Latin of the Article) are partakers of Christ." Hence that Article distinctly negatives the Lutheran dogma.

[C. H. H. W.]

CONTRITION.—Deep sorrow for having displeased God by wrong conduct.

Contrition in man is the one condition of forgiveness by God. It is not necessary to quote passages from the Bible in proof. It is the lesson of Holy Scripture from one end of it to the other, that where there is contrition there is forgiveness; and that lesson is inculcated so clearly that none dare deny it. But this creates a difficulty in the theory of the Confessional. (See ABSOLUTION.) For if contrition at once brings Divine pardon, what is the use of a subsequent absolution? On the Protestant view of absolution it is of value, because it conveys an *assurance*, to one who cannot assure himself, of that forgiveness which is granted on true contrition; but on the late mediæval and modern Roman theory of absolution being the actual conveyance of pardon by a priest to the contrite penitent, we have to ask why the forgiveness which has been already given on contrition should be given a second time on absolution? This cuts at the root of the Confessional, that is, of the habitual practice of confession as a part of the normal life of a Christian for the purpose of procuring pardon. There are moments doubtless in the lives of one and another when the soul may be so overwhelmed with the horror of realised sin as to be unable to convince itself of God's forgiveness, and then a solemn assurance by God's minister of the infinite mercy of God may hold up and comfort the troubled spirit. But these are exceptional cases; the rule is, that whenever there is contrition, then the sinner may be certain of forgiveness whether or no an absolution follows. This being so, the advocates of obligatory confession and absolution are embarrassed to find a valid reason for insisting on their use. This they think they do by discovering another way to forgiveness beside that of contrition. Contrition brings with it pardon: it cannot be denied. But suppose that a man, instead of having grief at having displeased God, has only dread of punishment in this world or the next, will that be sufficient for securing his pardon? By itself, it is argued, it will not; but add to it sacramental confession and absolution, and then it will. This grief arising from dread is called attrition. A way is thus found for forgiveness without the love of God, or grief at having offended Him. "If attrition were not sufficient to effect remission," says Alfonso de' Liguori, "but contrition was required, all penitents would come to the sacrament (of penance) already justified, for contrition justifies a man without the sacrament" (*Theol. Mor.*, vi. 440). The reason why attrition is sufficient, is that "the sacrament has the virtue of doing away with sins" (*ibid.* 442). Attrition and "the virtue of the Keys" are equivalent to contrition (*ibid.*). We see therefore that, instead of being a way of drawing souls nearer to God, the Confessional is a device whereby a sinner can obtain pardon for his sins without having love of God, provided he "elicits in himself an act of sorrow," arising from the

lower motive, within a day or so of his confession, and shows that his sorrow still exists by asking or waiting for absolution (*ibid.* 445). God says, I will pardon all contrite sinners and none that are not contrite. But I, says the Church of Rome, will grant pardon to those who are not contrite: be attrite, confess, be absolved and do the appointed penance, and you secure pardon as well as if you were contrite.

Ritualist manuals do not yet seem to have accepted the theory of attrition. The *Catholic Religion* says bluntly, "without contrition confession is of no avail." The *Practical Religion* goes further: "Repentance from any such lower motives as fear of punishment, vexation at present loss, or a suffering resulting from sin, or wounded pride, is imperfect, if not sinful: it is to be regretted and even needs to be repented of" (p. 80). That is satisfactory; but those who demand the presence of contrition in confession must give up belief in absolution as a conveyance of pardon, and with Protestant Churchmen must regard it only as an assurance of pardon already given. See ABSOLUTION and ATTRITION. [F. M.]

CONVERSION.—This term is commonly used to denote a decisive change or act of turning to God, as the primary manifestation of the spiritual life which has begun in any soul. The word, however, as will be seen, has a much wider application in Holy Scripture. The etymology of "conversion" and the cognate verb "convert," derived as they are from the Latin *converto*, to turn, undoubtedly indicates as the root meaning of "Conversion" that change of position or relationship which we understand to be effected by the motion of turning. This is equally the case with regard to the Hebrew equivalents in the Old Testament viz., שׁוּב, and שׁוּבָה (Isa. xxx. 15, only), and the Greek words of the Septuagint and the New Testament, *στρέφειν, ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπιστροφή* (Acts xv. 3, of New Testament only). Indeed these same words are used in the Scriptures alike of bodily motion and of an intellectual or spiritual change of attitude (*e.g.* Matt. ix. 22; 1 Peter ii. 25). Hence Conversion, in its moral and spiritual sense, is *a turning of the will through its submission to grace, in a new direction, whereby a person breaks with the past, and that whether it has been the way of sin or a false way of righteousness.* In fact, Conversion is ever in some way a turning from sin to holiness, or from the love of self and the world to the love and service of God. A highly important question, then, with respect to Conversion is, *in what sense* and *to what extent* is it necessary? In other words, is Conversion a definite act necessarily referable to some exact time and place? Is such a conscious act needful for all, and must such act be effected once for all, or is it capable of repetition? Now, there can be no doubt that for some, indeed for very many alas! such an entire and absolute turning round, such a complete change in the whole tenor of their lives, is necessary and indispensable. Some persons have lived so completely away from God, have been, whether positively or negatively, so entirely opposed to Him, that for them to serve Him, to walk with Him at all, there must be a complete, if not more or less sudden, turning round. A case in point was that of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who, although a Pharisee of the Pharisees as concerned strict observance of the Law, harassed the Church of God, and therefore must needs be humbled to the dust and ask of the Jesus whom he had persecuted, in tones of whole-hearted submission, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" (Acts ix. 6). But not even in such cases is it always obligatory or even possible that Conversion be dated from some particular moment of time and environment of circumstances. There are sometimes, and possibly usually, certain steps and stages which precede any great spiritual crisis. Even with respect to St. Paul's conversion, sudden as it may appear to have been, that moment on the road to Damascus had been prepared for or led up to by the experiences of the Apostle himself. This is evident from the words uttered by the Divine Voice, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (Acts xxvi. 14, R.V.). The goad of conviction, the sharp sting of conscience, the striving of the Spirit, had doubtless been going on in the heart of the persecutor at least since "the witnesses" who stoned the Proto-Martyr "laid down their clothes at a young man's feet whose name was Saul" (Acts vii. 58). But for other persons, for many who are brought up by Christian parents, or sponsors, or guardians, to "lead a godly and a Christian life" in harmony with that beginning which was made at the font, no such Conversion may happen as one great, conscious, and clearly-defined dividing line in their religious life, and none such can be rightly declared to be, in their case, necessary. For the New Testament does not appear to teach that this first and clearly-marked Conversion is necessary for salvation to every baptized Christian. But that portion of God's Word does teach that there are other Conversions or turnings than this first original one, and that many more than one Conversion may take place as regards the same person. It cannot, for instance, be doubted that the Apostles had experienced the original Conversion already referred to a considerable time before our Lord addressed to them the warning, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not (*οὐ μή*) enter into

the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xviii. 3). Evidently, in Scripture language, since Conversion means a turning of the soul to God (though the time of this act may not be known to the believer), subsequent turnings may, in a subordinate sense, be termed Conversions (see Luke xxii. 32). In fact, subsequent turnings are consequences and evidences of the first turning (*cf.* John xiii. 10). Conversion, then, must be a turning *at any time* from any recognised sin or want of likeness to God to that holiness of life which such sin or imperfection has hindered. This may occur clearly many times in a life, and, doubtless, the scriptural view of Conversion is not so much that it is a single definite act in a Christian's experience as that it is an act which expresses itself in a repeated process, being, like repentance, a habit or reiterated action rather than a solitary act or experience.

Thus, it is sometimes said that "since the Church teaches that Christians are born again in Baptism, Conversion cannot be necessary." But, as everybody who falls into sin after Baptism needs Conversion, there is no difficulty here. It is also asserted that "the one thing needful is to be born again: this is Conversion; therefore Baptism, when we pray for Regeneration[1] in the case of an infant, and which is the sign and seal of it in the case of adults, is not really needful." Conversion, however, is not identical with Regeneration, but, strictly speaking, is a consequence following upon Regeneration, and regards rather the human side of the great spiritual change, while Regeneration views it from the Divine side. Conversion differs from Regeneration, because it is not a change in the governing disposition, but a *manifestation* of the change already taken place. It is the soul evidencing its new or higher life. Regeneration is the *passive* reception of a Divine life, a change wrought by the Holy Spirit only, and is the beginning of a *new kind* of life, which gives another direction to the judgment, desires, aims, pursuits, and conduct; whereas Conversion is the *active* returning to the Lord in repentance and faith. "Regeneration and Conversion," it has been said, "may be distinguished as a man's being disposed to go in a certain road and his actually going in that road may be distinguished. For Regeneration is God's disposing the heart to Himself, but Conversion is the actual turning of the heart to God" (R. Cecil, *Remains*, p. 362, 12th Edition).

The relation of Conversion to Repentance and Faith is an important topic, because involving the subject of the agency in Conversion. Can a man play any part, and, if so, what part, in his own conversion? Upon the answer to this question one of our Lord's parables—that of the Prodigal Son—throws light. In the two parables which immediately precede this—those of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Piece of Silver—Conversion is viewed from the Divine side only, being shown to be the outcome and effect of the free grace, loving mercy, and sovereign power of Almighty God. But in the parable of the Prodigal Son an addition is made to the truth already disclosed, viz., that man also has his part to play in Conversion, that in this he is a co-worker together with God. The conversion of the Prodigal Son follows upon his "coming to himself" and forming a resolution. "When he came to himself he said . . . I will arise and go to my Father" (Luke xv. 17–19). In the words of another parable "he repented, and went" (Matt. xxi. 29). Conviction is ever the precursor of Conversion, and conviction is a special portion of the work of the Holy Spirit (John xvi. 8). But repentance and faith are necessary concomitants of any true conversion though they do not terminate in and with it, but rather are prolonged and continued as part of its effects. But the grace being given, or proffered, effectual Conversion is conditioned by man's free will. The Holy Ghost may be "resisted" (Acts vii. 51) and even "quenched" (1 Thess. v. 19), the man's conversion may be delayed and hindered (Luke xiii. 3, 6–9). The Prodigal in the parable might have stifled his convictions on coming to himself, might have faltered in, and failed to carry into effect, his resolution. On the other hand, a person may play a part in bringing about his own conversion by putting himself in the way of good influences and avoiding the opposite. An

[1] The word "regeneration" occurs only in two passages, Matt. xix. 28 and Titus iii. 5, and the second passage is the only one in which baptism is spoken of. But it is open to question whether "the laver of regeneration" imparts regeneration or symbolises it. The word λουτρόν there used occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Eph. ii. 36, where it signifies *washing*. It is employed uniformly in that sense in the LXX. The LXX. use for *laver* another word (λουτήρ). Our Lord's words in John iii. 6 distinctly mean a thorough change, such as is described in Rom. viii. 5 and 14. We may well affirm that those who do not exhibit the fruit of the spirit (Gal. v. 22–24) cannot have been born of God. Furthermore St. John constantly speaks of believers as "children of God." See 1 John ii. 29, 1 John iii. 9, 1 John v. 1, 4, 18. We contend that these passages perfectly justify the identification for all practical purposes of "regeneration" and "conversion," or a true and complete turning to God.—C. H. H. W.

instance of this is seen in the case of Lydia, "whose heart," as she listened to the Apostle, "the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul" (Acts xvi. 14). As one of our Lord's parables, so one also of His miracles illustrates the truth of man's co-operation with God in the important matter of Conversion. In the case of the Restoring of the Man with the Withered Hand (Matt. xii. 10–13), the command "Stretch forth thy hand" carried with it the power to obey the order, which gift of power was realised by the man upon exercising his will. With the representation of man as unable of his own power to convert himself, the Church of England is in entire accord. In Article X. she says: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn (*sese convertere*) and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will."

Such appears to be the doctrine relating to Conversion as given in the Holy Scriptures, viz., that while the original and potential converting impulse comes from God Himself, to man also belongs an active share in the perfect completion of that Conversion. The Word of God does not seem to countenance that view of the subject which is not infrequently held, especially outside the Church of England, *i.e.* that towards Conversion man can, and is expected to do nothing, but to remain passive as far as goodness is concerned, or even actively opposed to it, till some Divine afflatus converts him perforce to God. There can be little doubt that the A.V.'s unfortunate rendering in the passive form of the Greek words for "convert" in the New Testament, and in one instance of the Hebrew in the Old Testament (Ps. li. 13), has had a large share in producing this erroneous view of Conversion. Isa. vi. 10 is quoted three times in the New Testament, viz. in Matt. xiii. 15, Mark iv. 12, and John xii. 40. In every one of these cases the A.V. has "be converted," whereas the word is rendered in the passage itself intransitively, "and convert." Our Lord's words in Matt. xviii. 3, which are translated, "except ye be converted," &c., and are frequently quoted as implying the universal necessity of a first conscious conversion, in reality had reference to a necessary specific change in the disposition of the Twelve at the time, and should read, "except ye convert," or, as in the R.V., "Except ye turn and become as little children," &c. Even Acts iii. 19 (the only remaining passage in the New Testament in this connection not hitherto referred to) should be rendered in the same way, "Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" (R.V.). In connection with the mention of "seasons of refreshing," it is interesting to note that the Hebrew word שׁוּב, which means to "turn" or "bring back," when followed by נֶפֶשׁ, *soul*, is used in the sense of *to bring back life* or *to refresh*. Comp. Ps. xix. 8 and Judges xv. 19.

The great test of Conversion is the character of the life, and the only complete proof of conversion is ultimate victory. The importance of the true doctrine of Conversion cannot but be very great, but greatly dangerous and fanatical also are those perversions of the true doctrine, which, on the one hand, assert that where there has been baptism there is no need of Conversion, or on the other hand, demand that rare and extraordinary examples of so-called sudden Conversion are to be made the general rule, or which (as is done by the Salvation Army) elevate Conversion so far beyond its true position as to render the sacrament of Baptism, not only insignificant by comparison, but unnecessary. Here also the truth of the ancient direction holds good—"*In mediis tutissimus ibis.*" [M. E. W. J.]

CONVOCATION is the English term for what is known on the Continent as a "provincial council." It is an assembly of the clergy of a "province." In Canterbury and York there are two Houses, the Upper comprising the archbishop and bishops, and the Lower comprising deans, archdeacons, and suffragan bishops, and proctors, who are the elected representatives of the beneficed clergy and cathedral chapters. Non-beneficed clergy and the laity have no vote and are not represented. The Lower House of Canterbury numbers about 160 members, and that of York about 80 members (Whitehead, *Church Law*). The Convocations were really assemblies of clerical freeholders, and were modelled upon Parliament thus: "In his convocation the archbishop sat as king, his suffragans sat in the Upper House as his peers, the Lower House represented the Commons." The Lower House has its Speaker called the Prolocutor. Convocation "in some shape is probably older than Parliament. In the time of Edward I. and Edward II. there were attempts made, partially and temporarily successful, to incorporate it into Parliament. The clergy are still summoned in the writs addressed at the beginning of each Parliament to the archbishops and bishops of England, though this has long ceased to be anything more than an obsolete form. The old writ remains as a piece of evidence, but the separation of Convocation has been com-

plete since the days of Richard II. if not of Edward III. In Convocation the clergy not only passed canons but also taxed themselves." This was part and parcel of the preposterous claim of the clergy in Romish times to be outside the ordinary laws of the realm, a subject discussed under BENEFIT OF CLERGY. They were practically under the control of the Pope. The *raison d'être* of Convocation was rudely shaken by the Reformation, the effect of which was to make clergy and laity alike subjects of the Crown only, and to destroy their allegiance to any foreign prince or potentate, and their claims to privileges as aliens. The Convocations continued, however, to meet for the purpose of taxing themselves till 1665, after which, having become obsolete, they only met spasmodically and intermittently as debating societies. From 1717 to 1852 only formal meetings were held; but in the latter year Canterbury Convocation met and discussed various matters, an example followed by York in 1861. The Convocations are, however, obviously not calculated to play the part of a representative Church body, and various schemes of reform have been prepared. One of them has been presented to Parliament in the shape of the Convocations Bill, 1901; the weak spot in which is that no provision is made for the adequate and independent representation of the laity. The laity *are* the Church, the clergy are merely those members of the Church who are selected to teach and hold office. It follows, therefore, that the laity must have a preponderating influence in any Synod which claims to be the governing body. This view has been adopted by the Church of Ireland, its governing body being the "General Synod" which consists of a house of bishops of 13 members, and a house of representatives comprising 208 clerical and 416 lay members.

The defects in the constitution of the English Convocations are, however, counterbalanced by the fact that those bodies are perfectly powerless. They have little legislative powers, and no control over the clergy. See Whitehead's *Church Law*.

COPE, THE.—An ecclesiastical vestment.

The cope, like the chasuble, was originally an outdoor garment worn by laymen, monks, and clergy. Isidore of Seville is the first person that mentions it, A.D. 620, and he derives its name, *capa*, from its embracing, *capit*, the whole man. It originally had a hood to draw over the head, and was sometimes called *pluviale* as being a protection against bad weather. It was a long cloak, reaching to the ground behind, open in front, but brought together by a clasp or button. It was naturally used by ecclesiastics at ceremonial meetings and outdoor processions, and so it came to be regarded as a processional dress. Durandus' account of its symbolical meaning, A.D. 1250, is as follows: "It is embroidered with fringes, which are labours and cares of this world. It has a hood, which is heavenly delight. It is long, reaching to the feet, which signifies perseverance to the end. In front it is open, to denote that eternal life is open to men of holy life, and that the wearer's life ought to be an open example to others. By the cope we also understand the glorious immortality of our bodies, for which reason we only wear it on the greater festivals; having respect to the future resurrection when the elect, laying aside the flesh, will receive two garments, rest of soul and glory of body. This vestment is very properly of ample size, and its sides are joined in front by only one necessary fastening, because in that day the body, rendered spiritual, will not shut in the soul by any narrowness. And it is provided with a fringe, because then nothing will be wanting to our perfection, but what we now know in part, we shall then know even as also we are known" (*Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Bk. iii.).

Amidst all these fantastic significations it will be seen that there is no idea of sacrifice imposed on the cope as one of its symbolical meanings; and for this reason probably it was admitted as an occasional robe by the Reformed Church of England. In 1549 the minister at the Lord's Table was allowed to wear either a chasuble (called a vestment) or a cope. This was a step onwards, the chasuble up to this time having been regarded as indispensable. In 1552 both the chasuble and the cope were forbidden, the surplice being substituted. All the Mass garments were restored under Queen Mary. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth being on the throne, a cope was used by the Bishop of Chichester and two of the Archbishop's chaplains at the consecration of Archbishop Parker. In the same year a clause of the Act of Uniformity, commonly called the Ornaments Rubric, was added, without authority, to the Prayer Book of 1559, by which the ornaments which were in use in the second year of Edward VI. (that is, the 1549 ornaments) were to be used, "until other order should be taken" by the authority of the Queen with the advice of the Metropolitan. In 1566 the "other order," foreshadowed in 1559, was "taken" by the Advertisements drawn up by the Queen's direction, and issued by Archbishop Parker, which ordered that in cathedrals and collegiate churches the principal minister, the gospeller, and the epistoler should wear copes, and all other clergy, in all their various ministrations, the surplice. In 1604 the canons of that year ordered that the minister of highest rank *in Cathedral and*

Collegiate Churches, on the chief feasts, should at the Holy Communion wear the cope, and all other ministers the surplice. This is the last rule respecting English ecclesiastical dress, as the repetition of the so-called Ornaments Rubric in the Prayer Books of 1604 and 1662, carries with it, in each case, a simultaneous authorisation of "the other order" which was "taken" at the royal instance by Archbishop Parker in 1566, and sanctioned by the Church in 1604, superseding the order relating to the Edwardine ornaments. [F. M.]

Before the Reformation, the cope was regarded as a suitable festive decoration, which might be worn by women, boys, and laymen, as well as out of doors. But it was not even permitted to the "sacrificing" celebrant at Mass. The language of our 24th Canon about "principal feast days" is explained by such passages as the following. Rupert of Deutz (*d.* 1130) says, "we put on copes also in greater feasts"; but he was then speaking, not of the priest, but of the "Cantors," *i.e.* "rectores chori," or rulers of the choir (*Dublin Review*, cxx. 17). Durand says, "illam non nisi in majoribus festivitatibus induimus" (Marriott, *Vest. Christianum*, p. 167). "Festis duplicibus, sive praecipuis, quae, ob id, 'Festa in Cappis' dicebantur," says Matthew of Paris (Watt's edit., p. 227. Compare North's *Chronicle of St. Martin's, Leicester*, p. 103). And this probably was the origin of the custom at Oxford for the "Heads" to appear on such occasions in dress gowns (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, i. 230). Silk copes for the "principal" rulers of the choir were ordered by Bishop Gravesend in the thirteenth century to be used at Lincoln Cathedral; and the *Greyfriar's Chronicle*, p. 68, records how, in A.D. 1550, "Item at Xtmas was put down at Powle's the *Rectores Chori*, with all their coppys at procession, and no more to be used." Indeed, the rubric then in force, under the First Prayer Book (p. 97), prescribed the cope to be worn "after the Litany ended" on Wednesdays and Fridays "if there be no Communion." The non-sacrificial and even "secular" character of this dress explains why Cranmer and his fellow-bishops secured for themselves the right to wear the cope at Holy Communion in lieu of the Mass "Vestment" (*i.e.* chasuble), and also why, with a view of destroying the "distinctive" dress of the Mass, the bishop was required to wear the *same* dress at "all other" ministrations (see p. 157 of Parker Soc. edit. of First Book of Edward VI.).

In the larger and richer churches, the copes were not only used in sets of three, as before explained, but were made to match the celebrant's chasuble, varying with the season. Mr. Walcott's *Westminster Inventories* mentions (p. 16) "copes and Chesabulls *agreable*," temp. Henry VIII., and in his *Parish Goods in Kent* (p. 66) we find at Dartford "one cope with one vestment *to the same, suted* with th'albe thereto belonging." This explains the meaning of "agreably" in the Advertisements of 1566 and in Canon 24.

In 1548, when the First Prayer Book was enacted, the Reforming party among the bishops were, if not in a minority, at least balanced by a powerful and compact phalanx of Romish prelates, and were unable or afraid to attempt to give to their clergy the same liberty which they had secured for themselves. Under that book, therefore, no parish clergyman might shirk wearing a "distinctive dress" at Holy Communion; while his "epistoler and gospeller" might not at any time wear the "distinctive" dress in question. But when the Rubric of 1552 abolished this "distinctive" difference between the Lord's Supper and "all other times of ministration," and had been re-enacted in 1559, *under penalties*, by the 1 Eliz. c. 2, it becomes of extreme interest to notice how the Government and the bishops dealt with the cope. In the vast majority of the poorer parishes its use was either unknown or was abolished forthwith by authority. The strict letter of the law said, "shall wear neither alb, vestment, nor cope," but shall have and wear "a surplice *only*." Accordingly, as the contemporary Machyn's *Diary* (p. 208) and Stow's *Annals* (p. 639, *b*) testify, the copes were generally destroyed by the royal Visitors acting in the High Commission, which included all the bishops newly nominated and most of the M.P.'s and peers who had personally taken part in the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. c. 2. Canon T. W. Perry (the champion employed by the E.C.U. to defend the vestments) admits that in twenty-four instances the Lincolnshire copes had been destroyed or converted before the Advertisements of 1566 were issued (*On Purchas Judgment*, p. 237). But that admission gives no adequate idea of the actual facts. Out of the first seventy-nine Lincoln parishes recorded as visited by Archdeacon Aylmer in 1565, *before* the Advertisements issued, fifty-one had no copes at all, fifteen had been "defaced," twelve had been "sold"; and in several returns it is spoken of as "popish," and is reported to the Visitors as being an "illegal" ornament, though "yet remaining" in the custody of the wardens. These facts appear from Peacock's *Church Furniture*. Mr. Tyssen's *Surrey Inventories* also throws light on the varied ways in which the copes were held to be "in use." *Inter alia*, twenty-nine copes were assigned to be made into coverings for the Lord's Table. The official "assignments" for the Hundred of Reigate run in this form: "De-

livered unto the hands of the said wardens *unto the use of the Church*, there to be occupied according to the effect of the commission directed unto the Commissioners appointed for the sale of church goods and *other order to be therein taken* for the same, as followeth,"—and then follow such entries as "Item, a cope to make a communion table cloth," "Item, a cope of blue dornix and an old coverlet to cover the communion table," "Item, iiij vestments to make a communion table cloth."

So at Carshalton, we read "Md. that the ij albes . . are now made into surplices *to the use of the Church*": and at St. Saviour's, Southwark, "Item, xix albes . . whereof the wardens have made xvi surplices for the quere which was all that could be made of them." When we compare this language with the proviso "such ornaments shall be retained and *be in use* . . until *other order* shall be *therein taken*," we see at once that it merely prescribed for the careful retention and *utilisation* of the ornaments in the hands of the wardens, and that the "other order" was "therein taken" by the Commissioners at the royal visitation.

Thus, as Bishop Horn testifies, the copes were "taken away" in the Visitation of 1559 (*Zurich Letters*, i. 142 and App. 84) in parish churches; while we learn from Puritan writers and from Bishop Sandys that in Cathedrals and collegiate and some of the "larger" churches they were temporarily retained (in sets of three), as also in the Royal Chapel and on certain occasions of State ceremonial and display.

It is singular that the actual compromise thus brought about was left to the discretion of the royal Visitors to determine by "taking order" in each parish, according to circumstances, and does not correspond exactly with *any* theory as to the then existing statutory standard of ritual. If it were true that from 1559 to 1566 the rubrics of 1549 were in force, it is an astounding fact that not *one* single instance of compliance with the alleged "law" has ever yet been discovered. Not even in Elizabeth's private chapel was the ritual of the First Prayer Book followed even for a single day. Yet a small and uncertain percentage of churches were connived at in their "retention" of the cope, provided that they did not allow the Epistoller and Gospeller to be arrayed in "albs, tunicles, or dalmatics" or any otherwise than the officiating clergyman himself. In this way the Executive were enabled to humour the love of pomp and dignity in the more florid services and to change the symbolism. It was no longer in honour of the Mass, as such, but of the events commemorated on the "principal feast days" (*i.e.* those which had "proper prefaces") in honour of Almighty God (Canon 24). Yet the fact that the cope was a costly dress, extremely inconvenient, hot and heavy, and disabling the clergyman from "using both his hands" with "decency" and unfettered freedom, led to the rapid discontinuance of this cumbersome dress. And since the Restoration, it has rarely been seen anywhere in England. A disuse of forty years even by the Canon Law itself evacuates the obligation of mere canons. So that it would now need fresh legislation to legitimatise the re-introduction of such belated "survivals of the [*un*] fittest." [J. T. T.]

COPTIC CHURCH.—See EASTERN CHURCHES.

CORONATION SERVICE. — See STATE SERVICES.

CORPORAL.—According to the Roman definition, "the linen cloth on which the body of Christ is placed when consecrated." In Ritualistic language, "a napkin of fine linen spread on the altar at the time of the Eucharistic service." Much importance is attached by sacerdotalists to its arrangement. "When the altar-breads are on the altar the lower right hand corner of the corporal is turned back over them except during the oblation and consecration" (*Ritual Reason Why*, p. 28). In the Prayer Book there is no mention of a corporal. The fourth rubric before the Communion Service simply orders that "the table at the Communion time is to have a fair white linen cloth upon it"; and the rubric after the administration directs that "the minister shall reverently place upon the Lord's Table what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth."

CORPUS CHRISTI.—There is no more remarkable instance of following Roman practices because they are mediæval and Roman in their origin and tendency than the observance of the festival of Corpus Christi, which has become popular with a section of the English clergy. It is a "feast in honour of the Blessed Sacrament occurring on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday," says the *Congregation in Church* (p. 180). "It was set apart in the Western Church," says the *Ritual Reason Why*, "in the thirteenth century in honour of the Mystery of our Lord's Presence in the Blessed Sacrament because it was felt that this Sacred Mystery could not be adequately commemorated on the day of its institution, which occurs in the midst of the mournful celebration of His Passion. Corpus Christi, together with the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, a festival which commemorates the falling asleep of the Blessed Virgin and her triumphal reception into heaven by Her Divine Son, and the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, were removed from the Church's Kalendar by order of Henry VIII. without canonical authority, and have not since been

restored, though they are marked in the yearly Kalendars" (pp. 550, 551).

In the year 1215 Innocent III. revolutionised the Christian religion by proclaiming, on the authority of the Fourth Lateran Council, the dogma of Transubstantiation and the necessity of universal confession to a priest at least once a year. One of the many consequences of the acceptance of Transubstantiation was the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi. The Fourth Lateran Council was held in 1215. In 1230, fifteen years after the sanction of Transubstantiation, Juliana, a nun of Liége was gazing at the moon and she saw a gap in its orb. A heavenly revelation was vouchsafed to her that the moon represented the Church and that the gap meant the want of a festival for the adoration of the Body of Christ in the consecrated Host, and she was further instructed that she was to announce this heavenly revelation to the world and to begin at once to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi. This she did, and the devotion, singularly adapted to the sentiments of the age, spread so rapidly that at the end of thirty-four years Pope Urban IV. was able to sanction the feast for Western Christendom, in the year 1264.

There are two things specially connoted by the observance of the festival of Corpus Christi. One is approval of the adoration of the outward sign of Christ's Body, known technically as the *sacramentum*, as though it were the Body itself of Christ, or rather as though it were not only the Body of Christ but the Person of Christ in His divinity and His humanity with all things appertaining to both His natures. On this point we refer our readers to our articles on ADORATION OF THE EUCHARIST and the BODY OF CHRIST. The other thing is the promotion of processions of the Host, in which the Bread is "carried about" with great pomp, like a king making solemn progress through his subject's territories. It is not to be denied that the Corpus Christi procession is a pretty and a touching spectacle as carried out abroad. On the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the various guilds and brotherhoods, with their distinctive habits and banners, the boys in their best, and the girls in white gauzy dresses, gather in the long line of the procession, headed by richly robed priests bearing under a canopy what the people believe and the priests assert to be a descended Deity; and as the procession moves along, it is accompanied by hymns and chants in which all join, and pauses are made from time to time for prayers to be offered by the priests to their Sovereign as He rests at stated points in his line of progress. It is a very pretty sight in the bright June sunshine and must make a lasting impression on the younger participants in it. But what is it that is being thus honoured? It is not Christ. It is a piece of bread set apart by consecration for quite a different purpose.

We have not yet arrived in England at the Corpus Christi processions; but already "hosts" are "reserved" for adoration in churches with the lamp burning before them to show the Divine presence, and already the "reserved hosts" are carried privately to the sick. It only requires the shadow of a sanction for reservation to be practised, and processions with bells and banners forthwith follow. Already the long list of churches where Corpus Christi is observed by celebration of the holy Eucharist is a grave symptom of a widespread disloyalty and a superstitious belief.

It is further to be noted that the festival thus adopted and honoured originated in the fancy of a mediæval nun, who either hysterically believed or falsely stated that she had received a divine commission, conveyed to her in a manner altogether incredible, to institute it. Juliana is the prototype of St. Mary Alacoque, who, in much the same manner, has introduced the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which has become one of the most favoured devotions of Roman Catholics, especially in France. The festival of Corpus Christi popularises Transubstantiation, a fundamental doctrine of the Church of Rome since 1215; the festival of the Sacred Heart (held in the week following the octave of Corpus Christi) is popularising the belief that worship may be offered to a part of Christ's body instead of to His Person, which is a Nestorian heresy accepted of late by the Church of Rome. Thus we see that the faith of the modern Roman Church to a great extent springs from, or depends upon, the supposed revelations of visionary young women. [F. M.]

COSIN, BISHOP.—Misrepresented as author of *First Series of Notes on the Prayer Book.*

Bishop Cosin is known as the author of the most learned and most convincing work against Transubstantiation ever written. In condemning that doctrine he condemns also the Sacrifice of the Mass and the tenet of the objective presence of Christ in the elements. It may be asked then how it is that he is frequently quoted by Ritualists as favourable to their views on the subject. The *Ritual Reason Why* appeals to him: "Bishop Cosin, who was chiefly employed by the Church in the last revision of the Prayer Book, says, 'We call the Eucharist a propitiatory sacrifice, both this and that (*i.e.* the Sacrifice on Calvary), because both of them have force and virtue to appease God's wrath against this sinful world'" (§ 284). How are we to account for such words in the

of the author of the *History of Transtiation?* The explanation is simple. ıre not Cosin's words, but Maldonatus suit's. It has become quite a habit the last thirty years to assign these her similar sentiments to Cosin, whose thus becomes a tower of strength to ıism. With how little reason, the follow- ıtement will show.

ıhe year 1707 Hickes, the Non-juror, an interleaved Prayer Book with manu- notes written in it. The notes were nous, and Hickes could not learn who ıe compiler of them. It appeared that ıad been written in 1618 by some one ıd a great admiration of Bishop Overall, ho was already the author of a volume mons containing four sermons the sub- ınd texts of which Hickes mentioned. ıote of authorship absolutely excludes who at the time was a young man of -four and had published no sermons, ho never published any on those texts ıbjects. Till the year 1855, that is, for ars after they had been written, no one ed of Cosin being the compiler of these though they were carefully examined ırutinised, not only by Hickes, but by ls and by Canon Pickering in 1709, both ›m knew well what works Cosin had n and were acquainted with his hand- g, In 1855 the late Dr. Barrow, having for the "Anglo-Catholic Library" one s of Cosin's works, found these Notes n "Bishop Cosin's Library" at Durham aif and stray unclaimed by any author. gerly grasped at them, and resolved that hould be Cosin's. It was true that their ng in many points was quite different ınd adverse to that of another series of acknowledged to be Cosin's, but then suggested that Cosin *might* have changed nd in the interval between the compila- f the two series. And it was true that ındwriting was not like the well-known ·iting of Cosin, but then he *might* have n in one way when he was a young man another way when he was an old man. ırrow thought he could see *some* likeness manuscripts, though no one else had been › discover it. At any rate the book con- g the Notes was in the "Bishop's Library," they *should be* his compilation. Accord- Dr. Barrow published them in the "Anglo- lic Library's" edition of Cosin's works as position of Cosin's, imposing upon them ıame of *The First Series of Notes*, a till then unheard of. Since that time ıal author of the Notes has been dis- ıd (almost with certainty) by Mr. James r of Oxford. He found in the Bodleian Library another copy of the Notes in Archbishop Sancroft's handwriting, to which Sancroft had prefixed a note saying that he had transcribed them "out of Mr. Hayward's book." Mr. Hayward was a nephew of Bishop Overall, and Mr. Parker at once acutely and rightly concluded that it was "Hayward's book" that Hickes and Nicholls and Pickering had had in their possession. It is possible that Hayward, like Sancroft, was only a transcriber, not the compiler, but it is more probable that he was the author. In any case Cosin had nothing to do with them, not even so much as transcribing them.

We have proved that the Notes are not Cosin's; still it may be thought that they are at any rate Hayward's, who was a member of the Church of England, not Maldonatus', as stated above. Not even that; for if the compilation is Hayward's, the passage quoted is Maldonatus'. It was the habit of Hayward, as it is of all compilers, to copy on the interleaved pages passages gathered from all quarters illustrative of the text. Among others he inserted passages from the Jesuit Maldonatus and the Roman Catholic theologian Cassander. The editor has carefully pointed out that these are mere extracts, by marking them with inverted commas and setting the original Latin texts at the bottom of the page. Nevertheless they are constantly quoted by unscrupulous controversialists as Cosin's. This was done in a flagrant manner by Dr. Littledale in 1886 (see *Foreign Church Chronicle*, vol. x. pp. 141 *seq.*, on the "Methods of the Neo-Eucharistical System"), and it is done still.

To show what the real Cosin taught on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, we quote the following passage from him:—

"As soon as ever Transubstantiation was established, a foundation was laid for a number of superstitions and errors which God-fearing men could not sanction or endure; and among the believers in Transubstantiation themselves there grew up a forest of questions, inextricable and portentous, with which the Schoolmen occupied themselves to such a degree that it may be truly affirmed that a perfectly new and monstrous theology, unheard of by all the ancients, about the Holy Eucharist and the adoration of the Host, then took its birth" (*Historia Transubstantiationis*, vii. 22).

Having set down some of these "portentous questions" and their solutions, such as whether mice and dogs eat the very body of Christ, and about corrupted or undigested Hosts, &c., he continues:—

"Further, this doctrine of Transubstantiation has given occasion to wicked men of treating in a shameful manner what they believe to be the Body of Christ. There have been bad

priests who have sold consecrated Hosts to Jews or magicians, by whom they were stabbed, or burnt, or used for incantations. Nay, we read that St. Louis himself delivered a Host to the Turks and Saracens as a pledge of his fidelity. But who can believe that our Lord Christ willed to institute a Presence of His most Holy Body in His Church of such a nature that He Himself or His Body could be given into the hands of unbelieving Jews and Turks, or could be swallowed by dogs or mice, or cast into the fire, or burnt, or used for magical incantations? I cannot go on. I shudder at what I have already quoted" (*ibid.* 24).

To exhibit the difference between the pseudo-Cosin appealed to above and the real Cosin on the subject of the propitiatory sacrifice, the following will be sufficient:—

Pseudo-Cosin: "We call the Eucharist a propitiatory sacrifice because it has force and virtue to appease God's wrath against this sinful world" (*First Series of Notes*).

Real Cosin: "We totally differ from the Roman Catholics in these points . . . 5. That the priests offer up our Saviour in the Mass as a real, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead" (Works, iv. 332).

Whenever the authority of Cosin is claimed for any mediæval or modern Roman doctrine, as is constantly done, we may be sure that it is the pseudo-Cosin that is being meant. Dr. Littledale being challenged to find any such passage in Cosin's genuine works, was unable to do so. See also "The Cosin Myth" in Tomlinson's *Prayer Book.* [F. M.]

COTTA.—A shorter form of the surplice; not quite so full and either entirely wanting in sleeves or with short ones reaching to a little below the elbows. The bottom of the cotta and the ends of the sleeves are frequently edged with lace.

COUNCILS.—By a General or Ecumenical Council of the Church is meant a gathering that shall be lawfully convoked, adequately representative of Christendom, and generally accepted as to its canons and decrees by the whole Church of Christ. The 21st of the English Articles lays down that the right to convoke such an assembly rests with the princes of Christendom, and that no Council can claim in its decisions to be infallible, unless its decisions are conformable to Scripture, since an assembly of fallible men cannot collectively be anything else than a fallible assembly.

The first eight Councils were called together by the Roman or Byzantine Emperors, while the later mediæval Councils which claim an ecumenical character were usually convoked by the Pope. The Reformers constantly appealed to a future Council of the Church in order to settle the controversies in dispute at the time Reformation, but they demanded that a assembly should not only be general b free from papal control, since the Pope not to be judge in his own cause.

Local or provincial councils needed neit perial convocation nor extended represen They have been very numerous from th century onwards, and only a few have ac special importance owing to some par subject decided or debated.

Of the General Councils so called, tl four are of primary importance beca their objects and results, but it is a del point whether *any* council has precisely r the ideal of perfect representation. even the Council of Nicæa very inadeq represented the Western Church, while Constantinople scarcely represented it Chalcedon perhaps came the most near perfect representation, but this was th Council whose decisions were the most l resisted in the Eastern Church, and led most grievous schisms. While it settled doctrines, it alienated many minds. N sion of Episcopalian Christendom agree any other division as to which Councils be regarded as General. The Anglican a unhesitatingly the first four, regardi fifth and sixth as supplementary to the two, the Greek numbers eight, and the nineteen, eight in the east, and eleven west (Bishop Browne, *On Article X* Bruno, *Catholic Belief*, ch. 28).

The first General Council met at Nicæa 325, summoned by Constantine the Gre object was to define the Church's faith perfect Godhead of Christ as against Ari his party. It adopted the famous phra one substance with the Father" as the word of true belief in Christ's Person. were 318 bishops present. These were 31 ern and eight Western representatives. Bishop of Corduba in Spain, presided t with Alexander, Bishop of Alexandri Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch. The Bishop of Rome, Sylvester, was represe two presbyters, and so was Metrophanes, of Byzantium. Yet Di Bruno says it w under Pope Sylvester I. and omits all m of Hosius and the paucity of Western re tatives.

The second General Council was held a stantinople in 381, summoned by The the Great. It met to consider the Mace heresy respecting the Deity of the Holy and to confirm the Nicene party in their over Arianism. It is significant that Di does not say that it was held under a but alters the expression to "confirm Pope Damasus I." There were no W

bishops present. The heresy of Apollinarianism which limited Christ's true humanity to the possession of a human body only, was also condemned.

The third General Council summoned by Theodosius II. met at Ephesus in 431. It condemned the Nestorian heresy, which affirmed the existence of two Persons in Christ after His incarnation, thus making the Son of God indwell within a human Jesus of Nazareth. Di Bruno tells us that the Emperor was present, which is an historical mistake.

The fourth General Council was held at Chalcedon in 451, summoned by the Emperor Marcian. It condemned the heresy of Eutyches and the party called Monophysites, who taught in their extreme opposition to Nestorianism that after the Incarnation there was only one nature in Christ—the Divine.

We may summarise the doctrinal teaching of these four Councils respecting our Lord's Person by saying that they held Him to be truly God, perfectly Man, indivisibly God-Man, distinctly God and Man.

"Papal supremacy was acknowledged" says Di Bruno, *i.e.* at Chalcedon. The Council decreed that New Rome (Constantinople) should enjoy the same privileges as the Elder Rome because both were seats of the imperial rule. They then decreed that the Metropolitan bishops of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace should be consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The papal legates protested, but in vain, and the decree was carried against both them and the Pope himself (see Dr. Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, ch. 21, for a full account).

The fifth General Council was held at Constantinople under Justinian in 553. Di Bruno admits that neither the Pope nor his legates were present, but that it afterwards received the papal sanction. A full account of the disgraceful conduct alike of the Pope and the Emperor will be found in Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv., in the chapter significantly headed "The Sorrows of (Pope) Vigilius."

The Sixth Council was held at Constantinople in 680–681 under Constantine IV. The Monothelite heresy, which affirmed that our Lord had but one will, was condemned, as Di Bruno truly states; but in enumerating its leaders he mentions Cyrus Sergius and Pyrrhus, but he omits Honorius, Bishop of Rome, whose name was anathematised by the Council along with the others. After 680 we enter upon the field of doubt and discrepancy.

The Seventh Council was held at Nicæa in 787. It decreed the worship of images in the Eastern Church. This Council was not accepted in the West without long and strenuous resistance. The eighth was held at Constantinople in 869. Landon says: The 869 Council "has not the slightest claim to be considered ecumenical, it was annulled in the following Council, and has always been rejected by the Eastern Church."

Sir W. Palmer says: "The Catholic Church has never received or approved more than six Synods as ecumenical" (*On the Church*, ii. p. 128). "This Synod (869) was rejected in the West, the Chronicle of St. Bertin *alone* describes it as the Seventh Synod of Constantinople. Launoy says that some Eastern writers called it the Eighth Ecumenical, that others considered it a pseudo-synod. To this day it has not been reckoned at any time by either the Eastern or Western Churches among ecumenical Synods" (*ibid.*, p. 162).

The Seventh General Council.—The fact that at this Council, A.D. 787, it was decreed that incense and lights should be offered before the cross and the images of the saints, and the general assumption that this Council is undoubtedly ecumenical, and therefore that all its decrees are binding, renders it necessary, in view of present controversy, to consider whether the claims of this Council can after all be regarded as beyond dispute. Sir W. Palmer, vol. ii. pp. 150–161, has amassed a large body of evidence to show that very serious doubts exist as to this often admitted claim. He shows (1) that until the final triumph of image-worship in the Greek Church in 842, it was only regarded as the monument of a temporary success on the part of one of the contending parties; (2) that it was not admitted to be Ecumenical (or General), by the majority of writers till many years afterwards; (3) that as late as 1339 some of the Orientals still reckoned only six General Councils; (4) that in the West, it was rejected for at least five centuries and a half; (5) that Cardinal Bellarmine, in his treatise on images, admits that Thomas Aquinas and other of the schoolmen never make any mention of it; (6) that it was definitely rejected by the English Church in 792; (7) that writer after writer in France and Germany styles it "a pseudo Synod," or use equivalent terms.

We shall now speak of some of the local councils which possess features of special importance. The Council held at Laodicea in A.D. 320 condemned the growing practice of praying to Angels (Beveridge, *On Article XXII.*). Doubt exists as to the exact date of this Council.

Between A.D. 390 and 419 six local councils were held in North Africa, four of which were at Carthage. The third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, is the first Council which enumerates the books of Scripture, for the

canon of the Council of Laodicea, which also contains a list which is not held by some scholars to be genuine. The Council of Carthage was only local and attended by forty-four bishops. It is not an authoritative utterance of the whole Church. Its decree on the canon of Scripture was not confirmed till 692 by the Trullan Council of Constantinople, when it was accepted by the Eastern Church. In the West it was not till 1435 that the deficiency of the canon was removed, and then only by the solitary act of Pope Eugenius IV. Not until Trent did a Western Council make a decree upon the subject, and its results were much less accurate than were those of the smaller assembly at Carthage (Charteris, *On Canonicity*, p. 20, note).

The Trullan Council of 692, held at Constantinople, had no papal legate present, but only the ordinary representatives of the Roman Bishop. Rome does not recognise all its decrees as binding (*ibid.* p. 18, note).

The Council of Frankfort, held under the Emperor Charlemagne in 794, 300 Western bishops being present, condemned in its 42nd Canon the invocation of saints — "Ut nulli nobis sancti colantur aut invocentur" (Beveridge, *On Article XXII.*). There were five Councils held at the Lateran in Rome during the Middle Ages, in 1122, 1139, 1179, 1215, 1516. Of these the fourth was the most famous. For the Fourth Lateran Council was that which required heretics to be put to death without mercy, and absolved from their allegiance the subjects of all princes who refused to obey that command, and who did not deprive heretics of their property. Transubstantiation was declared to be an article of the Faith, and confession to a priest was made compulsory. The largest General Council of the West was that of Constance in 1414–1416. At this Council the three conflicting Popes were deposed from the papal seat and Martin V. elected. The most important Council of the East was the Synod of Bethlehem, which practically eliminated from the Greek Church the Protestant doctrines which the Patriarch Cyril Lucar had sought to introduce.

The Council of Trent, which met in 1545, was famous for three reasons: (1) its great length, the twenty-five sessions being held at intervals over a period of eighteen years; (2) its connection with the history of the Reformation, since it decided for ever the question of the possible reunion of Protestantism with Rome; (3) its effect upon Rome herself. The Council stereotyped Roman doctrine, corrected some abuses in practice, and provided the Roman Church with clearly defined weapons wherewith to combat her adversaries.

The Council held its early sittings at Trent (1545–1547), then it was removed to Bologna where it sat for part of 1551 and 1552, and then it remained suspended for ten years, the closing sessions, 1562-1563, being held at Trent.

The Vatican Council of 1869-1870 met to consider and define the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and it passed many canons denunciatory of modern philosophical systems and ideas. It should be carefully noted that this last Council was not *dissolved*, but, by the Pope's decree *suspended*, on alleged political reasons, so that any future Council must take up and continue the work of the Vatican Council. [C. J. C.]

COWL.—*The Ritual Reason Why* draws attention (pp. 49, 50) to what is no doubt considered by the author an important distinction: "On entering and leaving church, and in some parts of the church during the singing of the Psalms, members of religious orders use the *hood* of their habit (sometimes, but improperly called the *cowl*) in place of the biretta. The cowl is a loose vestment worn over the *frock* in the winter season and during the night office."

CREDENCE TABLE.—The exact meaning of credence table is doubtful. It is a table on which the bread and wine are placed before being put upon the Holy Table. Credence tables were not in use before the Reformation. See Micklethwaite, Alcuin Club Tract on the *Ornaments of the Rubric*, p. 10.

There is no allusion to the credence table in the Book of Common Prayer nor can its use be regarded as necessary. Its use was condemned by Sir H. Jenner Fust in the case of Faulkner *v.* Litchfield as an adjunct to an altar of sacrifice, but, in the case of Liddell *v.* Westerton, was sanctioned by the Privy Council for the purposes of a side table. See Miller, *Guide to Eccl. Law*, 166; Whitehead, *Church Law*, p. 162. [C. J. C.]

CROSIER.—See PASTORAL STAFF.

CROSS.—(1) *Shape of.*—The Greek word σταυρὸς simply denotes a stake. There were four kinds of crosses used in punishment by the Romans: (*a*) the *crux simplex* or stake; (*b*) the *crux decussata* (X) commonly known as St. Andrew's cross, in memory of that Apostle's traditional martyrdom; (*c*) the *crux immissa* (†) and the *crux commissa* (T) which closely corresponds to the Hebrew letter *Tau* in its most ancient form. This is thought to have been the "mark" set upon the people of Jerusalem in Ezekiel's vision (ix. 4). The shape of our Saviour's cross is thus quite uncertain, the chief evidence in favour of the traditional representation being the fact of the inscription fastened above His head by order of Pilate. Crucifixion was abolished by Constantine after the legal

recognition of Christianity in deference to Christian sentiment.

(2) *Sign of.*—This has no warrant nor precedent in Scripture, although the cross is frequently alluded to. In the early Church signing the forehead with the cross is alluded to in the writings of the Fathers, especially Tertullian, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Basil, but the passage quoted from the latter (*De Spiritu Sancto*) is of doubtful genuineness. Those ordained to the ministry had the sign of the cross made in their hands, so that imposition of hands was called σταυροειδὴς σφραγὶς (Bingham, iv. c. 6, sect. 12). The Christians put this honour upon the cross as a protest against the mockeries of the heathen. (See Whitaker's *Disputation on Scripture:* Parker Society, pp. 590–591; also Willett, *Synopsis Papismi*, vol. iv. p. 252.) The practice seems to have been largely confined to the North African and Alexandrian Churches. Later, the idea grew up that demons could be repelled by the sign of the cross. The use of the cross in baptism in Canon 30 is defended by Hooker in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book v., against the objections of the Puritans. This was one of their grounds of complaint against the Book of Common Prayer at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604.

Use of the Cross in Churches, &c.—Even in the Catacombs of Rome the cross as now familiarly figured (†) rarely occurs before the fourth century. It is disguised in various forms, so as to be confounded with the initial Greek letter of the name of Christ. During, and after the reign of Constantine it is often associated with the Labarum. The progress from the cross to the crucifix was still more gradual. First there was the cross only, which even when placed in churches had no special connection with the Lord's Table. Sozomen speaks of the cross placed upon the altar in his time, but Eusebius, though he describes minutely Christian churches, has no reference to it (Canon Robertson, *Church History*, vol. i. p. 245, ed. 1875). Then came the cross with the lamb figured at the foot of it, then the Saviour on the cross, but with hands uplifted in prayer and not nailed, then Christ as fastened with four nails, but still living. The dead Christ was not represented till the tenth or eleventh centuries. The very portraiture of the Crucified underwent a long process of development, as Dean Milman points out (*History of Christianity*, iii. pp. 398–9). The 82nd Canon of the Trullan Council, held at Constantinople under Justinian II. (685–711), forbade the ancient figure of the lamb, and ordered that Christ should be represented in the human form. This proves how long the principle underlying the crucifix was resisted.

As to adoration of the cross, Minutius Felix, A.D. 220, in his *Apology*, expressly disclaims the existence of such a feeling amongst Christians in the famous words, "Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus"—we neither worship crosses nor desire them. Ambrose, in his account of the alleged discovery of the true cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine, in her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, expressly denies that she worshipped the wood of the cross—"quia hic gentilis est error et vanitas impiorum"— a pagan error and vanity of the impious. Some doubt whether this be a genuine work of Ambrose, but if it be of later date, such a statement is all the more striking. Julian, the pagan emperor, accused the Christians of worshipping the cross, and St. Cyril of Alexandria is obliged indirectly to admit the superstition as existing in his day (A.D. 413–443).

Respecting the supposed discovery of the true cross by Helena, Eusebius, who writes as a contemporary, does not allude to the discovery. There is also a large degree of contradiction in the details. Paulinus says that the means of discovery were revealed to the Empress, viz. to ascertain which of the three crosses supposed to be found possessed miraculous virtue by raising a dead man to life. Rufinus attributes the device to Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, and says that it was a sick woman restored to health. Socrates states that Helena kept part of it in a silver case at Jerusalem and sent the other part to Constantine, who placed it within his own image at Constantinople, a clear proof that it could not have been used as an object of worship. It is also very strange if the true cross were at Jerusalem that Theodosius II. (A.D. 408–450) should have sent a cross of gold to be set up in the shrine of Mount Calvary. See Willett, *Synopsis*, vol. iv. pp. 235–240.

Note.—The Homily, "Against Peril of Idolatry," the most complete and exhaustive of the Homilies as regards patristic illustration, deals fully with the entire question of image-worship both from the scriptural and the ecclesiastical standpoint. It does not deal directly and separately with the use or adoration of the cross, but it covers the whole ground of the question in its discussion of the rise, progress, and results of image-worship.

May 3rd is the date in the Roman and English Calendar for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross. The lessons read on that day give an account of Helena's supposed discovery at Jerusalem. [C. J. C.]

CROSS, ADORATION OF THE.—An idolatrous service performed in the Church of Rome on Good Friday, and also carried out in certain Ritualistic churches of the Church of England. In this service a cross is uncovered by the priest and is then adored by priests and

congregation. The adoration consists of prostration before the cross, kissing the foot of it, and addressing prayers and hymns to it. The defence which is set up for these superstitious and idolatrous ceremonies is that they are "no more than exterior expressions of that love which we bear in our hearts toward Jesus Christ crucified, and that the words adoration and adore as applied to the cross, only signify that respect and veneration which is due to things immediately relating to God and his service." To which it may be replied, first, that this explanation may be sufficient to justify reverence for the emblem of that on which Christ died, but cannot justify the addresses of prayer and praise and acts of veneration which are made to the cross itself. Secondly, that though the more highly educated and intelligent may be able to look through the material cross to the Atonement of Christ, the less educated and thoughtful may be gradually led to adore the actual cross of wood, &c., which they see. Thirdly, that these idolatrous forms of prayer were in use long before the Reformation, but that in no accredited writings was there anything to show the people that this service was in honour of the Saviour, and that the cross was only a memorial of Him.

The service as used by the Ritualists is contained in a book entitled "Services of the Holy Week," published by the Society of St. Osmund. This is a Society for restoring the use of the Rubrical directions of the "Sarum Liturgical Books" in the Church of England, *i.e.* a ritual which is far more elaborate and superstitious than that of Rome, was in use in England before the Reformation, and had as great authority and sanction from the Pope as the "Roman" Ritual.

Such adoration of the cross proceeds from an entirely unscriptural view of the "tree" on which Christ suffered, apart from the question of idolatry. St. Paul does not speak of the cross as a "sweet cross," as do Romanists and Ritualists, but as an *accursed tree* (Gal. iii. 13). See IMAGE-WORSHIP. [M. E. W. J.]

CROSS, INVENTION OF. — See under CROSS.

CRUCIFIX.—(Lat. *crucifixus*, fastened to a cross.) An image of Christ on the cross. The peril of idolatry in regard to this is great, in proportion as an image differs from a mere cross. Of the actual idolatry of many Roman Catholics there can be no doubt. More particularly must this be the case with regard to the less intellectual and uneducated amongst them, who must often fail to "look through" the image to Christ. It is illegal to set one up in a Church of England building in a position corresponding to that occupied by the rood before the Reformation, *i.e.* over the chancel screen. An isolated crucifix generally is illegal. One which hung lately by the pulpit in St. Ethelburga's Church, Bishopsgate Street, was ordered by the Consistory Court to be removed. In this case the question of the legality of the crucifix was exhaustively discussed.

CRUETS.—Unauthorised vessels of glass or metal, not mentioned in the Prayer Book, but introduced by the Ritualists into the administration of the Lord's Supper. According to the *Ritual Reason Why*, "one" of these cruets "contains the wine to be used for the celebration of the Eucharist; the other the water for mixing therewith, and also for the washing of the priest's hands." See ABLUTION. The name "cruets" is singularly inappropriate, and is defined in the dictionaries as "*a small jar or* phial for sauces and condiments." If such vessels they must have, it seems strange that Ritualists, of all people, could not have invented a name of more reverence for vessels connected with the Table of the Lord.

CRYPT.—A concealed or underground passage, applied by Jerome and others to the *Catacombs*. Crypt is generally now applied to underground chambers under churches, which were often used as places of burial.

CUCULLA.—See HOOD.

CULDEES.—The word is a corruption of a Celtic term, which has been variously interpreted as meaning "servant of God," and possibly indicated "monks," in which sense it is found, under different forms, in old Irish documents. Traces of the Culdees were found in Ireland down to Reformation times. In Scotland the term *Keledei* indicates a body of monks of a peculiar kind, and the *Colidei* were also known in the north of England. The classical monograph on their history is that by Dr. Reeves (Dean of Armagh), afterwards Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore.

CUP.—See CHALICE, DENIAL OF CUP TO THE LAITY.

CURATE.—Formerly, a clerk in Holy Orders, having a cure of souls (French, *curé*). The word is used in this sense in the Book of Common Prayer. Now, however, the term is applied only to an assistant of such a clerk or to one appointed by the bishop to officiate in his absence. It is uncertain whether there were in the church before the Reformation, any persons answering to our present stipendiary curates, but they certainly existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A deacon may be a curate, but is unable to administer the Lord's Supper. He must be licensed by the archbishop or bishop, and the licence may be revoked. Before the licence is granted the "Stipendiary Curates' Declaration" must be made, and signed by both incumbent

and curate. The curate must also in the presence of the bishop or his commissary make and subscribe the "declaration of assent," which must be read in the presence of the congregation on the first Lord's day on which he officiates in the church to which he is licensed. He must also take the oaths of canonical obedience. Before being licensed, he has to send in his letters of orders and "letters testimonial" from three beneficed clergyman countersigned by their bishop or bishops. A curate may be dismissed at six weeks' notice by a new incumbent if such notice be given within six months of the incumbent's admission to the benefice. In all other cases the incumbent must obtain the written permission of the bishop, and may then give the curate six months' notice to quit. If the bishop refuse consent, the incumbent may appeal to the archbishop, whose decision is final. A curate wishing to leave his curacy must give three months' notice to the incumbent and bishop, unless with the bishop's written consent.

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DAILY SERVICES.—A service is provided in the Prayer Book for every day, but there is no rubric directing it to be used daily. If there were no such provision, there would be no legal service which could be used daily if it were needed. The fourteenth Canon assumes that there will not be daily service, for it directs service to be used on Sundays and Holy-days, a direction which would be meaningless if service were ordered to be held daily. The Statute of Uniformity, 13 & 14 Ch. II. c. 4, sec. 2, contains the following directions as to the use of the Prayer Book. "All and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church or chapel, or other place of public worship within this realm of England, dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present Act . . . and that the morning and evening prayers therein contained shall upon every Lord's Day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the times therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read by all and every minister or curate in every church, chapel, or other place of public worship within this realm of England and places aforesaid."

Here also, if it had been intended to require a daily service, it would have been simpler to do so directly, than only order one on the Lord's Day and the other days appointed, viz. Holy-days.

That this is the understood rule of the Church of England was strongly felt by the Ritual Commission; and consequently in their fourth report, August 1870, they proposed to append a note to the passage in the Preface to the Prayer Book, which Preface appears to make daily services compulsory, as follows: "The directions concerning the daily use of the Church services are retained, not as a compulsory rule, but as a witness to the value put by the Church on daily prayers and intercessions, and on the daily reading of the Holy scriptures."

No legal proceedings have been successfully, or, it is believed, ever instituted to enforce daily services. In *re* Hartshill Endowment (30 Bevan. 130), the Trustees of a church endowment fund refused to pay the incumbent because he did not hold daily services. The deed made the income payable to the incumbent for conducting the services in the said church according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England in strict and literal accordance with the order of the Book of Common Prayer, so long and during such time as he should so conduct the same. The Trustees argued that services on Sundays and Holy-days only was not a compliance with the deed, but Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, ordered the money to be paid to the incumbent. [E. B. W.]

DALMATIC, THE.—A loose robe partly open at the sides, worn by the gospeller at Mass. (See plate.) It was declared illegal in the English Church by Judgment of the Dean of Arches in Elphinstone *v.* Purchas, and the judgment was affirmed on appeal. (3 *Ad. and Eccl.* p. 67.) See Miller's *Eccl. Law*, p. 50.

DEACON.—The *Diaconate* is usually traced back to the appointment of the "Seven," recorded in Acts vi. The "Seven" are, however, nowhere called "deacons" (Acts xxi. 8). If Acts vi. gives a full account of the institution of that office, the duties of the diaconate were confined to administering the alms of the Church. But though the Apostles laid their hands on the "Seven," that act is no distinct proof of "ordination." The "laying on of hands" was employed in cases of healing, and often indicated mere delegation, or the transfer of authority of any kind. The Church at Antioch laid hands on Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii. 2, 3), which was, however, not "ordination" (see Gal. i. 1). Moses transmitted his secular authority to Joshua by laying on of hands, and Jacob laid his hands on Ephraim and Manasseh when he blessed the lads. The Apostles transferred by the solemn laying on of hands the business of "serving of tables" to the "Seven," which business had been forced upon the Apostles for a time when the believers laid down their money at the Apostles' feet (Acts iv. 32). Two,

if not more, of the "Seven," no doubt became powerful preachers—Stephen, the protomartyr, and Philip, the evangelist (Acts xxi. 8). But it is more natural, with Bishop Lightfoot, to maintain that "the work of teaching may be traced rather to the capacity of the individual officer than to the direct function of the office" (*Philippians*, p. 190).

Bishop Lightfoot maintains that the office created according to Acts vi. was a new institution, and "not borrowed from the Levitical order, nor from the synagogue." The first statement is correct, the second is doubtful. Bishop Lightfoot maintained correctly that the Chazzan (חַזָּן), or attendant in the synagogue, whose duties were confined to the care of the building, and the preparation for service, has more in common with the modern parish clerk than with the deacon in the infant Church of Christ. But the Bishop seems to have forgotten that there were other officials among the Jews, namely, "the Receivers of Alms" (גַּבַּאֵי צְדָקָה), of which two or three were appointed to each synagogue, who were required to be men of good report and of probity and wisdom (see Schürer, *Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes*, Part II. § 27)—which were the very qualities insisted on by the Apostles in the account of Acts vi. If, therefore, Acts vi. records the institution of the "diaconate," the diaconate, in all but name, can be traced to the synagogue, and was an office tenable by an honest layman. Chrysostom, in the fourth century, distinctly asserted that the office of Acts vi. was different from the "diaconate" existing in his day; and Œcumenius, Bishop of Tricca, who lived in the ninth or tenth century, was equally honest on that point.

The "diaconate" is not mentioned among the Church offices numbered up by St. Paul in 1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6, vi. 4; Eph. iii. 5. It is not alluded to in the Epistle to Titus, though alluded to in Phil. i. 1, and specially mentioned in 1 Tim. iii. The "diaconate," whatever were its beginnings, however, soon grew into a Church "order." The Church of the fourth or fifth centuries first began to dream of those Levitical pretensions set forth in the apocryphal *Apostolical Constitutions*, the treasure-house of those theories of "Divine right" which have worked such damage to the Church of God. (See Hatch's Bampton Lectures on *The Organisation of the early Christian Churches*.) [C. H. H. W.]

DEACONESSES. — See preceding article. Phœbe is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 1 as a "deacon" (διάκονος) of the Church at Cenchrea. As to what her special duties were, there is no information. The word *deaconess* (διακόνισσα) is post-Biblical. Possibly female deacons may be alluded to in 1 Tim. iii. 11, although it is also possible that the wives of the deacons referred to in the previous verse may be there signified. The masculine word διάκονος, "deacon" was certainly employed in post-Biblical times of women. Into the later history of deaconesses we cannot here enter. [C. H. H. W.]

DEAD, COMMEMORATION OF THE.— In the Prayer Book there is only a very general reference to this subject. It occurs in the prayer for the Church militant, and is expressed in the words, "We also bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear, beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good example that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom." The prayer for All Saints' Day is also of the same scriptural character as that for the Church militant, as well as those appointed for the Burial of the Dead.

The Ritualists, however, have certain gestures and silent interpolations at this and a subsequent point in the Communion Service, the "priest disjoining his hands" at the words, "departed in Thy faith and fear," and being expected to pause after these words in order to call to mind various saints, virgins, and martyrs. The most unsatisfactory reason for this silent prayer is said to be that "it gives the people an opportunity of offering the Sacrifice for their own intentions." This is in indirect contravention of the Prayer Book, for the only Sacrifices that the Church of England in her Communion Office refers to are those of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, our alms and oblations, and the consecration of ourselves. The XXXIst Article, too, condemns the Sacrifice of Masses as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." [10.] See MASS; PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, &c.

DEAD LANGUAGE, DIVINE SERVICE IN A.—The Roman Canon law forbids the translation of the Mass from Latin into any other language. A bell is rung at certain parts of the service, that the congregation may know when the priest is performing the most important part of the service. The practice of conducting Divine Service in a dead language is open to grave objection. Even in the case of well-instructed persons it leads to the employment of private books of devotion instead of following intelligently the public services. Dr. Di Bruno, however, in *Catholic Belief* (p. 83 and pp. 212 ff.), attempts to defend the practice. By the use of an unknown tongue the congregation is to a considerable extent at the mercy of the celebrant, while its use is contrary to the ancient practice of the Christian Church. The *Kyrie Eleison*, and other Greek words remaining in the Missal, show that the Mass, even in the Roman Church, was once said in

Greek. The Latin translation of the Service must have been made when Greek began to fall into disuse in the Roman Empire, and Latin was more or less generally understood. The practice is opposed both to the spirit and letter of Holy Scripture. St. Paul, speaking of praying or praising in an unknown tongue, asks (1 Cor. xiv. 16): "When thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" Some commentators maintain also that the references to the giving of thanks (*εὐχαριστία*) and the response "Amen," show that the Apostle (in 1 Cor.) was specially referring to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Cardinal Bona, following Aquinas, affirms that point as a fact (*Res Liturg.* iv. 4). The point is one which cannot be proved, but if correct, Rome's practice of celebrating "the Mass" in a dead language to-day becomes still more difficult to justify. Article XXIV. of the Church of England, on the other hand, declares that "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people." [M. E. W. J.]

DEAD, MASS FOR THE.—See under MASS.

DEAD, PRAYERS FOR THE.—There are many exhortations in the New Testament to offer up prayer for living saints and for other men. Our Lord exhorts us to pray that God's "kingdom may come, and His will be done in earth as it is in heaven." But there is no passage in the Old or New Testaments which enjoins or recommends prayer for the dead.

The souls of the righteous at death enter "Paradise," where they "are in joy and felicity," as the Church of England affirms in her Burial Service. Into that place the Lord Jesus promised to bring the penitent thief (Luke xxiii. 43). The Jews gave the name of Paradise to the place of the blessed dead, which was also termed "the Garden of Eden." See PARADISE. The righteous will not indeed "inherit the kingdom prepared for them" until the Resurrection-day (Matt. xxv. 34; 1 Thess. iv. 15). They are "waiting for the adoption (to wit), the redemption of our body" (Rom. viii. 23); but they are in a place of joy "with Christ, which is far better" (Phil. i. 21–23) than to be on earth, and are in no want of our prayers or intercessions.

How the saints may be employed in "Paradise," Scripture does not inform us. They *may* pray for us, but we cannot tell. We have no warrant to pray *to* them, or *for* them. God has drawn a veil between this world and the Unseen (Hades), which men are not permitted to lift (see HADES). We ought not to intrude "into those things which are not seen, vainly puffed up by our fleshly mind" (Col. ii. 18, A.V.). Rev. vi. 9–11 does not draw aside that veil, for it presents only a symbolic picture. The "soul" in Old Testament Scriptures is often spoken of in connection with the "blood," and the picture drawn in the Revelation describes souls "slain for the word of God" as sacrifices lying "under the altar," where in Jewish times the blood of the victim was always poured out. The blood of the saints cries out, like that of Abel, for vengeance. But the martyred saints are not occupied in praying for that vengeance. Stephen, the first martyr, prayed for his murderers (Acts vii. 60).

There are some glimpses given into the state after death even in the Old Testament; Job xix. 23–26 is one of these. So is Psalm xvi. with Psalm xvii. 15, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." Even Eccles. xii. 14, speaks of a day when "God shall bring every work into judgment."

It is an error to affirm that after the Captivity prayers for the dead were publicly offered up by the Jews. The only passage cited in favour of such a practice is in 2 Macc. xii. But there are, however, still extant a large number of Jewish works written between B.C. 160 and A.D. 200. Not one of those works (some twenty-five in number) except 2 Macc., alludes to prayers for the dead. Some of them, like Tobit, speak of *burying* the dead as a religious duty which ought to be performed even at the risk of imminent danger. The Jewish writings referred to (see the extracts given in Wright's *Intermediate State and Prayers for the Dead*, London, Nisbet, 1900) set forth the teaching that death is the end of man's probation, and that after death, even prior to the resurrection, men are fixed in a permanent state, either of bliss or of misery. Such a dogma necessarily excludes the notion of praying for the dead as popularly understood. It has been asserted that our Lord must have prayed for the dead when He attended the synagogues of Palestine. This assertion is founded solely on 2 Macc. xii. No allusion, however, is there made to Synagogue usages. Prayers for the dead have, no doubt, been in use among the Jews for many centuries. That practice cannot be *proved* to have been in use as early as that among Christians, among whom it commenced at the end of the second century, and steadily grew. The ancient Jewish prayer known as the Kaddish, now used by modern Jews as a prayer for the dead, contains no mention whatever of the dead, which were in later times supposed to be included under the term "all Israel."

Dean Luckock, in ten editions of his work *After Death* (first published in 1879), has adduced Jewish inscriptions to prove that prayers for the dead were used nearly three centuries before Christ. The inscription, however, which the Dean assigned to B.C. 282 is unquestionably one of the year A.D. 718, while the dates of the other inscriptions have been proved to be falsifications; and Dr. Luckock has at last, though tardily, withdrawn all references to those inscriptions.

In the Second Book of the Maccabees it is said "it was a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead" (2 Macc. xii. 46, *Douay Version*). That passage cannot, however, be relied on. There is considerable variety both as to its reading and translation. Whatever the opinion of the compiler of that book may have been, it is almost certain that Judas Maccabeus did not, on the occasion mentioned, pray for the dead. He sent to Jerusalem to offer "a sin-offering" for his army. Some of his soldiers had fallen on the battle-field because guilty of idolatrous practices. Hence Judas Maccabeus made every one of his surviving soldiers contribute to the cost of the sin-offering. For Judas feared lest his army might suffer a reverse like that recorded in Joshua vii. The epitomist of 2 Macc. (for the editor of 2 Macc., as we have it, is merely an epitomist, see 2 Macc. ii. 23) believed no doubt in prayers for the dead. That epitomiser was an Egyptian Jew, who lived some time between B.C. 140 and B.C. 50, when the Jews in Egypt were schismatics, having a priesthood and temple of their own, a rival to the Temple at Jerusalem, in which sacrifices were offered in distinct violation of the Law of Moses. Hence the *opinions* of Egyptian Jews are of no weight in any questions of religious *practice*. Positive proofs that the Jews in early Christian times did not believe in prayers for the dead are given in that section of Dr. Wright's work which speaks of "the Testimony of the Talmud." See *Intermediate State*, p. 132, ff.

The New Testament passages supposed by some to justify such prayers, have no real bearing on the subject. The "world to come" spoken of in Matt. xii. 32, means, according to Jewish phraseology, "the Messianic Dispensation," and the phrase is even used in the New Testament in that sense: see Heb. ii. 5, and vi. 5. The passage in 1 Cor. iii. 12–15, speaks of the "fire" in the Day of Judgment which will test the reality of work done by the labourers in Christ's vineyard. In 2 Tim. i. 18, it is impossible to prove that Onesiphorus was dead when St. Paul wrote. St. Chrysostom believed that he was alive; and "tradition" states that he was afterwards a bishop. Other passages need not be discussed here. They are all duly noted in Dr. Wright's book. The so-called "Primitive Liturgies" did not come into existence until centuries after Christ (See LITURGIES), while "the mystery of iniquity" was working even in the Church of Apostolic times (2 Thess. ii. 7.) Not one, however, of the Apostolic Fathers alludes to prayers for the dead, whether Clement, or Ignatius, or Polycarp. No, nor yet Hermas, though he actually speaks of persons being baptized after death, in another world. Justin Martyr never refers to the subject.

Prayers for the dead do not, however, necessarily involve any belief in a Purgatory after death. The Greek and Oriental Churches pray for the dead and yet reject the notion of a place of purgative punishment. These Churches offer up prayers for the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and the great martyrs of antiquity, although they believe that they are in assured rest and blessedness. Even in the Roman Missal (in the Canon of the Mass) there is a "Commemoration for the Dead" which runs thus: "Remember, O Lord, Thy servants, male and female, N. and M., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and *to all who rest in Christ*, we pray that Thou wouldest grant a place of refreshment, of light and peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Prayers for the dead are not sanctioned by the Church of England. The prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," which included such a petition (in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.), was revised in 1552, and the petition struck out, and the words "militant here on earth" added to exclude the idea. In the "Form of Intercession with Almighty God on behalf of her Majesty's Naval and Military Forces now in South Africa" (1900), there was, indeed, introduced (unlawfully and surreptitiously in No. V. form) a prayer "For all those who have fallen in the true faith of Thy Holy Name—that they may enter into the rest which Thou hast prepared for them that believe in Thee; Hear us, good Lord." In the Special "Form of Service in commemoration of her late Majesty Queen Victoria of blessed and glorious memory" (1902), a petition was inserted: "May the Lord of His mercy grant to us, with all the faithful departed, rest and peace." But no Archbishop, Bishop, or Privy Council has any right to add to, or take away from, any doctrine taught in the Book of Common Prayer without the consent of the nation in Parliament assembled, and hence all such prayers must be regarded as unlawful.

In the case known as Breeks v. Woolfrey,

in 1838, in which the Vicar of Carisbroke objected to a tombstone erected by a Roman Catholic lady over her husband's grave with the words "Pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey," and with the text 2 Macc. xii. 46, the then Dean of Arches, Sir H. Jenner Fust, maintained that although the Church of England "discouraged prayers for the dead" yet the action of the defendant would not subject the party to ecclesiastical censure.

The Reformers in their earlier days approved of such prayers, but they rejected that practice in their later writings. It is unfair to quote the early writings of such men in favour of that practice, when those writings have been corrected in later works. The Church of England speaks against the practice in the *Homily on Prayer*, Third Part; and the Homilies are endorsed as authorised expositions of her doctrines in Article XXXV. Prayers for the dead were contained in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., but were omitted in all subsequent revisions of the Book of Common Prayer. This is a fact which no sophistry can get over. Ritualists have been forced to deplore it. See Rev. E. W. Sergeant's Essay on "Catholic Worship and the Book of Common Prayer" in the work entitled *The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, p. 126. See DESCENT INTO HELL. [C. H. H. W.]

DEADLY, OR MORTAL SIN.—In one sense all sin is deadly, because it is a transgression of God's law, and all transgression works and deserves death. Some sins, however, are clearly of a graver character than others, and if these graver sins are called deadly or mortal, while the others are designated venial, it is not worth disputing about the terms. Nevertheless, the division into mortal and venial sins, as made by the casuists, has, it has been truly said, "foully corrupted the mass of their moral theology." See MORAL THEOLOGY.

Because there is a difference in heinousness between sins and sins, the Roman Casuists undertake to divide all sins, according to their external characteristics, into two heaps. On those in one heap they impose the name of deadly or mortal sins. On those in the other heap the name of venial sins. Then they explain that the mortal sins cause the death of the soul, and that the venial sins do not even lessen God's love towards the sinner, but only dull his affection towards God, and they go on to strengthen the sinner in wickedness by assuring him that if he committed every possible venial sin—nay, if he deliberately resolved to commit every possible venial sin—he yet would still be sinning venially, would not have to confess it as a fault, and would be as much the object of God's love as if he had committed no sin at all.

This theory of morals is intellectually ludicrous and morally unprincipled. Let it be true that one sin differs from another in its heinousness, but what is it that makes that difference? It is the state of the soul of the man who commits the sin. The same material act may be a most grave or a light sin, according to the frame of mind in which it is performed. And to divide sins into groups, and to teach that he who commits a sin classed in one group is mortally sinning, and he who commits a sin belonging to another group is venially sinning, is an altogether unspiritual way of dealing with the science of morals.

We will exemplify in the case of theft. For an act to be sinful, a man must perform it with a consciousness of what he is about, and consenting to it in spite of its being wrong. Let him, then, steal with the full consciousness that stealing is wrong, and that he is stealing, and with a perfect resolve that he will steal. That is not all according to Roman Theology. It is not yet decided whether he is committing a mortal or a venial act of theft. That depends upon the amount stolen. If the amount is "notable," the act belongs to the first group, and is a mortal sin; if not, it belongs to the second group, and is venial. What then is a "notable" amount? Some said 2½d., some said £2, 10s., the majority fixed it at 10d. As long as this tariff lasted, the theft of 10d. was mortal, and caused spiritual death, but the theft of 9d. was venial, and did not diminish God's love to the agent. After a time the tariff was changed. Men were divided into different classes, and a sum was fixed for each class. Above that amount, mortal sin followed by eternal death; below it, venial sin easily atoned for in this world or in purgatory. The sums fixed by the present tariff of the Roman Church, as laid down by Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, iv. 528, are as follows:—

	s.	*d.*
With respect to mendicants	0	6
With respect to labourers	0	10
With respect to artisans	1	0½
With respect to moderately rich men .	1	8
With respect to absolutely rich men .	2	6
With respect to very rich noblemen .	5	0
With respect to a very rich community	7	6
With respect to kings	10	0

Mark the consequence resulting from scales of this nature. Let there be 2s. 6d. on the table. Let a man with full knowledge that God's law forbids him to appropriate it, yet wilfully and deliberately steal it for present gratification. Nay, let there be added in his mind a malicious feeling of hatred against the owner. Is it not clear that he has been guilty

of a perfect act of theft, and must bear his burden accordingly? *Distinguendum*, says Rome. We must first ask to whom that 2s. 6d. belonged. If it belonged to a mendicant, a labourer, an artisan, a moderately rich man, or an absolutely rich man, then the sin of theft was mortal. But in case it belonged to a very rich nobleman, a very rich community, or to a king, the character of the act is changed. Two conditions of a mortal act of theft are present, but the third is wanting. True, the man's mind and spirit remain in exactly the same disposition, but he has not stolen enough. He is excused from mortal sin; he has committed only a venial act of theft, and for this God's love is not diminished towards him. He need not confess what he has done.

Again, suppose a man standing between a country squire and a rich peer. Let him be affected in exactly the same manner and degree towards each. Let him know and bear in mind that God has forbidden him to take what does not belong to him, but let him wilfully determine to do so. He puts out his right hand and steals 3s. from the peer. God's love is not thereby diminished towards him. It is a venial act of theft. He puts out his left hand and steals the same sum of 3s. from the squire. He has earned to himself eternal hell fire, and his soul is dead. It is a mortal act of theft.

Once more. A man is sitting in a railway carriage. The temptation comes upon him, and although he is aware of the wickedness of the act, he steals 2s. from his neighbour's pocket. Has he sinned mortally or venially? He does not know. If his neighbour was an absolutely rich man, he sinned venially; if a moderately rich man, he sinned mortally. Purgatory and everlasting death are in the balance.

Is it not plain that the greater or less sinfulness of a theft depends upon the disposition of mind in which it is committed? If a man commits a theft with full advertence of the intellect and consent of the will, he has committed a perfect act of theft whether the sum stolen be great or be little. If by stealing much he has brought ruin on a neighbour, he has committed another sin, against charity; but the sin of theft, being the trangression of the law of justice, was perfect without the additional crime against the law of charity. The same principle applies in all classes of sin.

We conclude that acts cannot be distinguished beforehand into acts of deadly or of venial sin, but that it depends upon the disposition of the agent in each case whether the sin be grave or light, while the slightest sins are in their nature deadly unless forgiven for the infinite merits of an all-sufficient Saviour, which forgiveness we are assured is granted to all the true children of God.

[F. M.]

DEAN.—Latin *Decanus*, was originally an officer set over ten, *e.g.*, over ten soldiers or over ten monks in a monastery. The *decanus episcopi* originally presided over a tenth part of a diocese or over ten parishes. As a cathedral officer the *decanus* dates from the eighth century, when, after the monastic pattern, he was subordinate to the *præpositus* or provost, who was the bishop's vicegerent, as head of the chapter. The office in its full development dates only from the tenth or eleventh century, and the first English dean was the Dean of St. Paul's, A.D. 1086. (Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*). In the Church of England at present there are four sorts of deans:—(1) the dean of a chapter; (2) the dean of a peculiar, who in some cases has a chapter, but is not subject to the bishop's visitation, *e.g.*, the Dean of Westminster; (3) a dean who has no cure of souls, but holds an ecclesiastical court, *e.g.*, the Dean of Arches; (4) a rural dean.

The *Dean of a chapter* or cathedral is the arch-presbyter of the diocese, and is inferior in dignity to the bishop only. He is styled "Very Reverend," and has a seat in the Lower House of Convocation. He must reside at least eight months in the year. His duty is to preach the Word of God and keep good hospitality. (Canon 42). Most dioceses in the Church of England have a dean, whose income varies from £3000 a year at Durham, downwards.

The Dean of Arches.—An officer who anciently had jurisdiction over thirteen peculiars (now abolished) of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the City of London. The office is now obsolete, but the name is given to the official Principal or Judge of the Provincial Court of Canterbury, who is now appointed under Act of Parliament. (See ARCHES).

The Rural Dean was a very ancient and formerly important Church officer, but even in Blackstone's time "almost grown out of use" in the Church of England. The office has been revived in modern times, but Rural Deans are now mere deputies of the archdeacon or bishop, except in cases where they are by statute appointed to act as commissioners, as in the case of resignations and dilapidations. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

In the Protestant Episcopal Church of America the president of a convocation is styled dean, and there are deans of the Chapels Royal in the Established Church of Scotland. The term is also employed in the

Universities and Medical Schools, and often denotes the senior member of a corporate body. (Fr. *doyen*.) [B. W.]

DECALOGUE.—See COMMANDMENTS.

DECRETALS. — Decretal epistles, epistles wherein the Popes, when appealed to, declared their decisions. A synodical letter of Siricius in 385, the earliest genuine decretal extant,[1] is addressed to a Spanish bishop, and decides for the celibacy of priests.[2] In a Roman Council under Gelasius in 494 the *decretales epistolæ* (an expression then first occurring[3]) of previous Popes are to be received with reverence.[4] Such decisions of Popes, at first in their synods, afterwards independently of them, represented essentially their personal ruling as distinct from the canons enacted in and by councils, which made Church Law or Canon Law. In or about 782, when papal pretensions had made little, if any, advance since the days of Gregory the Great (ob. 604), Hadrian I. called his see head of the whole world and of all the churches of God ;[5] and if Rome's vaunt had some truth in it, Rome being the only visible centre of reference for a wide-stretching ecclesiastical network in a very broken condition of the secular power, the tempting moment had apparently arrived for some one who recognised the splendid opportunities of the Roman position to seek for a seeming good by unwarrantable means. So there was fabricated a series of "decretal epistles" running back to A.D. 93,[6] inventing an historic right, from even subapostolic times, for the pontiffs to impose their will on the Church. The new collection, thought to have originated in or about A.D. 800, was published as a whole between 829 and 845[7] in Eastern France, the fabrication being probably due to Autcar or Otgar, Archbishop of Mainz (826–847).[8] The forger assumed the name of Isidore Mercator (or Peccator), evidently wishing his compilation to be attributed to the noted Isidore bishop of Seville (ob. 636). As their spuriousness has been demonstrated, and is now universally admitted, they are called without reserve "false" and "forged," and their author is "Pseudo-Isidore." Down to the period of this great imposture, Church Law had been found in the work of Dionysius Exiguus, the monk at Rome in the sixth century, who, to nearly two hundred canons of general and provincial Councils in East and West (Greek canons appearing in a Latin version), added the pontifical decretals from that of Siricius in 385, which were thus placed on the pedestal of the canons, and a way opened for their future exaltation. But as yet Church Law meant Canon Law, and the decretals, with all their dangerous elevation, probably in practice occupied a lower level. In the new compilation all the decretals before 385, and they were a large number, were fabricated mostly by Pseudo-Isidore; some after that date, as were some canons. Their obvious intention was to exaggerate the privileged standing of bishops and clergy, but above all things to advance the pontiff to a pinnacle never before reached. Beside the forged decretals must be placed that twin forgery the Donation of Constantine, both which together made the mediæval Papacy what it was, the one on its spiritual side, the other on its temporal and territorial. The discredit of their origin rests as much on the pontiffs as on the actual fabricators; for an imposture that was so completely unveiled in Germany in the sixteenth century, was far more easily discoverable amid the papal archives of the ninth, had there been the least honest inclination to know the facts at Rome.

In 857 the decretals were cited as authoritative at the Council of Quiercy by the French king Charles the Bald.[9] It was a warm debate, from 862 to 865, between Pope Nicholas I. and Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims[10], that first brought the question of decretals *versus* canons into historic prominence. Nicholas's letter of January 865[11] is a laboured argument for the decretals as standing on a par with the canons, though as documents not formally ranking and paged[12] with them.

In 871 Hincmar had a similar controversy[13] with the next Pope Hadrian II., to whom a younger Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, the Archbishop's nephew, deposed by the Synod

[1] Canon J. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, i. 432, ed. 1875; Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 1869, ii. 292.

[2] Dionysius Exiguus, *Collectio Decretorum Pontificum Romanorum* in *Pat. Lat.* lxvii. 231 ; Mansi iii. 655.

[3] Schaff, ii. 292.

[4] Mansi, viii. 148 D.

[5] "Sedes Apostolica caput totius mundi et omnium Dei ecclesiarum," *Pat. Lat.*, xcviii. 333 B ; Mansi, xii. 807 A ; Neander, v. 155 *n.* 1 (Clark); Hardwick, *Middle Age*, 43 *n.* 10.

[6] Hardwick, 145, *n.* 1.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Robertson, iii. 319.

[10] Related in Robertson, iii. 389–396 ; Neander, vi. 117–122.

[11] *Ad Universos Episcopos Galliæ*, Mansi, xv. 695 D ; Hardwick, 147, *n.* 11.

[12] Compaginatæ, *i.e.* conjunctæ, copulatæ, in unum volumen congestæ, Ducange.

[13] Neander, vi. 122–129. Robertson, iii. 402–406.

of Douzi, had appealed, in circumstances only to be justified by the forged decretals, which asserted the Pope's power not merely to revise the ruling of a local Synod, which even the canons (in particular the Sardican of 343 or 7) allowed, but to override its jurisdiction altogether.[1] The Synod of Douzi, in an epistle to Hadrian[2] requesting his confirmation of their sentence, insisted on the primary authority of the canons[3] and the Sardican limit to appeals.[4] In a tract of fifty-five chapters addressed to his nephew,[5] the Archbishop speaks his mind on the inferiority of decretals to canons, asserting that the former had no application to the present case, however they may have suited particular circumstances in past times.[6] He also uses expressions hardly consistent with a belief in their genuineness, as "compiled fictions,"[7] "a deleterious cup besmeared with honey."[8] He says the king will abide by the known rules of Scripture, tradition, and the canons, but reject anything which may have been forged or compiled to the contrary.[9] Hadrian's successor John VIII. (872–882) had the opportunity of serving Charles the Bald politically, and royal support was no longer continued to Hincmar's cause. By the king's allowance, a primate over the French Church with enormous spiritual powers as papal vicar,[10] a "Pseudo-Isidorian primate," Gieseler calls him,[11] was appointed in the person of Ansegis Archbishop of Sens, though Gieseler, and with him Robertson,[12] does not allow that Charles had any intention of conceding "a Pseudo-Isidorian subjection" of the French Church to the Roman see. All that Hincmar could then do he did, appealing to the bishops of France to uphold the rights of their metropolitans against these encroachments;[13] drawing from them a declaration that they would never sacrifice those rights or the ancient laws of the French Church to papal decretals.[14] The stand made by Hincmar did not avail much, as there was no serious effort to test the genuineness of the great forgery, while all conspired to flatter the pontiffs in the most exalted terms of address. So papal authority in France continued to grow.[15] It was when the mastery of the decretals over the ancient and comparatively genuine canons was virtually won in the tenth century that the clergy sank into the gross ignorance related by Church historians, and the Papacy was disgraced by infamies unexampled in previous days.[16] It was absolute in the eleventh, when the pontifical ideals of Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073–1085) were ripening all over the Continent,[17] and moulding our own ultramontane Archbishop Anselm (1093–1109).

By the appearance, in or about 1150, of the Italian monk Gratian's *Decretum*, Church Law received an altered form, being no longer expressed in a series of canons, but as a scientific system elaborated from both canons and decretals, arranged by subjects, with divisions and subdivisions. The principles of the False Decretals ran through the work, "which thus served to establish those principles instead of the older canonical system."[18]

Room was found in the *Decretum* for a long quotation from Constantine's reputed *Edict of Donation*.[19] This important and bulky work[20] gave birth to the professional study of Canon Law at the universities, leading to Canon Law degrees, for the venerable title of "Canon Law," *nomocanon*, remained for what was quite

[1] Neander, vi. 126; Rob., iii. 401.

[2] Mansi, xvi. 569.

[3] Mansi, xvi. 677 A. "Secundum sacros sanctorum conciliorum canones, Spiritu Dei conditos et totius mundi reverentiâ consecratos."

[4] Mansi, xvi. 677 A. Requesting the Papal confirmation, the Synod begs that the privileges of the Gallican Church may be respected (681 B), and the Sardican limit in appeal observed (682 B).

[5] *Opusculum* lv. capitulorum, *P. L.*, cxxvi. 282.

[6] *Opusc.*, cap. xxv. *De Auctoritate et Differentiâ Conciliorum et Epistolarum Sedis Apostolicæ Pontificum*, in *P.L.*, cxxvi. 385 D, 386 A; Neander, vi. 126, 127 *n.* i; Hardwick, 148 *n.* l.

[7] Figmenta compilata, *Opusc.*, cap. xlvi.; *P.L.*, cxxvi. 460 D; Neander, vi. 127.

[8] "Poculum quasi ad ora melle oblitum et indiscretè commixtum," *P.L.*, cxxvi. 461 A; Neander, vi. 127.

[9] Hincmar (in nomine Caroli) to Hadrian II. in *P.L.*, cxxiv. 896 A, "a quoquam fuerit confictum"; Rob., iii. 404.

[10] In Hincmar's *Annals*, ann. 876, *P. L.*, cxxv. 1275; Neander, vi. 128; Hardwick, 148 *n.* 2; Rob., iii. 408.

[11] Giesceler, ii. 127, Eng.

[12] Rob., iii. 411.

[13] Hincmar, Ep. xxx., *Ad Episcopos de jure Metropolitanorum*, in *Pat. Lat.*, cxxvi. 189; Neander, vi. 128.

[14] Hincmar's *Annals*, ann. 876, in *P.L.*, cxxv. 1275 C; Neander, vi. 129.

[15] Hardwick, 148.

[16] Rob., iv. 1–2.

[17] *Ibid.*, 292–3.

[18] Rob., v. 432. Robertson also says (iii. 326), "Gratian made the False Decretals the foundation of his *Decretum*."

[19] Beginning "Utile judicavimus" (in the *Edict*, *P.L.*, cxxx. 248 C; in the *Decretum*, Part I. distinctio 96, cap. 14, *P.L.*, clxxxvii. 460 C), and going down to the end.

[20] Gratian's *Decretum* occupies all vol. clxxxvii. in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

as truly "Decretal Law." It was with the *Decretum* at his back that Becket won for the spiritual power against Henry II. of England; and it was in 1170 that the Isidorian decretals received their first serious wound, about the time of Becket's triumph, through the impugnment of their genuineness by Petrus Comestor, a professor at Paris;[1] but they were still in public credit as embodied in the *Decretum* during the pontificate of Innocent III. (1198–1216). In the thirteenth century, the meridian period of the Papacy, a great development took place in the decretal branch of the Canon Law (as it always continued to be called). This was mainly in the pontificate of Gregory IX. (1227–1241), under whose direction a Spanish Dominican, Raymond of Pegnafort, made a copious collection of decretals almost equal in bulk to the *Decretum* itself, to which work Gregory ordered it to be annexed, and in combination with it to be studied in the schools. By this time the *Decretum* had disclosed many imperfections in the shape of obscurities and discrepancies, and the new decretals were largely occupied in elucidating, harmonising, and supplementing them.[2] The Gregorian decretals were digested under similar heads to those of the *Decretum*, and were arranged in five books. A second collection, much smaller, was made by Boniface VIII. (1294–1303), and being added to the previous one, was named *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. A third collection by Clement V. (1305–1314) was entitled *Clementina*. Another, chiefly by John XXII. or XXIII. (1410–1415), being miscellaneous, bore the name of *Extravagantes*,[3] in the etymological sense of that word. See CANON LAW.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, when the decretal system was about complete, and in authority practically above the *Decretum* (which required decretals to make it work), Churchmen were loudly demanding to be ruled by *The Church*, meaning by Councils and canons, rather than by papal decretals and a despotic papal monarchy. The persistent resistance to this demand down to the Council of Trent is well known. When in 1520 Luther at Wittenberg burnt the Bull *Exurge*, he cast the *Decretals* first into the flames,[4] as though he would say, Let us at length be governed by genuine Councils, not by papal dictation. A few years after that those learned Reformation historians the Magdeburg Centuriators, bringing the papal system under the closest scrutiny, for the first time discovered that the Isidorian decretals were a gross and clumsy fabrication, leaving them the undying epithets "false" and "forged," which disgraceful words such Papalists as Baronius, Bellarmine, Fleury, have been forced to acquiesce in. But "while the foundation has long been given up even by the extremest writers of the Roman Catholic Church, the superstructure still remains."[5]

An English scholar, Dean Comber, in the Restoration period, when Rome was pressing her authority so hard, in his very timely work *Roman Forgeries*, entered on a detailed historical, and very damaging examination of the False Decretals, which can be consulted in a modern reprint of his treatise,[6] showing that the forgery was even then cited by papal writers to prove against Protestants such points as the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, his right to appeals, and various other things.

In the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, as the Canon Law in its completed official form is entitled, may be seen Gratian's *Decretum* and the various collections of *Decretals* which followed it, from Gregory IX.'s, but the whole called "Canon Law," though "Decretal Law" would seem the more appropriate designation. The most recent edition of this work, Friedberg's, published at Leipzig, is in two large handsome quartos, vol. i. (1879) being entirely occupied with the *Decretum*, vol. ii. (1881) with the *Decretals*, three quarters of it being taken up with the decretals of Gregory IX. alone. See CANON LAW. [C. H.]

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.—A title conferred by Pope Leo X. in 1521 upon Henry VIII. and his successors. In that year Henry had sent to the Pope his book against Martin Luther. The selection of the title caused much discussion in the papal Councils; it was ratified by a papal Bull and despatched to England, accompanied by a letter from the Pope commending the king's zeal. The choice by the Pope of this particular title arose partly out of the circumstances of the case, partly from the difficulty of selection, as the titles "Most Christian," "Most Catholic," "Eldest Son of the Church," were already the appanages of the kings of France and Spain. The title was, after Henry's breach with Rome, confirmed by Parliament (35 Hen. VIII. c. 3); consequently the title no longer rests upon the papal grant. The Act referred to orders that the said "stile declared and set forth by this Act in manner and form as is above mentioned, shall be from hence-

[1] Gieseler (Eng.), vol. ii. p. 117 *n.* 17.

[2] Rob., vi. 409, 410.

[3] Mosheim, ii. 179, *n.* 4.

[4] *Exustionis Antichristianorum Decretalium Acta*, Luther's *Latin Works*, Wittenberg Ed. 1558, vol. ii. p. 123.

[5] Robertson, iii. 326.

[6] In Cumming's edition (1848) of Bishop Gibson's *Preservative*, vol. xv. pp. 98–243.

forth *by the authority aforesaid*, united and annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of his Highness' realm of England."

When Richard Lalor Shiel, who was a Roman Catholic, was Master of the Mint in 1850, a new florin was struck without either "F.D." or "Dei Gratia." When the matter came up in the House of Commons, Mr. Shiel alleged that the design had been approved by the Privy Council, and that in some of the Indian silver coinage in use at Calcutta the same omissions were made (*Life*, by W. T. McCullagh, vol. ii., p. 396). After the attention of the House had been called to the matter, the florins were withdrawn. (See Hansard's *Parl. Debates*, Third Series, vol. cxi. August 14 to June 17, 1850, p. 422.)

[C. J. C.]

DEFINITIONS OF THEOLOGICAL TERMS.—A very common fallacy in framing definitions is to embrace within the wording of the definition something which the framer desires to prove, and then to argue from the definition as though the thing in question was proved because accordant with the definition, and as though anything not accordant with the definition, similarly framed by omission instead of addition, was thereby disproved. We will give a few instances in which the Church of Rome has employed this fallacious method of argument.

The Church.—Bellarmine defines the Church as "the company of Christians, knit together by the possession of the same faith and the communion of the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, and especially of the Roman Bishop, as the only Vicar of Christ on earth" (*De Eccl. Mil.*, iii. 2). It will be seen that this definition excludes all Protestants and all members of the Oriental Church. And this is its purpose. Devoti, objecting to a more reasonable definition by Febronius and Cavallarius, cries out, "What is there in their definition which heretics could not accept and will satisfy Catholics? It does not mention the chief Pontiff, who is divinely constituted the Head of the Church" (*Inst. Can.*, i. 4). Hooker, with his usual sagacity, points out the falsity of such definitions, and bids us beware of them: "This is the error of all Popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are" (*Eccl. Pol.*, v. 68, 6). A controversialist is lost who accepts any specifically Roman definition of a theological term—which is often expressed in such a way that its assumptions or omissions are much less obvious than in Bellarmine's definition of the Church.

Sacrifice.—Bellarmine defines a sacrifice as "an external offering made to God on high, by which something visible and permanent is in mystical rite consecrated by a lawful minister and transmuted so as to be altogether destroyed" (*De Missa*, i. 2.). Here Bellarmine has composed a definition applicable to one class of sacrifices (material sacrifices), and covering, as he thinks, the so-called sacrifice of the Mass, and has adopted it as the definition of sacrifice in general, and then it is easy to argue from his definition against the sacrificial character of all sacrifices that do not belong to the one specific class of sacrifice that has been defined by his formula (such as the immaterial sacrifices of praise and prayer), and of all offerings in which the thing offered is not destroyed. Again, Aquinas says, "The term sacrifice is applied to anything done for the honour properly due to God with the view of propitiating Him" (*Summa*, part iii. 9, 48), whence it may be argued that the Eucharistic offering is not a peace-offering, not an offering of thanksgiving, but a propitiatory sin-offering.

Sacraments.—"A sacrament is a thing subject to the senses, which by the institution of Christ has the power of effecting (and therefore signifying) sanctity or justifying grace" (Liguori, *Theol. Mor.*, vi. 1). Here, by a side-stroke, sanctification is assumed to be the same as justifying grace, whereas sanctification differs from, and is not the cause of justification. Justification is the act of God, whereby of His free mercy He regards us as acceptable for the merits of Jesus Christ, and it precedes sanctification, which is the act of the Holy Ghost in which we are allowed to co-operate by yielding ourselves to be moulded by His influences. The great doctrine of Justification by Faith is undermined by the definition.

Confirmation.—"Confirmation is an anointing with oil by a bishop on the forehead of one baptized, with an appointed form of words" (Bellarmine and Liguori, *Theol. Mor.*, vi. 2). Then those who are confirmed by laying on of hands (which is the true form) are not confirmed, and those confirmed by anointing without laying on of hands are confirmed—neither of which things is true.

The Eucharist.—"The Eucharist is the sacrament of the Body and Blood under the species (whether 'kinds' or 'appearances') of bread and wine, instituted by God for the spiritual refreshment of the soul" (The Schoolmen and Liguori, *Theol. Mor.*, vi. 5). The words "under the species of bread and wine" beg the question of the manner of Christ's presence, and teach that the presence is in the elements.

Extreme Unction.—"Extreme Unction is a sacrament instituted by Christ, to confer on one in danger of death, health of soul, or even

of body, by anointing with blessed oil and by prayer of the priest" (Aquinas, iv. 23, 1). Here it is assumed that Extreme Unction is a sacrament, that it was instituted by Christ, and that it is effective for soul and body—none of which things are true.

The Priesthood.—This was defined by Cardinal Vaughan and the Anglo-Roman bishops in 1897 as "the power to cause the Body and Blood of Christ to become present on the altar under the appearance of bread and wine, and thereby to offer Him up in sacrifice." If this definition were true, none would be priests in the sense of *presbyters*, except they were priests (to the exclusion of others) in the sense of *hiereis*, or *sacrificers*, and not only sacrificers of an animal, like the Jewish priests, but sacrificers, and therefore sacramentally slayers (see Bellarmine's definition given above) of the Son of God.

Ordination.—"In the *Decretum pro Armenis*," says Döllinger, "there is found, in regard to ordination, the perfectly astonishing declaration that the matter of the sacrament is—not the laying on of hands, which is not even mentioned, but—the *porrectio instrumentorum*, the delivery of the chalice and paten. And yet the *porrectio instrumentorum* is purely a ceremony, and in truth such an one as first arose after the year 1000, and only in the West! Here, undoubtedly, a Pope has erred in a solemn dogmatic decree, in that he has marked the unessential ceremony of the *porrectio instrumentorum* as essential in ordination, and has not mentioned the essential laying on of hands" (*Report of the Bonn Conference* of 1875). The *Decretum* was promulgated in England by Cardinal Pole.

Ordination Formula. — Romanists having adopted the formula "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate masses for the living and the dead," argue from it (and the Jansenists of Holland do the same) that, as the Anglican formula does not contain these words, Anglican orders are invalid. But it is certain that the "Receive power," &c., formula was never used earlier than the tenth century. Consequently, if the Romish formula, defined as above, is to be accepted as necessary, there was never any presbyter in the Latin Church for more than nine hundred years, and therefore, on the Roman theory of orders, there is none now. Ignoring this consequence, Romanists and Jansenists argue from their formula against the sufficiency of the "Form of ordaining of priests" in the English Church.

The above are a sufficient number of instances to show that we must be very careful in accepting Papal definitions, lest we thereby unconsciously concede the point at issue between us. [F. M.]

DEGRADATION.—An ecclesiastical censure whereby a person in holy orders is deprived of them. By Canon Law (see Boniface VIII.'s *Decretal*, *Sexti Decretal*, lib. v., tit. 9, c. 2), no person in any order above sub-deacon can be "degraded" by a bishop alone, nor even by an archbishop, but as Ayliffe in his *Parergon* says, a deacon must be "degraded" by three bishops, a presbyter by six bishops, and a bishop by twelve (see p. 207).

The power to inflict degradation originally appertained to a Synod or convocation, and that authority has never been delegated lower than to a certain number of bishops proportioned to the rank and order of the defendant. See note to Clarke *v.* Heathcote, 1 Robt., p. 381. *By Statute* "the Ordinary" was allowed to degrade for certain crimes (see 23 Hen. VIII., c. 1., sec. 6; now repealed by 7 & 8 Geo. IV., c. 27, sec. 1). The Official Principal in the case cited above held that he had no power to inflict the punishment. The decretal above mentioned gives a solemn form of degradation. The last person degraded in the English Church under the Canon Law appears to have been Dr. Leighton, for publishing a seditious book in 1631 (6 Car. I.). "The deposition from the ministry" mentioned in the 122nd Canon, was said in Clarke *v.* Heathcote to mean deposition from the "office" of the ministry and not from "orders."

The Clergy Discipline Act, 1892, 55 & 56 Vict. c. 32, sec. 8, gives the bishop power, where a living has become vacant by virtue of any sentence passed under the Act, to depose a clergyman from holy orders by sentence and without any further formality, if it appears to him that that is the proper course, and this has since been done in a number of instances. [E. B. W.]

DELEGATES, COURT OF.—This Court was composed of persons nominated by the sovereign until abolished in 1832. It was the ancient practice of the sovereign on any appeal to him in his Court of Chancery (to be distinguished from the Judicial Court of that name) to nominate persons to hear such appeal, called "delegates." They were appointed only to hear the particular case, and *not* to hear that and similar cases. The king could, on petition to him, also grant a commission to review any decision the delegates had come to. Until the Act of 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, abolishing appeals to Rome, the cases referred to such delegates were principally Admiralty matters. When that Act, by sec. 3, abolished such appeals to Rome from the archbishop, the Act directed that upon an appeal for lack of justice in the archbishop's Court "a commission should issue under the great seal to such persons as

should be nominated by the king to hear and determine these appeals." Those persons heard such appeals as delegates of the king who now became in all Courts ecclesiastical throughout his dominions, supreme. As the Pope had been in the habit of reviewing sentences given by him, so the King's Bench in Queen Elizabeth's reign held the sovereign, having the Pope's authority, might also do so (4 Coke's *Institutes*, p. 340). The commissioners named by the king included, as a rule, some of the lords spiritual and temporal, one or more of the judges, and one or more Doctors of Civil Law. In 1832, by the Act of 2 & 3 Will. IV., c. 92, it was provided that no more such commissions should issue under the great seal, but the right of appeal should be to the king in Council. The same Act enacted that every judgment, order, and decree given by the Privy Council should be final and definitive, and that no commission should thereafter be granted or authorised to review any judgment or decree made by virtue of the Act. In 1833 it was provided by 3 & 4 Will. IV., c. 41, that such appeals should go to a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who were all to be persons having held high legal office, except two persons whom the king might nominate, who might be ordinary Privy Councillors. The exact composition of the Judicial Committee has been altered from time to time, the last Act dealing with it being the 50 & 51 Vict., c. 70. By section 14 of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876 (39 & 40 Vict., c. 59), the sovereign may, by order in Council with the advice of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any five of them, of whom the Lord Chancellor shall be one, and of the Archbishops and Bishops, being Privy Councillors, or any two of them, make rules for the attendance on the hearing of ecclesiastical cases as assessors of the committee of such number of the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England as may be determined by such rules. [E. B. W.]

DEMONS.—The word *δαιμόνιον*, with its plural *δαιμόνια*, are frequently met with in the New Testament, and used in the sense of *evil spirits*. In the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament the neuter noun is used as the rendering of different Hebrew words, several of which mean inferior deities worshipped by the heathen. The word is not, in that translation, employed in the sense of an "evil spirit," as popularly understood, except in the Books of Tobit and Baruch, and possibly in the translation of Ps. xc. 6 (LXX., Ps. xci.) and in Isaiah xiii. 14. The masculine noun *δαίμων* is only found once in the LXX, in Isa. lxv. 11, where the meaning may be doubtful. It is once employed in the New Testament, in Matt. viii. 31, in the sense of *evil spirit*. In the Theology of the Greek Platonist philosophers, both the neuter noun and the masculine noun are employed in the sense of inferior deities between the gods and man. Joseph Mede in his *Apostasy of the Latter Times* (Mede's Works, Book iii.) has given copious proofs of this fact. Mede maintained that St. Paul used the terms in 1 Tim. iv. 1, in 1 Cor., and probably St. Luke in Acts xvii. 18, and St. John in Rev. ix. 20, and xvi. 14, in that sense.

Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, among the ancient Fathers, held that evil spirits who had once tenanted human bodies, were the actors in cases of demoniacal possession, and a somewhat similar idea has been propounded by G. S. Faber. But there is no Scripture evidence to support the theory. The plurality of fallen angels is clearly enough taught in Scripture (Matt. xxv. 41; Eph. vi. 12; Rom. viii. 38; Col. ii. 15), but they are never called by the plural of "devil" (*διαβόλοι*), but are indicated in various other ways. Satan (the adversary) is termed in one place (Matt. xii. 24) the "prince of the demons," and victory over unclean spirits is said to be victory over him (Luke x. 18). He is also constantly termed *ὁ διάβολος* or "the Devil" (*the Slanderer*), and is styled "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2). Satan and his angels are described as roving up and down in this world. But lost spirits of the human race, when spoken of (in all undisputed passages), are described as in prison, under darkness, and unable to escape even for a season from their awful lot (Luke xvi. 19-31).

[C. H. H. W.]

DENUNCIATION (*Denunciatio*).—Is used by Roman Catholic theologians in two senses. By an edict of the Roman Inquisition promulgated A.D. 1677, all persons are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to denounce to the Holy Office, within a month, all known or suspected heretics and the abettors of heretics; all persons known to be addicted to magic, witchcraft, and the black arts; all persons who keep or promote the circulation of heretical books; all persons who have broken their religious vows by contracting marriage; all persons who have committed bigamy, uttered heretical sentiments, profaned the sacrament of penance, shown disrespect to holy images, frequented heretical conventicles, made converts to Judaism or to any sect contrary to the Roman Catholic faith, or who have been guilty, not being priests, of usurping the priestly office.

There are a whole host of condemned propositions (Pius IX. embodied most of them in the Syllabus), and Roman Catholic theologians teach that any one who teaches any of those

condemned propositions is to be denounced to the Inquisition. But we are informed by Ferraris that in countries where heretics are intermixed with Roman Catholics, the bishops being aware of the fact, the obligation of denouncing them to the Holy Office does not bind, "as no one is under an obligation to do what is useless." Neither, in lands exclusively Roman Catholic, does a probable risk of serious injury to person or property release from the obligation of denouncing formal heretics. A formal heretic is one who is aware of his heresy and perseveres in it.

Formal heretics, because of the contagious nature of their crime, are to be denounced even after their death, so that, if they have not been buried, they may be deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture, and if they have been buried, they may be disinterred and their bones burned. This has been frequently done, notably in the case of John Wycliffe. The Council of Constance declared, A.D. 1415, that the writings of Wycliffe were heretical, and commanded that "his body and bones, if they could be distinguished from those of the faithful, should be disinterred and cast away from consecrated ground." For a period of thirteen years the decree was disregarded; but at the end of that time, by the express command of the Pope, it was carried into effect. The bones of the heroic rector of Lutterworth were dug up, burned, and the ashes cast into the rivulet Swift.

Denunciation.—As found in the treatises on Censures (*De Censuris*) has a more limited signification. In the seventh volume of Liguori's Theology, for example, we read that before excommunication can validly be incurred the excommunicated person must be *denounced* publicly. "Concerning which," says Liguori, "it is not enough that the denunciation take place before the contending parties, but it should be made in a public place (as in the church, during Mass, or at a sermon), and on a card exhibited in a public place. If this is not done, the faithful are not bound to avoid the excommunicated person."

[T. C.]

DEPRIVATION.—The taking away from a clergyman his benefice or ecclesiastical preferment. This is effected by sentence of the proper ecclesiastical court for certain fit and sufficient causes, but for some offences the benefice becomes *ipso facto* void without any formal sentence.

Deprivation is to be distinguished from Deposition or Degradation (see DEGRADATION), which means the taking away of Holy Orders, thus reducing a clergyman to the status of a layman. (Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

[B. W.]

DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HELL.—The "hell" into which our Lord descended when He gave up the ghost on the cross was "Paradise," where the spirits of the just await the resurrection (see HADES, HELL). He had promised the dying robber that he would be with Him in Paradise (Luke xxiii. 43). St. Paul in Eph. iv. 9, terms that place of departed spirits in "the Unseen" (Hades), "the lower parts of the earth," *i.e.*, places lower than the earth; the LXX. Version in Ps. lxii. 10 (Hebrew, Ps. lxiii. 10) speaks of Hades in general as "the lowest parts of the earth." St. Peter speaks of the descent of Christ into "Hades" and His resurrection from it in Acts ii. 27–31.

The article of "the descent into hell" in the Creed is only important as setting forth the reality of Christ's death, the actual separation of soul and body, and the fact of His having had a "reasonable soul and human flesh" like other men. Notwithstanding all that has been written on the question, we emphatically deny that 1 Peter iii. 19, has the slightest reference to Christ's descent into the regions of the dead. It should be noted, however, that several of the early Fathers believed in a preaching of Christ during the interval between His death and resurrection. Hermas does not speak of any such preaching of Christ Himself. The preaching he alludes to was that of the Apostles and the teachers who not only, according to his speculation, preached when alive, but who preached to, and actually baptized in Hades, the saints of the Old Dispensation who had slept in righteousness but had not the seal of baptism (see Hermas, *Shepherd*, iii.; *Similitudes*, ix. 16). Justin Martyr does not quote 1 Peter, but quotes an apocryphal passage in Isaiah, and in *Dial. against Trypho*, cap. 72, says that "the Lord God the Holy One of Israel, remembered His dead who slept in the sepulchre and descended to them to preach the glad tidings of salvation." Irenæus, too, in his work *Against Heresies*, iv. 27, 2, speaks of Christ preaching in Hades to "the righteous men, the prophets and the patriarchs." Irenæus has also elsewhere expressed even broader views (*Against Heresies*, iv. 22, 1). But 1 Peter iii. 19 does not speak of any persons but the antediluvian sinners. Clement of Alexandria refers to the passage in Hermas, and expands his words as referring also to the pious Gentiles who had lived and died before Christ's advent. The latter writer suggests that the Lord or Christ also may have joined in the preaching. He refers also to the passage in 1 Peter, regarding it as possible that some of those who perished in the flood might have been saved at that time, and tries, moreover, to utilise even Matt. xxvii. 52 in favour of the

same opinion. All this should be noted, for it proves that the doctrine set forth was in advance of that of Hermas. See Clem. Alex. *Stromata* (or *Miscellanies*, vi. 6). The story of the preaching of Christ in Hades is further developed in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which work is not earlier than the third, and probably as late as the fifth century. That book, however, only records the deliverance of the patriarchs, prophets, and forefathers from the power of Hades, and does not allude to "the spirits in prison" spoken of in 1 Peter. (See *Nicodemus*, Part II. cap. 8.) The embellishment of the story, and the different opinions with regard to the persons preached to and saved, should carefully be noted. The additions made to the tale by the later Fathers need not here be referred to.

Our objection to 1 Peter iii. 19 being explained concerning Hades is based on the fact that the Apostle evidently speaks there of something well known to his readers. But no preaching in Hades is elsewhere alluded to in the New Testament, while the destruction of the notorious sinners of the era of the flood, alluded to in 1 Peter iii., is often referred to. St. Peter does not state that he was making a new revelation. He speaks of "spirits in prison" who were aforetime (*πότε*) disobedient, "when (*ὅτε*) the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." Those sinners are spoken of elsewhere by him as "kept under punishment unto the day of judgment" (See also 2 Peter ii. 9), *i.e.* where similar phraseology is used. In doing so he calls attention to the long-suffering which Christ as the Pre-incarnate Word, "Christ in spirit," manifested in the olden days and still exhibits towards men. Augustine indeed made havock of the passage by interpreting the "spirit" to be the Holy Spirit, and failing to see the contrast between the *σαρκί* ("in the flesh") and the *πνεύματι* ("in spirit") as both parts of the same Divine Person, which contrast is found also in 1 Peter iv. 6, in reference to believers who, like their Master, though put to death in the flesh were made alive in the spirit. The passage in 1 Peter iii. 19 simply speaks of "spirits in prison, disobedient once when, &c." It does not affirm that they were in that condition in a former state, but were now reconciled. All those additions are commentary and not the text of Scripture. Horsley's deductions from the passage are not fairly deducible. The contrast is between the work of Christ in His Pre-incarnate condition and the work He now performs. Those who have maintained that the expression "went," *πορευθείς*, is in opposition to this interpretation, have often strangely forgotten that the same verb in the same form is used beyond all controversy of Christ in verse 22.

There is, we contend therefore, no information afforded in the New Testament of the work performed by Christ in Hades. We may admit that such work must have been important but it has not been revealed. We do not dare to affirm that the door of mercy is absolutely shut against those who die out of Christ. All we affirm is that Scripture gives us no information of salvation beyond the grave, and gives us very terrible hints of the contrary, at least as a rule. The passage in Peter has been discussed by numbers in all ages of the Church. Dean Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison* is one of the latest English contributions. Our monograph on it in *Biblical Essays* (T. & T. Clark, 1886), he only alluded to in a note to his second edition, his work having then been stereotyped. In our monograph we have cited some valuable German literature on the subject. Prof. A. Schweizer of Zürich is the writer who has best handled the subject. Our view is not that of Augustine, for though it arrives at a similar conclusion, it avoids all those critical difficulties which Alford and others harp on. No writer has yet ventured on a refutation of our argument. We claim to have shown decisively that there was no current tradition in the Church on the subject till comparatively late times. All the ideas of the Fathers have been derived from the passage itself, and from the apocryphal prophecy of Isaiah alluded to above. [C. H. H. W.]

DEVELOPMENT, NEWMAN'S THEORY OF.—When Dr. Newman became a Roman Catholic, it was necessary for him in some way to reconcile that step with the proofs he had previously given that certain distinctive Romish doctrines were unknown to the early Church. This was the object of the celebrated Essay on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, which he published simultaneously with his submission to the Roman Church. The theory expounded in it in substance is, that Christ had but committed to His Church certain seeds and germs of truth, destined afterwards to expand to definite forms; consequently, that our Lord did not intend that the teaching of His Church should be always the same; but ordained that it should go on continually improving under the guidance of His Holy Spirit. This theory was not altogether new. Not to speak of earlier anticipation of it, it had been maintained, not many years previously, by the German divine Möhler in his work called *Symbolik;* and this mode of defending the Roman system had been adopted in the theological lectures of Perrone, Professor in the Jesuit College at Rome. But Newman's book had the effect of making the theory popular to an

extent it had never been before, and of causing its general adoption by Romish advocates, who are now content to exchange tradition, which their predecessors had made the basis of their system, for this new foundation of development. Roman Catholic advocates are not now ashamed to confess the novelty of articles of their creed, and have even occasionally taunted Anglicans with the unprogressive character of their faith, because the latter are content to believe as the early Church believed, and as our fathers believed before us.

Thus, to take an example of a practice in the Roman Church, it is not denied that the refusal of the cup to the laity is absolutely opposed to the custom of the Church for centuries; but it is thought to be sufficient justification of Roman usage if Protestants are unable to prove that in the early ages absolutely no such thing ever occurred as communion in one element without the other. Or, to take an example of a doctrine, Protestants inquire whether a Church of the first three centuries thought it necessary to seek for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, or thought it right to pay her the extravagant honours which Roman Catholics have now no scruple in bestowing on her. There is no pretence of answering these questions in the affirmative. It is thought reply enough to ask in return, Did not the ancient Church teach the fact of the intimate relation that existed between the Blessed Virgin and the human nature of our Lord? Surely yes, all would acknowledge this. Then it is urged, the later Church is entitled to draw out by legitimate inference[1] all that it can discover as to the privileges which that intimate relation must needs have conferred, even though the earlier Church had been blind to them.

But how can this new theory be brought into harmony with the old? For the old theory was that the teaching of the Church had never varied. Scripture proof of the identity of her present teaching with that of the Apostles might fail; but tradition could not fail to prove that what the Church teaches now she had also taught from the beginning. Thus, for example, the Council of Trent, in the celebrated decree passed in its fourth session, in which it laid the foundation of its whole method of proceeding, clearly taught that all saving truth and moral discipline had been delivered either by the mouth of Christ Himself, or by His inspired Apostles, and had since been handed down either in the Scriptures, or in continuous unwritten tradition; and the Council, in particular decrees passed subsequently, claimed that its teaching was what the Church had always taught. No phrase has been more often on the lips of Roman controversialists than that which described the faith of the Church, as what was held 'everywhere, always, and by all.' Bishop Milner, in his well-known work, *The End of Religious Controversy*, writes: "It is a fundamental maxim never to admit any tenet but such as is believed by all the bishops, and was believed by their predecessors *up to the Apostles* themselves." The constant language of the Church is *nil innovetur, nil nisi quod traditum est.* Such and such is the sense of Scripture, such and such is the doctrine of her predecessors, the Pastors of the Church, since the time of the Apostles." Dr. Wiseman said: "We believe that no new doctrine can be introduced into the Church, but that every doctrine which we hold has existed, and been taught in it ever since the time of the Apostles, having been handed down by them to their successors."

The theory of development sets aside completely the old Roman Catholic rule of Scripture and tradition. It gives up tradition; and it must in consistency abandon as completely irrational that respect for the Fathers which even still distinguishes uneducated Romanists from uneducated Protestants. In earthly science Lord Bacon pointed out that the Fathers were the children. If we think an old man likely to be wiser than a young one, it is because he has had so much more experience, and is likely to know many things of which the young man is ignorant. But the world is older now than it ever was. To ask us to defer to the opinion of men who lived two centuries ago, and who consequently were ignorant of all that the world has learned in the last two hundred years, is as absurd as to ask a trained philosopher to defer to the opinion of a youth just commencing his studies. And if the theory of the development of Christian doctrine be true, the same rule exactly ought to hold with regard to religious truth; and a Romanist cannot consistently censure a Protestant if he thinks Luther and Calvin teachers likely to be twelve centuries wiser than Chrysostom and Augustine. But if in the theory of Development the Fathers lose all claim to respect, it is still worse with Scripture: the Fathers may have been but children, but the Apostles were

[1] But, as persons may not agree as to the justice of the inferences drawn above, no one Church, not even a General Council, could propound a dogma respecting the Virgin Mary which would be binding upon the consciences of all members of the Church for all time, unless it could support it "by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," and demonstrate that it was taught as a necessary truth from Apostolic times.—EDD.

only infants. They lived when the Church had but just come into being, and before it had learned all that the Holy Spirit has taught it in the course of twenty centuries. If so, it ought to be only for curiosity that we need look into books written in the very infancy of the Church; and to seek for our system of Christian doctrine in the Bible would be as absurd as to try to learn the differential calculus from the writings of Archimedes. In other words, the theory of Development, as taught by Cardinal Newman, substantially abandons the claims of Christianity to be regarded as a supernatural revelation which is likely to be preserved in most purity by those who lived nearest to the times when it was given.

And yet there is such a thing as a real development of Christian doctrine. We acknowledge that all the precious truth of Scripture does not lie on the surface, and that continuous study applied to the Bible, by holy men who have sought for the aid of God's Spirit, does elicit much that might have escaped a hasty reader, but which, when once pointed out, remains for the instruction of future generations. But we draw a distinction between *things essential to salvation and things true, but not necessary.*[1] The way of salvation does not alter from age to age; those truths which were effectual for the salvation of souls in the second or third century are sufficient for salvation still. A Church, then, takes a step unjustifiable, and which must lead to schism, if she imposes new articles of faith to be held of necessity for salvation which were unknown to the Church of past times.

Again, there is a development of Christian doctrine due to the increase of human philosophy and learning. It is impossible to prevent these from playing their part in modifying our way of understanding the Bible. For instance, in the case of Galileo (see GALILEO) we see that the progress of astronomical knowledge not only modified the manner in which texts of Scripture were understood which seemed to teach the immobility of the earth, but also made Christians understand that God, who does not work miracles to do for men what He intended them to learn to do for themselves, did not mean the Bible as a supernatural revelation of the truths of astronomy or other sciences, but left the attainment of knowledge of this kind to stimulate and reward the exercise of men's natural powers.

Well, when it is agreed on all hands that the Church of one age may be on several points wiser than the Church of a preceding age, the Gallican theory of infallibility at once breaks down. According to that theory it is consistent with God's promise to His Church that disputes, and consequently that uncertainty on several important points of doctrine, should prevail for a considerable time; only it is maintained that when once the majority of Christians have agreed in a conclusion about them, that conclusion must never afterwards be called in question. But why not, if the Church has in the meantime become wiser? If God, without injustice and without danger to men's souls, can leave many of His people for a considerable time imperfectly informed, and even in erroneous opinion as to certain doctrines, what improbability is there that He may have left a whole generation imperfectly or erroneously informed on the same subject, and reserved the perception of the complete truth for their successors?

The method of Newman's celebrated *Essay on Development* is to make frank confession that neither Scripture nor Tradition will furnish any adequate proof of Roman doctrines. But then Newman contends that the same confession must be made about doctrines which Roman Catholics and Anglicans hold in common, and he puts forward his theory of Development as able to supply the deficiency alike in either case. Thus, then, while he owns (p. 164) that the Pope's supremacy is a development, so also, he contends, is Episcopacy. He draws attention to the fact that St. Ignatius in his Epistles is silent on the subject of the Pope's authority; but that this is because that authority was not, and could not have been, in active operation then. While Apostles were on earth, they exercised the powers both of bishop and Pope. When they were taken away, "Christianity did not at once break into portions; yet separate localities might begin to be the scene of internal dissensions, and a local arbiter would, in consequence, be wanted." "When the Church was thrown on her own resources, first local disturbances gave exercise to bishops, and next ecumenical disturbances gave exercise to Popes." Newman quotes with assent some of Barrow's topics of proof that Roman Supremacy did not exist in the first ages of the Church,

[1] Our views of Biblical criticism and exegesis are in advance of those of the early Church. We see, too, Christian truths more in focus, clearer in their connection with each other. We understand better the relations of the Church and the world, the laws and principles of the kingdom of God, and are able to construct a sounder philosophy of religion. But, unless we can claim and prove a special revelation from heaven, carrying with it the same credentials as those of the Holy Scriptures, we have no right to add a new doctrine to "the faith once for all delivered to the saints."—EDD.

namely: (1) that in the writings of the Fathers against the Gnostic heretics of the second century they never allege the sentence of the universal pastor and judge as the most compendious and efficacious method of silencing them; and (2) that heathen writers are quite ignorant of the doctrine, although no point of Christian teaching would be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in pagans, no novelty be more suspicious or startling than this creation of a universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men, the doctrine also being one that could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice. Newman also assents to Barrow's assertion that "the state of the most primitive Church did not well admit such a universal sovereignty." For that did consist of small bodies, incoherently situated and scattered about in very distant places, and consequently unfit to be modelled into one political society, or to be governed by one head, especially considering their condition under persecution and poverty. What convenient resort for direction or justice could a few distressed Christians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts have to Rome?

Newman is quite consistent with the thesis of his Essay in abandoning tradition as a basis for the doctrine of Papal Supremacy; but the basis of Development on which he attempts to build it is altogether insufficient to constitute any firm foundation. The cases of Episcopacy and Papal Supremacy are not parallel; because the former institution dates from apostolic times; and if it can be shown that it was established by Apostles, then it can claim a right to permanent continuance. But what claim for permanence can be made on behalf of any form of Church government, which confessedly shaped itself at least two or three centuries after the Apostles were all dead? Let us liberally grant that an ecclesiastical monarchy was the form of government best adapted to the needs of the Church at the time, when in temporal matters, the whole civilised world was governed by a single ruler; and yet it might be utterly unfit for her requirements in subsequent times when Europe has been broken up into independent kingdoms; and we might be as right now in disowning papal authority as our ancestors were in submitting to it.

The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men in temporal matters as well as in spiritual; and we can trace the working of His Providence in guiding events in the one as well as in the other. We can see, for example, how the establishment of the Empire of heathen Rome tended to the furtherance of the Gospel, which never could have spread so rapidly from land to land, if it had not been for the facility of intercourse resulting from the Roman peace. Yet no evidence that the Roman Empire was for a time beneficial to the world, would show that it was divinely intended to have perpetual duration, or that we now commit any sin in not belonging to it; and if we recognise the guiding hand of God's Providence in the formation of that Empire, we might equally do so in its dissolution. In like manner, a citizen of the United States of America cannot help owning that his country was originally colonised from Great Britain; that the authority of the Sovereign of England was recognised in those States without question for a century or two; that English rule was of the greatest advantage in protecting the infant colonies from enemies, and conferring other benefits on them; yet he would hold that the time came when English rule was no longer beneficial, and that now the sovereign of England neither hath nor ought to have authority in the United States. Thus, then, in like manner, the most that the theory of Development could do for the doctrine of Papal Supremacy, would be to establish a proof that there have been times when the Pope's Supremacy has been beneficial to the Church (or, to speak more cautiously, to the Western Church); that there have been bishops of Rome whose aims were high, whose lives were good, and by whose rule it was at least better to have been guided than by any other likely at the time to have been substituted for it. But surely it will be granted, that there have been bishops of Rome whose aims were not high, whose lives were not pure, and whose guidance it was not good to follow. What claim to obedience can such make out? Unless it be held that God's Providence ceased to exert itself three centuries ago, or else that it has merely a local operation, and does not extend to England, Scandinavia, or Germany, the theory of Development will afford as good a justification for the revolt from papal authority in the sixteenth century, as for its rise and growth in the third or fourth and subsequent centuries. And this theory would not prevent a historical student from pronouncing Papal Supremacy to be now a useless or mischievous survival of a form of Church government which has had its day, but which is unsuited to the character of the present age. If, therefore, we are to establish any justification of Papal Supremacy, we must fall back on the old sources of proof, Scripture and tradition; for Newman's proposed substitute, the theory of Development, completely breaks down. [G. S.]

[Extracted by permission from Dr. Salmon's work on *The Infallibility of the Church.*]

DEVIL, THE—The name Devil, or διάβολος, means the *slanderer*. In the Old Testament he is termed *Satan* or *the Satan*, *the adversary*, for the article is used in the Old Testament with the term, except in 1 Chron. xxi. 1. The name Satan is also often used in the New Testament, and generally has the article. The idea that he is "the servant of God represented as carrying out His trying, sifting Providence" as advocated by some moderns, has no support in Scripture. There he is represented as from the beginning "the liar" and the adversary of men. There may have been good reason why he was not prominently spoken of in the Pentateuch, but even there he is depicted as "the serpent," who in that form seduced in Eden our first parents, and as "Azazel," which ought not to be rendered in Lev. xvi. 8 "scapegoat," but is the spirit who has *turned himself away* from God, and who is personally contrasted with *Jehovah*. See Wright, *Biblical Essays* (Essay on the Book of Job); also his *Bampton Lectures on Zechariah*. The Devil is spoken of as *a spirit* (Eph. ii. 2) with angels subject to him (see DEMONS), as one who fell through pride (1. Tim. iii. 6); Rev. xii. 9, however, is wrongly quoted as referring to Satan's fall from heaven, though our Lord's words in John viii. 44 may refer to that fact. The word "Hillel," rendered "Lucifer" in Isaiah xiv. 12, refers to the King of Babylon, and not to Satan. The Devil is termed in the New Testament *Beelzebub* (*lord of flies*), perhaps rather *Beelzebul* (*lord of the heavenly mansion—the sun*) from the Philistine god of that name mentioned in 2 Kings i. *Belial*, often spoken of in the Old Testament, or *Beliar* (2 Cor. vi. 15), is, properly speaking, not a proper name, but means *worthlessness*; "a man of Belial" being a *worthless* (or wicked) *fellow*. [C. H. H. W.]

DEVOTED.—See MONKS and NUNS.

DEVOTIONS.—External religious acts or pious exercises which, in the view of the Romish Church, possess merit when springing from internal devotion or readiness to perform the will of God.

Feasts of Devotion are certain festivals, the observance of which is not obligatory, but is "left to the devotion of the faithful." The observance of such feasts is therefore supposed to be specially meritorious.

DIATESSARON.—See FATHERS.

DICERIUM.—A candlestick with two tapers designed to symbolise the two natures of Christ, used in the Russian and other Churches. There are also candlesticks with three tapers symbolising the Trinity. The words are spelled also *dicir* and *trikir*. (See Wright, *Service of Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches*, p. 20.)

DIES IRAE.—"Day of Wrath." A hymn of the Romish Church occurring in the Mass for for the Dead. It was written in 12: Thomas of Celano, and has been tran into English verse by Sir W. Scott, Dr. and others.

DIGAMY (Gr. *διγαμία*).—A marriage second wife after the death or lawful d of the first. Digamy is not to be confuse *bigamy*, which is the criminal offence of l two wives at once. [B.

DIOCESE.—See NATIONAL CHURCH.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.—: year 533, at a meeting in Constantinop tween the Severians and the orthodox, ences were made to the writings of Dio the Areopagite. The authenticity of writings was rejected or suspected o ground that they had not been known t of the Christian Fathers. The record o conference affords the first existing not the books which bear the name of Dion While there was controversy in the East into the ninth century, regarding these l they came gradually to be accepted as a tic, and John of Damascus (*De Fide Orth* c. 730) illustrates the respect in whicl were held. In the West, though Grego Great had previously referred to them Pope Paul I. had sent copies of them to of France, special attention was paid to in 827, when Michael the Stammere sented copies to the Emperor Lewis the These copies were deposited in the Abl St. Denis, near Paris, where the patron of France, according to legend, was b and the tradition arose that Denis and I sius the Areopagite were one and the man. John Scotus Erigena, in the rei Charles the Bald and at his instigation, lated the Dionysian writings into Latin his own work shows how strongly th fluenced his thought. From the peri Erigena till the Renascence the writing almost universally accepted as authenti many commentaries were written on such as that of the famous English eccles Robert Grosseteste. At the Renascence ever, when the critical spirit was awaken authenticity was finally rejected by scl among whom were Valla, Erasmus, and Ca The reasons for the rejection were s The books were unknown to the early tian writers, and to Eusebius, who, o authority of Dionysius of Corinth, des the Areopagite as the first bishop of the C at Athens. By internal evidence it was that the writer, from his thought and l ferences to certain customs and men, not have belonged to the Apostolic Age. late Bishop Westcott, arguing from t lation of the thought of the Areopagite t of the Neo-Platonist Proclus, from resem

between it and the teaching of the Monophysites, and from the reference to Hierotheus, a name known at the end of the fifth century, suggested the years 480–520 as the period when the books were composed.

The books are pseudonymous rather than forged, since the writer made but a slight attempt to identify himself with the Areopagite. They consist of four treatises and ten letters. The treatises are: I. On the Heavenly Hierarchy. II. On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. III. On the Names of God. IV. On Mystic Theology. They are addressed by Dionysius the Presbyter to his fellow-presbyter Timothy. Of the letters, one is addressed to Titus and another to the Apostle John. A hierarchy is defined as "a sacred order, and science, and activity, assimilated as far as possible to the godlike, and elevated to the imitation of God proportionately to the divine illuminations conceded to it" (Westcott's Translation).

The "Heavenly Hierarchy" treats of the beings who are ministers of God for raising men nearer to Him. Of these ministers or angels there are nine orders grouped into three triads: (*a*) Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones. (*b*) Dominations, Virtues, Powers. (*c*) Principalities, Archangels, Angels. Their work is through purification, illumination, and perfection to elevate men towards the Divine. The beings of the first triad, who are nearest to God, influence those of the second, who, in turn, affect the members of the third; and the last intervene in the affairs of man.

The "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy" sets forth that there is an earthly counterpart of the hierarchy in heaven; and that what God is to the higher, Jesus is to the lower. As is the heavenly so is the ecclesiastical, in the division into three triads. The first comprises Baptism, Communion, Holy Chrism, corresponding to purification, illumination, perfection. In the second are the three orders of the clergy, the deacons engaged in purifying, the priests in illuminating, and the bishops in perfecting. In the third triad are the catechumens who are undergoing purification, the holy laymen who are being illuminated, and the monks who are being perfected. The monk represents man in his highest attainable perfection, and the two Hierarchies treat of the scheme or order of the spiritual world by which the divine revelation, through which he approaches perfection, is given to man.

In the third treatise, "On the Names of God," there is an inquiry concerning the knowledge of God to be obtained from His names as found in Scripture. In reference to God as good arises the question of the origin of evil. Evil is represented as having no positive, but only a negative reality. God as One is the highest and final idea, and to it thought must tend.

The "Mystic Theology" attempts to show how thought may reach this idea. Manifestations to the senses indicate, but do not reveal God. His names, save the One, are definitions, and therefore do not reveal Him. In order to reach God as the One, to obtain a revelation of Him, thought must negate all that makes its conceptions of Him definite, since definition is limitation. But the thought of a man is finite, and it is consequently only by transcending its own limitations, only by self-denial, that it can attain to the idea of the infinite, of the One. The Hierarchies deal with the manifestations, and the means for effecting these, of God to man. The third and fourth treatises are concerned with a deeper knowledge of God to be obtained, not through manifestations of the Divine, but through a mystic union of man with God. A clear distinction is thus drawn between a *θεολογία καταφατική* and a *θεολογία ἀποφατική*. Together the writings attempt to furnish a Christian metaphysic, but if in the first place they are allied to Christianity they are also akin to Neo-platonism. Proclus, it was even alleged, had borrowed from Dionysius. But it was the pseudo-Areopagite who was affected by Neo-platonism, and he, in turn, gave a mystical cast to the religious thought of the Middle Ages. Erigena, the forerunner, if not the first of the scholastics, illustrates the influence of the Areopagite; and to his name may be added those of Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and Albertus Magnus. At the Renascence, while the authenticity of the writings attracted the attention of scholars, their teaching commanded the interest of thinkers like Dean Colet of St. Paul's.

Literature.—Migne's edition of *Dionysii Opera*. *The works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, translated into English by Rev. J. Parker. Milman, *Latin Christianity*. Ueberweg, *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Dean Colet on the *Hierarchies of Dionysius*, edited by J. H. Lupton. *Dionysius the Areopagite*, by B. F. Westcott (*Contemporary Review*, May 1867). *Review of the English Translation*, by the Rev. D. M. McIntyre (*Critical Review*, vol ix.).

[J. H.]

DIPTYCHS (*δίπτυχα*, *pl. neut.*), a pair of folding boards or tablets, containing, presumably on interior leaves, a register of names, and used in civil as well as in Church life. The term *δέλτοι* (*tabellæ*, *tablets*) sometimes occurs as an equivalent. An early appearance of the ecclesiastical diptychs in literature meets us after the death, in 407, of John Chrysostom, the deposed and exiled Patriarch

of Constantinople, on whose behalf it was claimed, as in the case of other deceased prelates,[1] that he should be remembered in the diptychs of his own Church. His numerous friends, the "Johnites" of Constantinople, insisted on this point, refusing communion with Atticus, who then occupied the patriarchal chair, until it was yielded. Their demand was urgently promoted in person by Alexander the Patriarch of Antioch, intent on promoting a general peace among the distracted Churches of the East through the insertion of Chrysostom's name in their diptychs,[2] the example[3] of which he had himself set at Antioch. Atticus, seeing no other way of peace at Constantinople, complied, though compliance was an admission of his own original intrusion. He also, in 417, urged Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, whose see had long been at feud on various points with Constantinople, to do the same, and after much delay the Alexandrian diptychs, the last of several, were opened to Chrysostom's name. This one instance shows the immense practical importance of the diptychs in Church life. They were not the mere office books of a modern vestry. They were holy registers of Church amity, brotherhood, and communion, occupying a place in the public services, especially valuable in an ecclesiastical system which was not a monarchy and could not submit to Rome's dictation. They were links to combine, if anything could, those great patriarchal independencies in a single unity. Unity there begun, extended to the humblest members, and those diptychal names, or some selection from them, being read from between the solemn tablets[4] in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, became stored in the common memory. Thus, if the names were those of persons who were truly worthy, like Chrysostom's, the records taught successive generations to know who had been their spiritual fathers, and whose words they should hold fast amid earth's Babel tongues. Even if things went wrong, the diptychs could, as they often did, by the same rule, perpetuate the bad. One more episode in diptychal history will suffice for giving a vivid impression of what this Church ordinance was on its better side. The Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon in 451, was opposed by the monophysite heresy on the nature of Christ, threatening the foundations of the faith. Successive patriarchs of Constantinople were loyal to the Council until Timotheus (511–517), an open opponent. His successor, John the Cappadocian, had hardly come to the chair, under great suspicion, when in 518 a new Emperor, Justin I., a determined "Synodite," supporting Chalcedon, succeeded to the throne, which had been occupied by a line of anti-Synodites. The Constantinopolitans, warm friends of Chalcedon, but long in despair under heterodox tyranny, joyfully seized the unhoped-for opportunity when the Emperor within a week of his accession entered the Cathedral. The day following, July 16, 518, their proceedings reached a climax in the same great church, by their frantically demanding of the patriarch an open recognition of the Fourth Council.[5] The excited multitude would take no denial and not a moment's delay. The whole robed body, patriarch and suffragans, priests, deacons, choristers, were prisoners behind the screen until assent was given, and given it was. The patriarch's professions seem to have been distrusted and a cry arose: "The diptychs, the diptychs, the diptychs to the ambo (pulpit)!" They were produced, and in no long time there were inscribed in them the names of recent faithful patriarchs, Euphemius and Macedonius, who had been passed over; and also that of Pope Leo I., who had done real service by his share in the Council of Chalcedon. But above all the Council itself was inscribed, and along with it its three great predecessors, Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), as the four strong Church pillars of Catholic orthodoxy on the special subject of the Person of Christ. Those prompt entries within the folding tablets giving them a public and an authoritative position not to be trifled with, completely satisfied the people, who kept enthusiastically chanting above an hour, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people!" Holy Communion followed, and the old *Trisagion* or *Tersanctus*, divested of its monophysite addition, came back as music to their ears. At the proper moment the diptychs were produced, as usual in this service, and when the deacon read out the names, which had been just before entered, the victorious multitude, recognising the completeness of their success, burst out with "Glory be to Thee, O God!" Those scenes became historical as the *Acclama-*

[1] Socrates, *H.E.*, lib. vii. c. 25.

[2] *D.C.B.*, ACACIUS of Beroea, i. 13 *a*, *b*; ATTICUS, i. 208 *b*, 209 *a*.

[3] Theodoret, *H.E.*, lib. v. c. 35, in *P.G.*, lxxxii. 1265 C.

[4] ταῖς μυστικαῖς δέλτοις, Atticus calls them in his letter to Cyril, *Pat. Gr.*, lxxvii. 349 C.

[5] See *D.C.B.*, TIMOTHEUS (24), died April 5, 517; JOANNES (124) Cappadox, succeeded 517; Anastasius, Emperor, died July 9, 518. Justin I. entered the Cathedral his first Sunday, July 15, 518. Acclamations, Monday, July 16, 158.

tions of Constantinople.[1] Nothing could have produced them but the occasion of a vital truth, as they believed it to be, visibly returning to them from the grasp of civil and ecclesiastical power. In honour of a triumph which put the four principal Councils in the diptychs, the Sunday nearest to July 16 is still annually observed in the Greek Church. That day re-united the Eastern and Western Churches after an open schism of thirty-five years. It also produced imperial orders to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and to the great Church of Tyre, for the insertion in their diptychs of the Council of Chalcedon. In these events the diptychs figure largely. Without them nothing seemed completed. Conspicuous, too, is the record in diptychs of *deceased* bishops, who were doubtless prayed for in centuries when prayers for the dead had become habitual. The primary object, however, of the diptychal record was not to secure such prayers, but to forward the purposes of the living Church in the manner above described. The English prayer for the Church Militant might, as some have suggested, carry a reminiscence of the ancient diptychs; if so, it bears but a single name, that of the living sovereign, and it mentions the blessed dead without prayer for them. The bidding prayer of the 55th Canon before the sermon could also be mentioned.

In Church history patriarchs or bishops are seen immediately on their consecration announcing the fact formally to brother prelates, expecting recognition by insertion in their diptychs as a pledge of peace and communion. Refusal would be formal notice of a breach. This practice made an organic solidarity in the body of the Church, which had no central coercive authority. It is another example of the great practical use of the diptychs, and of the large figure they made in the Eastern Church more especially.

Finally, it may be remarked that in the East the medieval Church system grew up a federation of sisters, through Councils and canons, by the instrumentality of diptychs; in the West, by the rise of one dominant mistress over the rest through the means of forged decretals in a single Church. [C. H.]

DIRGE.—An office for the dead in the Romish Church. The name is derived from the Latin *dirige* (*direct thou*), the first word in the antiphon. It ceased to form part of the public service at the Reformation. See *Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), pp. x., xi. 57.

[1] Noticed briefly in Robertson, ii. 286; *D.C.A.*, DIPTYCHS, i. 562 *b*; fully in *D.C.B.*, JOANNES (124), iii. 364, 365; in Latin, Mansi, viii. 1063 A, 1066 C.

DISCALCED CARMELITES.—There are two divisions among the Carmelites, viz., the Calced, who wear shoes, and the Discalced, who wear sandals. The Carmelite Order owes its origin to Berthold, a Calabrian monk who left Italy in 1156, and established himself on Mount Carmel. Of course he had visions, the prophet Elias appearing to him, and the Carmelites claim that their order is merely the succession of the Sons of the Prophets founded upon Mount Carmel by Elijah. When Papebroke, a Jesuit, and one of the Bollandists, published the Acta Sanctorum, he described Berthold as the first general of the Carmelites. A sharp controversy immediately sprang up, the Carmelites publishing many volumes claiming the prophet Elijah as their first general. The style of reasoning adopted by the editors of the *Catholic Dictionary* is characteristic: "These hermits may have had a long line of predecessors, nor is there any historical or moral impossibility in the assumption that holy men had lived on the mountain without interruption since the days of Elias, although positive evidence is wanting."

It was about 1500 that the custom of going without shoes was introduced. A man named John of Guadaloupe seems to have been the author of the innovation among the men, and St. Teresa among the women. The successors of the "Sons of the Prophets," popularly known as "Whitefriars," seem to have become worldly and luxurious, and for this reason St. Teresa started a work of reformation. She met with much opposition, and had to endure great persecution, but at the date of her death, in 1582, she had succeeded in reforming seventeen convents for women and fifteen for men. These latter wore sandals, and became known as Discalced, or barefooted Carmelites, while the others did not consider the wearing of shoes a bar to their salvation.

The old spirit must be creeping in again, for Carmelites on mission tours may be seen wearing comfortable boots and socks in the train, yet, when nearing their destination, discarding these for sandals, in which they march to the church, chanting hymns, and making a deep impression upon the beholders. They also go in sandals when begging from house to house. The Discalced Carmelite friars have houses at Kensington and Wincanton in England, and in several places in Ireland. The nuns have convents at Fulham, Notting Hill, Chichester, Wells, Laherne, Darlington, &c. [T. C.]

DISCIPLINA ARCANI.—This term, although descriptive of ecclesiastical practice in the early Church, does not appear to have come into use until the latter part of the seventeenth century. It was first employed apparently, by Dallaeus

in 1666,[1] and afterwards by G. Meier in 1672;[2] a few years later it was the title of controversial treatises by the Jesuit Schelstrate and the Lutheran Tentzel (1678, 1692).

The term denotes Christian training communicated privately to those only who are regarded as qualified to receive it.

1. Under this category is included the special instruction given at the celebration of the Sacraments and other rites, when all except baptized believers were excluded. This exclusion originated in the twofold danger, during early Christian times, of persecution and profanation. While zeal for the propagation of the Faith induced the Church to welcome the unbaptized to certain parts of Divine Service, fear of informers on the one hand, and of those, on the other, who might turn what they saw and heard into subjects of mockery, led to the most sacred part of the Church's worship being reserved for the "initiated" alone. Even catechumens were removed, partly, doubtless, from the difficulty of drawing a distinct line except between the baptized and the unbaptized, but also from the conviction that even genuine candidates required often to be taught "line upon line" as they were able to bear instruction. After the establishment of Christianity as the imperial religion, when, along with a large influx of heathens into the Church as merely nominal adherents, there came also into the Church's thought and life not a few pagan ideas and associations, the exclusion was continued; partly, as before, to avoid the risk of profanation, and partly through conformity to the pagan practice of separating the initiated from the uninitiated in the celebration of "Mysteries." There is evidence, in particular, that from the latter part of the second century at latest, all unbaptized persons were excluded not only from participation in, but from presence at the celebration of the Eucharist,[3] the service being divided into what was called Missa Catechumenorum, at which any one might be present, and Missa Fidelium, previous to which all unbaptized persons, as well as all heretics, were enjoined to withdraw.[4] The Missa Fidelium included on special occasions a Mystagogia, or detailed instruction regarding the mysteries of the Faith, in the form of a confession of belief.[5] The unbaptized were also not allowed to be present at the a tration of Baptism, at the Unction of mation, and at the Ordination of the Mi

However desirable in some respects s clusion may have been, and however e the motives which prompted to it, the on the whole, occasioned more evil than vented. During the period of persecuti secrecy of divine services gave occa the gravest calumnies: to charges Christians of cannibalism and prom sexual intercourse, arising apparently garbled reports about communicants "the flesh of the Son of man" and Christian fellowship with the kiss of and charity.[7] The emphasis, further, was laid on the exclusion of the unin led, even in Ante-Nicene, but still n Post-Nicene times, to the sacraments losing their primitive simplicity, and to stitious ideas being generated and fo culminating eventually in such doctri Transubstantiation.

2. The term Disciplina Arcani is u describe the special instruction (apar divine services) communicated only baptized and to catechumens at the c their course of training, regarding (nature and significance of the sacr and other rites; (*b*) the Lord's Prayer, was called the Prayer of the Faithful (τῶν πιστῶν), and mystically interpreted; more mysterious doctrines of the Cl creed, as the Trinity, the Incarnatio Atonement, and the Resurrection o Body.[8] In the case of catechumens tl struction was communicated shortly baptism under a pledge, more or less f of silence as regards the heathen. Gregory of Nazianzus, referring to Ba reports himself as saying to an audie catechumens, "You have heard as m the mystery as we are allowed to publicly; and the rest you shall hear pri which you must retain secretly within self and keep under the seal of bapt So, too, Cyril of Jerusalem, in one

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[1] In his *De Scriptis sub Dionysii Areopagitæ nomine.*

[2] In his *De recondita Veteris Ecclesiæ Theologia.*

[3] Tertullian, *Præscr. adv. Hæret.* c. 41; *Apostol. Constit.*, ii. 57; Chrysostom, 23*rd. Hom. on Matt.*

[4] From this term *Missa* (=*missio, dismissio*) comes the word "Mass."

[5] A specimen of Mystagogia is contained in the ancient *Testament of Our Lord*, i. 28, recently issued by Rahmani (1899), and translated by Coop Maclean (1902).

[6] Basil, *De Spir. Sancto*, 27; Augustine, *on Psalm* 103; Chrys., 18*th Hom. on* 2 *Cor.*, C of Laodicea, Canon 5.

[7] See Minucius Felix, *Dialogue of Octav* and Tertullian's *Apology*, 7. The repetition c gross charges by the cultured pagan Cecil the former work indicates that belief in was not confined to the uneducated multitu

[8] *Testament of our Lord*, ii. 10; but *cf Cat.* 15.

[9] Oratio 40, *De Baptismo; cf.* Tert., *Apol.*

Catechetical Addresses, writes that "it is not the custom to speak to heathens about the mysteries concerning Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; nor even before catechumens do we discourse plainly about such mysteries."[1] By writers of the fourth and fifth centuries the Lord's Prayer was regarded as suitable to be taught only to the baptized and to catechumens shortly before baptism, on the ground that only through that sacrament is "the charisma of adoption received."[2] Sozomen refrained (with exceptional scrupulosity, however, apparently) even from inserting the Nicene Creed into his History, on the ground that heathens were likely to be among his readers.[3]

3. Finally, the term Disciplina Arcani is employed to describe instruction in the early Church which was not to be communicated even to baptized and orthodox believers indiscriminately, but to be reserved for those capable of understanding, appreciating, and benefiting by it. Such esoteric teaching was suggested apparently by the practice of the philosophical schools,[4] and was specially notable in Alexandria, the chief seat of philosophical speculation. Clement and Origen, the Heads of the Christian Catechetical and Theological School of Alexandria in the second and third centuries, were affected so far by their Gnostic as well as pagan environment; and while opposed decidedly to Gnostic heresy, they recognised the tenet which Gnosticism emphasised, viz., that for the enlightened members of the Church, Christianity had much higher teaching, which the ordinary believer (πιστικὸς) was incapable of apprehending. Clement indicates his belief that part at least of this esoteric instruction had been handed down from Apostles. He speaks of those who "preserved the tradition of the blessed doctrine derived directly from the holy Apostles Peter, John, and Paul, son receiving it from father;[5] and elsewhere he refers to the Gnosis "which has descended by transmission to few, having been orally imparted by the Apostles."[6] Origen distinguishes things communicated to Apostles which were to be "committed to writing," from "things by no means to be written," and "words uttered by Christ, which have not been preserved, because it appeared to the Evangelists that they could not be adequately conveyed to the multitude in writing or in speech."[7]

That some tradition, more or less trustworthy, must have existed in the second century regarding what Apostles said, or reported Christ to have said (apart from the records of Scripture), can hardly be doubted, "granting that the Apostles conversed, and that their friends had memories."[8] But it is equally indisputable that certain Gnostic teachers, wittingly or unwittingly, fathered on Apostles doctrine inconsistent with the authorised tradition of Holy Writ; and it is probable that some early orthodox Christians also accepted in good faith, as apostolic, certain oral traditions which had no claim to that title; so that it is far from certain that Clement of Alexandria, at the close of the second century, was really in possession of any important and at the same time reliable addition to what has come down to us in acknowledged apostolic writings. The "Gnosis" of which he speaks as having been handed down, may have related, not to any fresh doctrines unrevealed in Scripture, but rather to fresh illustrations of doctrines there set forth, and to additional evidence (real or fancied) of their truth, obtained through those allegorical interpretations on which early Christian writers laid inordinate stress.[9] The anxiety, moreover, of the Christian School of Alexandria to conciliate philosophers and supplant Gnostics, by harmonising, in some measure, the method of instruction with the systems of exoteric and esoteric teaching prevalent in surrounding schools of philosophy and religion, may have caused writers like Clement unconsciously to over-estimate and thus unduly to emphasise the available amount of unwritten apostolic tradition.

The Disciplina Arcani is of interest as regards the controversy between Romanists and Protestants, in so far as it is set forth by the former as a ground of defence against the Protestant objection to certain Roman doc-

[1] *Catech.*, vi. 29; *cf.* Theodoret, *Quæst. in Numb.*

[2] Theodoret, *Hær. Fab. Comp.*, v. 28; he adds, "None of the uninitiated dares say "Our Father"; *cf.* Chrysostom, *2nd Hom. on 2 Cor.* "Catechumens as yet have not the appointed Prayer which Christ introduced;" *Apost. Const.*, vii. 44.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 20.

[4] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 7., writes: "That there should be certain doctrines not made known to the multitude, which are revealed after the exoteric doctrines have been taught, is not a peculiarity of Christianity alone, but also of philosophic systems, in which certain truths are exoteric and others esoteric."

[5] *Strom.*, i. 1.

[6] *Strom.*, vi. 7.

[7] *Contra Celsum*, vi. 6.

[8] Newman, *Arians in the Fourth Century*, p. 60.

[9] *e.g.* the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," was interpreted as referring to Christ and to the Eucharist. Tertullian, *De rat.*, 6; Cyprian, *De. Orat. Dom.* 18.

trines — transubstantiation, purgatory, image veneration, hyperdulia of the Virgin, &c.—that these doctrines are not found in Holy Scripture, nor even in the early Fathers. Such dogmas, it is urged by Romanists, from Bellarmine and Schelstrate downwards, were really taught by the original Apostles to their immediate followers, but as a secret deposit not to be committed to writing, and only to be orally handed down. It is sufficient to reply that if there had really been a secret doctrinal deposit of vital importance, reserved either for the baptized membership as a whole, or for the more enlightened portion of it, the secret could not have been kept for any considerable length of time, much less for centuries. "What ye have spoken in the inner chambers shall (eventually) be proclaimed upon the house-tops." As Newman observes,[1] "Apostates would reveal the doctrines if these escaped in no other way" In the numerous doctrinal controversies, moreover, with heretics of various kinds, from the second to the fifth centuries, it was impossible for the orthodox, with a view to any complete and effective refutation of their adversaries, to avoid reference to the whole truth authoritatively communicated and transmitted. Even in the case of such writers as Clement and Origen, who emphasised the distinction between exoteric and esoteric teaching, there is no evidence, as we have seen, of any diversity between the two on essential or important points of doctrine being intended; while Irenæus and Augustine, in controversy with heretics, distinctly repudiate the idea of divergence between what the Apostles taught at different times or to different persons.[2]

Literature.—Tentzel's *Dissertatio de Disciplina Arcani*; Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book x. ch. v.; Mosheim, *De Rebus Chr. Comm.*, xxxiv.; Rothe, *De Disciplinæ Arcani Origine*; Newman's *Arians in the Fourth Century*, ch. i. sect. 3 (published in 1833); Articles in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*. [H. C.]

DISCIPLINE (THE).—The word signifies first that which is learned, instruction; and then that which is taught, *i.e.* science or doctrinal system; then training, order, regulations, as in an army, family, or society. Ecclesiastically, it sometimes means rules of conduct as distinguished from the doctrines of the faith.

The word "Discipline," however, is applied in a material sense to an "instrument of penance" in the form of a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails, made either of knotted cord or steel, with which the penitent is whipped on the bare back by himself or another. Dr. Pusey imported the "Discipline" from Rome into the English Church. He both used it himself, and directed confessors to impose it upon Ritualistic Sisters of Mercy (*Manual for Confessors*, p. 243). Walsh, in the *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 40, quotes Miss Povey's terrible account of the infliction of the "Discipline" upon herself (when Sister Mary Agnes, O.S.B.) in a Ritualistic convent. There is great reticence as to the extent to which the "Discipline" is used, but there is reason to fear that it is on the increase and is more prevalent than is generally supposed.

DISPENSATION.—A relaxation of the law; a permission to do something otherwise unlawful, *e.g.* for a clergyman to hold two livings in the Church of England at one and the same time, which is possible by dispensation of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, and the registrars of marriages have the power of dispensation in respect of granting licences to marry without the preliminaries otherwise needful.

All dispensing powers require to be jealously watched, as they not unfrequently lead to abuse, *e.g.* in the case of James II., and in recent days the Episcopal veto under the Public Worship Regulation Act. The setting aside of the law should only be allowed when there are proper safeguards in the way of appeal. See INDULGENCE. [B. W.]

DISSENTERS. Those who think differently, and consequently secede from any Church or body to which they happen to belong. Bishop Jewel says, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and all Protestants are dissenters from the Church of Rome. From the point of view of English law, dissenters are seceders from an Established Church. In Ireland there are no "dissenters," because there is now no Established Church. The Established Church of Scotland is Presbyterian, therefore the adherents of the Episcopal Church of Scotland (although in communion with the Church of England) are "dissenters," so also are the Free Church of Scotland and all the Free Churches in England. In England there are (1) Episcopal dissenters, such as Roman Catholics, the Free Church of England (of Evangelical principles, founded in 1844), possibly even the Moravians. (2) Non-Episcopal, such as Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists or Independents, Baptists, Unitarians, and the Salvation Army. All dissenters formerly were subject to political disabilities. Roman Catholics are still not permitted to hold certain offices, or to present to a benefice, or publicly to exercise some of

[1] *Arians in the Fourth Century*, p. 58.

[2] Iren., *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 1, *cf.* Augustine, *In Advers. leg. et proph.*, ii. 4 6. (See Newman, pp. 59, 60.)

their religious rites and ceremonies, although in practice such disabilities are to a large extent disregarded. A dissenting minister is entitled to be styled "Reverend," and may act as registrar of marriages solemnised by him if duly authorised.

DIVORCE. — Dissolution of marriage. The *Congregation in Church*, commenting on the Marriage Service states, "The use [employment] of our Lord's own words, 'Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder,' is an important peculiarity of the English Marriage Service. They [those words] are a solemn declaration by the Church of the indissolubility of marriage—a declaration, repeated at every administration of the sacrament, that not [indicating that no] secular law, Court of Divorce, or other human power can loose the bond now tied, or operate in any way during the lives of the parties to make them less man and wife than they now are, or to empower them to contract other unions. The Church can, indeed, declare a marriage void which has been unlawfully contracted; but in such a case the sacrament has never been duly administered, so there is no dissolution of an actual marriage" (p. 145).

The above is an ill-expressed statement of the Roman, not the Anglican doctrine on Divorce and Remarriage. No one who reads the Gospels can doubt that our Lord gave permission to put away an unfaithful wife. The Jews had no such ceremony or practice as the Separation which has since been called Divorce, *a mensa et toro*. The following is a typical example of a Bill of Divorce such as was used by the Jews: "You may go to what man you will; this is a Bill of Divorce between me and thee; a letter of quittance and instrument of dismissal; so you may marry whom you please" (Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*). Among the Jews, therefore, after divorce, both parties, the divorcer and the divorcee, might remarry, and marriage might be broken for the lightest causes. Our Lord took away the right of divorce for any light cause, and for any cause at all but the wife's infidelity; and by the exception that He made, He gave a distinct permission to the man who had put away his wife for her unfaithfulness, to marry again (Matt. xix. 9). But He gave no such leave to the guilty wife; her second marriage was nothing else than adultery: "Whoso marrieth her which is put away (for fornication) committeth adultery" (*Ibid.*).[1]

The Early Church followed the Master's rule. The Civil Law was, as might be expected, laxer, but in the eyes of the Church there was one, and one only cause that was regarded as adequate for the dissolution of Christian marriage, and that was the wife's unfaithfulness; and the rule was that the guilty party might not be married again, any such union, though allowed by the State, being looked upon by the Church as adultery. But the Church had no rule with respect to the innocent party. She might give advice, but that was all. Some of her teachers held that there was nothing to prevent the marriage of the innocent party, some disapproved of it, some said they did not know. But as time proceeded, a difference of practice exhibited itself in the West and in the East. When the papal authority had been firmly established in the West, and the power of dispensation by the Pope was acknowledged, the Latin Church came to the opinion that it was best to proclaim the entire indissolubility of marriage, leaving the power of practically dissolving it in the hands of the Roman Pontiff. As the Latin Church, conscious that it had reserved to itself a loophole, thus stiffened its formal rule and hardened its practice, the Eastern Church not only retained the ancient view of the permissibility of the marriage of the innocent party, but made it part of her Ecclesiastical Law, that such a marriage was to be allowed, and that no priest was to be molested for performing it. This regulation took shape in the Synodical Decision of Alexius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the eleventh century: "Women divorced by men whose conduct has been the cause of the divorce are not to be blamed if they choose to marry again, nor are the priests to be blamed who gave them the benediction. So too with regard to men." This has been the law of the Eastern Church ever since.

The indissolubility of the marriage tie, therefore, never has been the doctrine of the Church Catholic, but only of the Roman section of it in its later developments, and even here exceptions are made, as is usually done by her moral theologians when a general principle or law has been laid down. There are three exceptions now allowed in spite of the general prohibition of the Council of Trent. These are: (1) the conversion of one of the two, in which case the converted

[1] The clause "who so married her which is put away committeth adultery" is omitted by several ancient authorites (see margin of R.V.) Many regard these words as referring to the marriage, not of a woman put away for unfaithfulness, but of a woman divorced for some frivolous or insufficient cause as often occurred among the Jews, and similar cases are sadly frequent in America.—EDD.

man may leave his wife and the converted woman her husband (if her confessor order her, she is bound to do so, unless he will be converted too), and he or she may marry again; (2) the retirement of one of the two into a monastery or nunnery within the first two months of marriage, and before consummation, which ought to be delayed for two months in order to give to each of the parties time for consideration; (3) Papal Dispensation exercised on account of impotence, scandal, or sterility, and, as some think, on account of disparity of social state, a contagious disease, the likelihood of dissensions, and mutual consent (Liguori, *Theol. Moral.*, vi. 6, 3).

It is argued by some that because our Lord, in the passage above quoted, uses the word fornication and not adultery, His concession of divorce is only granted to those whose wives have been guilty of immorality before marriage. This is a philological error; the word translated fornication is a generic term embracing adultery and fornication. Dr. King, the Bishop of Lincoln, says, "The arbitrary limitation of the word *πορνεία* to prenuptial sin is unsupported either by the use of the LXX., of the Ecclesiastical Canons, or of modern Greek" (Charge, 1896).

It is argued by others that Mark x. 11 and Luke xvi. 18, not containing the exception, override Matt. xix. 9, in which it occurs. Bishop King replies, "An exception to a general enactment, made by the same authority, might surely be regarded as qualifying that enactment, and not as cancelled by it" (*Ibid.*). The Bishop adds, "The direct statements and the hesitations of the oldest and greatest of the ancient Fathers would not have been possible if the absolute indissolubility of marriage under all circumstances had been the accepted traditionary teaching of the Church" (*Ibid.*).

Again, it is argued that the Church of England has committed itself to the indissolubility of marriage by the wording of its Order of Administration of Matrimony. But this is a mistake arising from a want of consideration of the necessary character of the Marriage Service. The Church regards those to whom she ministers as children of God, and deals with them as such. The idea is monstrous that in the solemn rite of marriage, while each of the parties is giving himself or herself to the other, the Church should tell them that they are united until one or the other of them commits adultery. She speaks to them as what they ought to be, without specifying the exceptions which she trusts will never occur in the case before her.

Again, it is argued that if the Church has not specifically abolished the pre-Reformation canons, which recognised indissolubility, she is still bound by them and must not look further. The answer in the present case is, that whether such canons were before or after the Reformation, the principle laid down in Article VI., that the Church has not power to interpret one text of Scripture so as to be in contradiction to another, nullifies any such canons if they exist. Holy Scripture plainly tells us that our Lord Himself has declared one cause to be sufficient to dissolve marriage, and no Church canon or interpretation can override that authority.

In case, then, that any presbyter or layman find fault or interfere with another presbyter, who remarries the innocent party after divorce, or with any bishop, who gives his permission or licence for such marriage to be performed, he is playing the part of a busybody in another man's affairs in a way wholly unjustifiable.

Nevertheless, it were best that, to avoid scandal or any oppression of conscience on the part of the clergy, all marriages of divorced persons should be required to be performed at a registrar's office, although the innocent party would be within his rights in asking for a marriage in church, and no clergyman who performs such a marriage is blameworthy.

[F. M.]

DOCETISM.—The Docetics taught that Christ had not a real, but only an apparent or phantom body. The word is derived from the Greek word "to seem, to appear." The theory of Docetism arose from the Gentile repugnance to admit that God could be born, suffer, or die. According to their doctrine it was not correct to say that when Christ was crucified He suffered, nor to believe that He really died or rose again. Such events in His life were in their opinion merely appearances, without any objective reality. Docetism in its early stages is alluded to by St. John in his First and Second Epistles, see 1 John iv. 2, and 2 John 7. Some early Docetic writings have been recently discovered, such as the *Apocryphal Gospel of Peter*, and the *Acts of John*. See HERESIES, APOCRYPHA OF N. T. [E. A. W.]

DOGMA AND DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.—Christian dogma is Christianity as accepted and interpreted by the Christian community, or by some particular Christian community. On the one hand it is not doctrine just as it stands in the Scriptures, nor, on the other, is it the mere theories or opinions of any given individual. It involves (1) the acceptance of a certain body of teaching on authority, as the Church as a whole accepts the teaching of Christ and the Apostles; (2) its interpretation by the mind of the community; (3) the embodiment and presentation of that interpreta-

tion in the form of definite doctrines, whether in Creeds or Articles, or simply in the regular instruction given to the people, and especially to the young. This third point must be carefully noted. The idea of dogma suggests to some minds narrowness, intolerance, repression of the intellect, perhaps even persecution. But the mode in which any particular Church seeks to promulgate and establish its dogmas, is quite a different question from that of dogma in itself. A religious community must as such, and as distinguished from its individual members, hold certain doctrines, and this need only mean that the religious instruction it provides in any form is on the lines of those doctrines, and consequently that its official teachers are committed to that particular creed.

The necessity for definite Christian doctrine is to be found in the very essence of Christianity itself. Christianity is essentially a *Gospel*, the announcement, not of abstract truths, but of infinitely significant facts. In explanation of these facts, God has revealed definite truths, otherwise unknown and unknowable, yet capable of being intelligently accepted and set in various lights according to the needs of the hour. Those who stumble at a definite Divine revelation are those who inadequately perceive the need of a Divine interposition. In other words, Rationalism has its root in a defective conception of sin. A definite historical Redemption must surely include an explicit revelation. This may be seen the more clearly from a very brief sketch of the development of dogma in the Church. It may be convenient to mark stages in this development, beginning with the ministry of Christ.

1. *The Preparation.* Christ carried on a twofold ministry, which ran, as it were, in two parallel lines, one in Galilee, the other at Jerusalem. The ministry during the visits to Jerusalem began with an early disclosure of His mission, and was hurried to its consummation by the pressure of opposition from the ruling and learned classes. The ministry in Galilee was of a more tentative and educational character. It consisted of simple teaching on the relation of man to God, in form carefully adapted to the intelligence and spiritual capacity of the hearers; in substance wholly uncompromising and supremely ideal. It is commonly urged that this teaching, as contained, for instance, in the Sermon on the Mount, must constitute the sum and substance of His Gospel, and that nothing else, even in the New Testament, is to be accepted as a fundamental article of faith. This idea has been frequently refuted, and, indeed, it begs the whole question of Christ's mission. Of course, if we start with assuming that Christ came rather as a Teacher than to carry out a work of Redemption, then we must judge the Apostolic theology from that standpoint. But —to say the very least—this is an assumption which we have no right to make. In the eyes of St. Paul, Christ is essentially the Redeemer; and assuredly, if we accept the Gospel from this its earliest and greatest interpreter, we shall find no difficulty in the fact that Christ did not fully expound the work of Redemption before it was enacted. The Gospel of Redemption has no place if Christ was mainly a Teacher. On the other hand, the Galilean teaching has its due place if Christ is essentially a Redeemer. What then is that place? We may answer this question roughly, but sufficiently for our present purpose, by observing three points. (i.) It prepared the soil. Socrates made it his aim to help men to form ideas for themselves; to train rather than to furnish their minds; not to teach them truths so much as to teach them to teach themselves. Other teachers, adopting an opposite method, have taught systems of doctrine ready-made. In this latter case the mind had merely to receive; in the former, it had to create. Christ's method was different from either extreme. He did not invite His hearers to think out their own religion; for, unlike Socrates, He came even from the first with a Gospel, though not its final expression. Nor, on the other hand, did He force upon them cut-and-dried propositions for mechanical acceptance. In other words, He did not ask too much or too little of the human mind. The Parable of the Sower illustrates the aim and scope of His ministry. The soul does not in itself — as Socrates might have said—contain the living truth of God. And yet it may provide for that living truth—as the soil provides for the seed—the true conditions for its growth and fruit-bearing. The soil does not produce the seed, yet the seed depends upon the soil for its growth. Christ did not come either to water a field already sown, on the one hand, or to plant a full-grown plant on the other: He came to sow. Dogmatic theology is not to be despised because Christ did not give it to the world just as it is. It required to be sown into a soil morally and spiritually prepared. For it is an organism, not a piece of intellectual mechanism. And its appropriate soil is the heart in sympathy with the mind of God. (ii.) Christ sought by His teaching to concentrate attention on Himself. This, surely, was the supreme, though not the immediate object. He taught from such an altitude of perfect spiritual knowledge, perfect holiness, and perfect jealousy for the Law of God, that the teaching became merged in the Teacher.

Men were led to feel that to disobey the moral law as He taught it, was to disobey Him. They were led to recognise Him as God because He drew to Himself and absorbed in Himself, by an inevitable process, all the feelings and sentiments that men have towards God. As He drew out their spiritual faculties He concentrated them upon His own Person. (iii.) The third object of His ministry was to train those who should teach others. And this brings us to the second stage of the growth of doctrine.

2. *The Proclamation of the Facts of Redemption.* It cannot be too strongly insisted on that Christianity was first given to the world as an announcement of facts. It pre-supposes, not man's fulness, but his emptiness, not his communion with God, but an alienation so radical as to call for a historical intervention from the side of God. The form in which the Gospel is presented in the preaching recorded for us in the Acts, is exactly suited to this early stage, and so bears the mark of authenticity. Its basis is simply an announcement of the death and resurrection of Christ with immediate reference to the future Advent. Even the vital truth of His spiritual presence was not so much an element in the original substratum, as the necessary filling-in of a *schema* of past and future facts. Now these definite facts, with their necessary accompaniment of divinely authorised explanation, afforded a basis of definite doctrine. And just as the facts of Redemption are the centre of all history, and stand out in sharpest outline against all else that has happened on the face of the earth, so the doctrine which explains them stands out against all human thought and science, and defies all criticism and philosophy to explain it in terms of ordinary knowledge, or to blur its outlines. Christian doctrine is anchored for ever to historical fact. And again, a religion that is in the first instance a "Gospel," a piece of good tidings, naturally made its first appeal, not to the developed intellect, but to the heart. Men felt it before they began to think it out; and had they not done so, it would have been lost and merged in mere philosophy. As it was, when they began to think, their thoughts were not idle speculation about far-off things, but an endeavour to interpret actual spiritual experience.

3. The next stage is the *unfolding* of Christian truth in the teaching of the Apostles, especially of St. Paul. We may speak of this as the beginning of Christian theology, and yet it stands quite apart from all later theology. St. Paul does not try to systematise the Gospel, or to bring it into relation with human thought. Even to say that he draws deductions from it does not take us to the very essence of his method. He simply unfolds it. But note the advance. In the first days of the Church it had been a message; it now becomes also "wisdom." Yet St. Paul does not regard his Gospel as an interpretation of divine facts by human wisdom. Rather, the wisdom is *in* the Gospel itself; it is God's wisdom, and stands in sharp antithesis to the wisdom of this world. Most certainly, from another point of view, divine truth gives the widest scope for the highest exercise of the intellect. But the Spirit of God did not reveal this at so early a stage. The supreme need first of all was to vindicate the supremacy, the independence, the completeness of the newly revealed mystery of the Gospel; to preserve it in a form which should be the standard and norm for all ages; then, not till then, to open the door to a Christian philosophy. The Gospel had to vindicate its distinctness from human wisdom before it revealed its alliance; its authority, before its philosophic truth. St. Paul's teaching, that it may be an authority for all ages, is definite and explicit. But though definite, not formulated. It does not cut and dry the truth, and pack it into separate compartments, and define and label it. The Church has done so, rightly and necessarily, in later days. But the Spirit of God set apart St. Paul, not to elaborate a theology, but to provide a starting-point, a centre, for all theology. His teaching does not hamper the intellect, but enriches and stimulates it. Its completeness is the completeness, not of a building, but of an organism. And therefore it is that for those who are in sympathy with St. Paul's fundamental standpoint, there is no real difficulty about accepting his authority. And the same is true of the New Testament as a whole. It is the Gospel developed from within, with clear outlines but unfathomable depths. The intellect of man through all the ages can never get beyond it, yet never, in the long-run, finds it a fetter.

4. The Apostolic revelation was not immediately taken up by Christian theology. The age of the "Apostolic Fathers" is the age of unsophisticated receptivity, with little ability to grasp the doctrine, much less to speculate upon it. The contrast between the writings of this age and the New Testament is most striking and significant. And we need not wonder. The New Testament writers wrote by the Spirit for all ages; they are the foundation, not the first of a series. The age of revelation had ended; the age of interpretation had barely begun.

5. Christian *theology* began as a defence of the truth against heathenism and against heresy. In refuting the attacks of philosophers it was necessary to show, not that

Christianity was above all philosophy, but that it was the crown of philosophy; not that it scorned the questionings of the human mind, but that it gave them the answer that they most needed. But even in very early times it was not pure heathenism that had to be met. The work of philosophising about the Christian revelation, from which the orthodox generally shrank, was undertaken by the Gnostics, a class of writers who were Christian in so far that they set themselves to interpret the Christian message of Redemption, but pagan in the nature of their interpretation, pagan in their conception of God, of man, of the world. It is obvious that the Gospel could only meet a philosophy like this by becoming itself a philosophy. In defence it developed its resources. Yet more fully was this the case, when the Church was called upon to resist the later heresies relating to the Trinity and the Person of Christ. Only a passing allusion to this tremendous subject is possible in this article; but such an allusion will be sufficient to supply the needed link. Take as an example the arch-heresy Arianism, which denied both the true humanity and the true Godhead of Christ. We are familiar with the attempt to represent this great conflict as a mere verbal or philosophical dispute. Jesus, it is said, was ethically and spiritually Son of God; why contend so earnestly for an incomprehensible, metaphysical Sonship? Why spoil the beauty and simplicity of the Divine message by disputing about "substance" and "eternal generation"? Such a plea entirely misses the point of the controversy. The question at issue was: Are the events which we sum up as the "work of Redemption" the acts of God? Has God personally interposed for man's salvation? That new and rich and soul-satisfying view of God which has become the possession of the Church just because she has recognised Godhead in Jesus Christ—is it a truth or a delusion? The Christian God has come down to us in Jesus Christ, the Arian God is the distant abstract Deity of the heathen philosopher, who never enters into the sphere of human life. Such a God is unmeaning to us when once we have realised that sin is a gulf between man and his Maker, which can only be crossed from above.

But, further, there is one point that must not be overlooked. An attempt was made at the Council of Nicaea, which condemned Arianism, to preserve the Christian faith by a Creed which practically reproduced the words of Scripture. But it was soon perceived that a Creed, being an authorised explanation of Scripture, was ineffectual if it merely reproduced Scriptural language. As long as the divine revelation is misinterpreted, so long will the Churches be unable to dispense with authorised interpretations. And to deny that Scriptural doctrine can be reproduced in other than its exact original form, is to deny that it is properly intelligible.

We have now traced the development to its climax. Had we more space we might show how, by a gradual process, doctrine became hardened and stiffened, claiming dominion rather by imposition from without than through its inherent vitality and power. Suffice it to say that, by God's providence, this very hardening and materialising of the truth, gave it an easier hold over the minds of the rude barbarians who overran the Roman Empire, and bound them to the Church, till the great thaw of the Reformation set free the nations to a new liberty of thought and life.

Brief as this outline has necessarily been, it will perhaps help us to answer the main objections to the principle of Christian dogma, which we will endeavour to do in the fewest possible words.

Referring back to our remarks at the opening, we note that dogma implies a union of reason with authority. This union is opposed both in the interest of the freedom of faith and in the interest of the freedom of reason. It is urged that the intellect must be free from the fetters of authority, and faith from the limitations and questionings of reason. But this is to lose sight of the very character of Christian truth. If truth it is indeed, it is life as well as truth; it has a power in itself to possess the heart and the intellect, to become the very life of the soul, to impose its authority by an inward revelation that does not cramp the mind, but enlarges and enriches it. Of course the Christian apologist must appeal to the reason before he can assert the claims of authority. But within the sphere of Church life, the truth is imparted on authority before the intellect has asserted its independence, that thus it may take possession of the soul and become so truly the very atmosphere that it breathes, that doubt will be impossible for ever. Dogma is the faith of the Christian community, and every child that grows up in the life of that community must grow up in its faith. Dogma, as the Reformed Churches understand it, is not a mere petrified system. It is a necessity, not because it is, as in the Roman Church, a condition of salvation externally imposed; but because salvation is life, and life is to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. [A. R. W.]

DOMINICANS.—Dominic, the founder of the Order, was born A.D. 1170 in Calaruega in Castile. His parents were of noble birth; and as they were pious, he was reared in an atmosphere of religion. At the age of fifteen he

entered the school or university of Palencia, where he remained for ten years. Leaving Palencia, he became one of the canons regular of the Cathedral of Osma, and in a short time was chosen sub-prior. In 1203 Dominic was associated with Azevedo, Bishop of Osma, in an embassy; and passing through Languedoc they saw the religious condition of that territory, which was soon to be the scene of a tragic religious war. On their return journey to Spain they again entered Languedoc, where they met the papal legates who were conferring regarding the heresy which was widespread. Azevedo, seeing the poverty adopted by the heretical teachers, advised the legates to cast away all pomp; and he himself, dismissing his retinue, remained in Languedoc with Dominic as his assistant, for the purpose of working among the heretics. Dominic proved a powerful preacher and a formidable rival of the teachers of the Cathari, the heretics opposing the Church. In the course of his missionary labours he organised a convent at Prouille, that female converts might be instructed in the orthodox doctrines; and in 1218, Pope Honorius III. formally recognised this association as the Second Order of Dominic, the members of which were in time to devote themselves to the education of girls.

In 1208 a papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered, and Raymond, the Count of Toulouse, was charged with complicity in the crime. As Raymond would do nothing to avenge the murder or to check the heresy in his territories, the Pope, Innocent III., inaugurated a crusade under Simon de Montfort, a French noble; and a war against the heretics was waged, which was one of the fiercest ever carried on in the name of religion. Throughout the years of the crusade, Dominic was in the invaded territory, which is now a part of France; and his biographers have related that the famous victory of the Count de Montfort at Muret, in 1213, was due to the prayers of the future saint. Little, however, is known of his missionary labours beyond the fact that they attracted the notice of a citizen of Toulouse, who, in 1214, presented Dominic with a house to be used as a school for the education of preachers. For the support of the house the local bishop set apart certain tithes. Dominic's purpose was to found an Order of preachers educated in theology. At first he adopted the Rule as well as the habit of the canons regular, though he desired that the association might be recognised as an Order with its own Rule. At the Lateran Council of 1215 he obtained the papal recognition of the convent of Prouille, though he had difficulty in securing sanction of any kind for his Order, as the Council opposed the multiplication of religious associations. The sanction was given, however, on condition that the brotherhood should be allied to an existing society; and the Brothers Preachers, as Innocent III. styled them, united themselves to the Augustinians. The Brothers, sixteen in number, represented different nations, of which one was England. In 1216, Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, granted a Bull constituting the Brothers Preachers an independent Order, to be under the protection of St. Peter and the Bishop of Rome. After the reception of the Bull, Dominic instituted a mission to Paris, and some of the Brothers were sent to Spain. Shortly afterwards houses were established in Oxford and Bologna, and one in Rome, over which Dominic himself presided. In the Imperial city he attracted notice by his preaching, and in the Papal Palace he began to speak to the servants of those who had audiences of the Pope, and arranged for lectures to the members of the Court. Thus was begun the office of Master of the Palace, which has continued to be held by Dominicans. According to Dominican tradition, a third Order was instituted in 1218, the Militia of Jesus, which was afterwards changed into the Order of Penance, containing women as well as men. The members were to practise penance and charity, to infuse piety into social life, and, as far as possible, to realise the monastic ideal. In 1220, at the first Chapter of the Order, it was resolved to adopt the principle of poverty, after the fashion of the Franciscans, and this resolution was in 1228 included in the Constitution of the Order. In the fifty-first year of his age, in 1221, Dominic died, after a busy life made hard through fatigues, vigils, and fastings. He was buried in Bologna, and thirteen years after his death was canonised. His ideal was the organisation of a learned ministry, and in his own day he succeeded in having trained men to answer the heretics.

The Brothers Preachers, or Dominicans, as they came to be called, spread with great rapidity. Four years after the mission had been arranged there were sixty convents, established in Italy, Spain, Provence, France, England, Germany, Hungary, Lombardy, Romagnuola. Dominic himself desired to proceed to Persia, and, though unable to go, he inspired the Brothers with missionary zeal. His successor in the leadership of the Order was Jordan of Saxony, who sent missionaries to Germany, Venice, Poland, and Denmark. In 1225 there was a mission to Morocco, and about the same time, one to the Nestorians and the Eastern schismatics. In 1274 two Dominicans were sent to the kingdom of Kubla Khan, and at the same period schools were founded at Tunis, and Murcia, for the training of friars in

Oriental languages. The missionary work of the Preachers was no slight task, and many suffered death as martyrs. At one time ninety of them perished in Eastern Hungary.

The settlement of the Dominicans in England took place in 1220 or 1221, when Gilbert de Fraxineto and twelve companions were received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, who, after testing them as preachers, permitted them to establish a house at Oxford. At Oxford the famous Robert Grosseteste welcomed them, and very soon members of the University began to join the Order. The progress of the Dominicans, like that of the Franciscans, was extraordinary, and at its beginning, at least, marked a very genuine revival in religion. At the close of 600 years from the foundation of the Order, the Dominicans counted among their numbers four popes, seventy cardinals, four hundred and sixty bishops, four presidents of councils, twenty-five legates *a latere*, eighty apostolic nuncios, and one prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire. They made mention, too, of four thousand writers, among whom the most celebrated was Thomas Aquinas. The first of the Dominicans who ascended the papal throne was Peter of Tarentaise, Innocent V. In the history of philosophy the Scholastics have no insignificant place. Of the Dominicans who turned to philosophy, the most noted were Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. With the help of Aristotle as interpreted by themselves, they endeavoured to furnish a rational explanation of the doctrines of the Church, and to prove that in them reason was not contradicted; while they sought to show that revealed religion is above, but not contrary to, reason. Aquinas was pre-eminently the Apologist of the Church's doctrines, and rendered great service to Christian thought by his scientific presentation of theology. It was a notable event in the history of theology when the Scholastics, among whom he was the most distinguished, made use of philosophy to establish the truth in the accepted doctrines. It was also an event of importance when Albertus, eager to foster the study of physics, published his *Summa Philosophiæ Naturalis*. Yet Aquinas, from the very success of his work, proved a hindrance to speculative thought, and his followers, recognising finality in his conclusions, came to be the upholders of conservative orthodoxy. When Scholasticism was declining, the Mystics attempted to free religion from the grip of logical formulæ; yet they did not sever religion altogether from philosophy, but sought to give it a rational form which would commend it to the people, and to find for the soul a method, through thought, of securing union with God. Of the German mystics the most noted were Dominicans, and the first of these was Eckhart, who in the early years of the fourteenth century was Provincial of the Order in Saxony, and then vicar-general in Bohemia. Eckhart was the master of mystics like Tauler, who inspired the *German Theology* which Luther caused to be published.

In the course of their history the Dominicans had a special connection with the Inquisition, and many of them have claimed Dominic as its founder. There is no proof, however, that while labouring among the Cathari he inflicted any punishment. The Inquisition, on the contrary, interfered with his scheme of converting heretics through the ministrations of learned men. Yet the Dominicans were always the chief supporters of the Inquisition from the year 1227, when it was instituted by Gregory IX. appointing a commission, with a Dominican friar as its head, to try the case of Filippo Paternon, in whose Italian diocese Catharism was rife. It was in Languedoc, however, the scene of the crusade, that the Inquisition began its cruel work, and its agents were Dominican friars. Throughout the whole course of the Inquisition the Dominicans were its most willing supporters; and though its work really contradicted the purpose of Dominic, yet the friars of his Order had the aggressive orthodoxy and ecclesiastical zeal which fitted them to be Inquisitors, and they counted themselves the special guardians of the doctrines of the Church.

In another fashion the Brothers Preachers were untrue to the ideal of the founder, and through the divergence from that ideal the corruption of the Order began and continued. Dominic wished his friars to be mendicants in accordance with their rule of poverty, but very early they ceased to be poor, if not to be mendicants. By the *Consuetudines fratrum prædicatorum*, passed in 1228, houses were to be occupied by the friars, and gradually the Order came to possess property. In 1233 Gregory IX. pointed out that the vow of poverty was taken to be kept. Yet Popes after him bestowed privileges on the Order, and wealth was acquired, and corruption ensued. These privileges interfered with the established rights of the parochial clergy, and feuds arose between them and the friars. But the Dominicans, with the Franciscans, were in a special way the upholders of the Papacy and the servants of the Popes; and their privileges, such as the right to hear confessions in any parish, rendered them free from poverty. The worldliness associated with wealth was not the only prevalent vice of the Dominicans. Among

the crowds of men who entered the Order there were always some who were pious, as there were some who were learned; but among these crowds there were always those who through licentiousness brought dishonour on the brotherhood. Before the Reformation there was none more fierce than Erasmus in holding up the mendicants to scorn for their ignorance and immorality; and the vicious lives of the friars who disgraced their Order added to the corruption of the Church, which required a drastic reformation. At the Reformation the power of the Dominicans was checked, as the authority of Papal Rome was limited, and the day closed when mendicants could be rich. Since the Reformation the Dominican Order, though weakened, has continued to exist, and exists to-day; but even in the Roman Church itself it has had a successful rival in the Order of the Jesuits. It may be well, for the sake of ordinary readers, to note that the Dominicans were the Black Friars so well known in English history. See INQUISITION.

Literature.—Life of Dominic in *Acta Sanctorum*. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*. Lacordaire, *Vie de Saint Dominique*. Drane, *The History of St. Dominic*. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. Herkless, *Francis and Dominic* (The World's Epoch-makers Series). [J. H.]

DOMINUS VOBISCUM.—"*The Lord be with you*," is employed as a salutation in the Mass Office. The salutation is borrowed from the Jews (see Ruth ii. 4), and was early prevalent even in the Western Churches. It is used in the Prayer Book, followed by a response from the congregation, "And with thy spirit."

DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.—By this term is meant the alleged grant by Constantine of the city and territory of Rome, with other parts of Italy, to Pope Silvester and his successors. After Constantine's withdrawal from the West, reckoned to have been in 324, under which year it is related in the Annals of Baronius and Muratori, the story appears to have gained ground at Rome of his having been previously baptized and cured of leprosy there by Pope Silvester, and of munificent grants made to the see in consequence. That Constantine was baptized in 337 at Nicomedia in the East by Eusebius the bishop of that city, is an undisputed fact, one deeply affecting the credibility of the "Donation." The earliest glimpse in authentic history of any grant of the kind occurs in a letter of 777 or 778,[1] wherein Pope Hadrian I. exhorts Charles king of the Franks (afterwards the Emperor Charlemagne) to imitate Constantine's munificence to the Roman Church by demanding for it the restitution of its alienated patrimony. If this language is but vague, there comes to light among the Isidorian decretals, some time between 829 and 845, the definite statement of an edict[2] representing the Emperor as conferring upon the Catholic Pope Silvester the administration of "our palace, the city of Rome, and the provinces of all Italy." Æneas Parisiensis, Bishop of Paris (858–870), is the earliest known writer who distinctly refers to the Donation, which he does in his treatise, *Adversus Græcos*, where, without naming Silvester, he states that Constantine after his baptism relinquished Rome to the Apostolic See.[3] This Donation and the document supporting it remained undisputed all through the mediæval period, down to the middle of the fifteenth century, and was the grand basis of the Pope's temporal power. That it was received by the educated Churchmen of Italy is shown in the typical instance of Dante, who was much more than a poet, a public man whose great work is a record of contemporary Italian politics. To Constantine's mistaken kindness he puts down all the administrative corruption of his own day, the rapacity, the simony, the nepotism, the luxury of the Church's chief shepherds, the undoing and mangling of her fair form, the place in the lost world found by two Popes of his time, all described in the terrible canto xix. of his *Inferno*,[4] written in and about 1300, within the meridian period of the papal power and grandeur, all the fruit, as he considered, of the gift which gave to the Church of Rome its first wealthy pastor. An exposure of the fable was made in England and in Italy about the same time, the middle of the fifteenth century; in England by Bishop Reginald Pecock in his *Repressor*,[5] about 1449; in Italy by a lay scholar, Laurentius Valla, who in 1443 settled at Rome,

[1] The letter "Dum nimio" is dated 777 in Hardwick's *Middle Age*, p. 43, *n.* 9; Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, May 778. The passage in Mansi, xii. 820 D, E; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, xcviii. 306 A, B, C.

[2] For its text see ISIDORUS MERCATOR in *Pat. Lat.*, cxxx. 245, and a quotation from it in Milman's *Lat. Christ.*, i. 72 *n.* For the date assigned see our article DECRETALS. The various editions of the Edict, Greek and Latin, are described by J. A. Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. vi. pp. 4–7, ed. Hamburg, 1726.

[3] Cap. 209, Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, cxxi. 758 A. Robertson's *Church History*, iii. 178 note *g*, dates the treatise *cir.* 868.

[4] "Ahi Constantin," *Infern.*, cant. xix. 115–118. See also *Parad.*, xx. 55–57 "sotto buona 'ntenzion che fe' mal frutto."

[5] Vol. ii. 323, ed. Babington, 1860, among the *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, by the Master of the Rolls.

strongly hostile to the Pope's temporal power, dying at Naples in 1457.[1] The fifteenth century was the period of the three great Western Councils, when loud cries were heard for a reform of the Church "in its head and its members." Cardinal Nicolaus de Cusa (ob. 1464), in his *Catholic Concordance*,[2] addressed to the Council of Basel, made a formidable attack on the Donation. Another Italian assailant was Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (1448–1459), in his *Summa Historialis*,[3] or *Chronicle*, an important historical work in three large folios, printed in 1484, one of the early books produced by the new art. Another early printed book to damage the authority of the Donation was Raphael Maffei's *Commentarii Urbani*, Rome, 1506, which, in a very scholarly account of Constantine, entirely ignores both the baptism by Silvester and the Donation.[4] The Italian poet Ariosto (ob. 1533), whose *Orlando Furioso* came out in 1516, the year before Luther's *Theses*, likened the gift "which Constantine to good Silvester made" to a malodorous bed of flowers.[5] In 1520, which was the year in which Luther burnt the Papal Bull at Wittenberg, the fifteenth century writings we have noticed as produced in manuscript, began to appear in print, and so got a wider circulation, as *e.g.* Valla's.[6] An early English edition (in German letter) of his important treatise is preserved in the British Museum under the suggested date 1525, in which year there were strong anti-Papal currents at both Oxford and Cambridge. Prefixed to it is an English translation of the Donation edict sent in Latin to Pope Julius II. by one Bartholomew Pincerne, who had found it in Greek. At the end of the volume are English versions of the passages we have already noticed from Cusa, Antoninus, and Maffei. These and other comments adverse to the Donation, widely diffused by the press, could not but have their effect with the friends as well as the foes of Rome. Baronius (ob. 1607), Bellarmine (ob. 1621), Baronius's critic Pagi (ob. 1721), all abandoned the cause as utterly hopeless, Baronius taking the ground that Rome became Papal by no secular grant whatever, but solely through St. Peter,[7] the forger having been some schismatic Greek jealous of the Apostolic honour of Rome. Pagi contests the idea of a Greek author and argues for a Latin one, probably Isidorus Mercator.

It would be a mistake to centre the interest of this subject in the proof of a documentary imposture, and find in it one more curiosity of literature. Its true importance is not so much literary as historical and political. The forged Donation of Constantine contributed enormously to the erection of the temporal power and mundane polity of the Papacy, and that it was about which the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cared, their business being not to detect a fraud but to combat a ruinous usurpation. That alone it is which interests the inquirer who now seeks to penetrate the meaning of this Donation. Robertson, in the course of his *Church History*, returns to it again and again. Gibbon calls it and the Isidorian Decretals "the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the Popes."[8] We are not, however, to imagine the temporal power, like any private estate, a mere logical result of an Office forgery. The ability and the character which made several Popes necessary to Rome civilly in the absence of the Emperor, was their great opportunity, which, with an organised body of skilled agents, drew everything into their hands. But the imaginary Donation was a material help all along by making a historic basis for their temporal assumptions and theories, adding the cement which kept the fabric together. By the time the forgery was exposed, its work had been accomplished, and, as Robertson observes, when the foundation had been destroyed the superstructure survived.

If we may judge from the fact of an edition of Valla with a French version having appeared so late as 1879, at Paris, small in bulk, but evidently intended for educated readers, accompanied with the *Edict of Donation* in full, in the Latin as well as in French, the question of the actual foundation of the Temporal Power has by no means become obsolete in modern discussion among Continental peoples, whose politics are, in fact, to a large extent dominated by it. [C. H.]

DONATISM.—This name is applied to the schism that broke out in the Churches of North Africa after the close of the last great pagan persecution at the beginning of the

[1] *Biographie Nouvelle Générale.*

[2] One of the works in Schard's collection of writers on *Imperial Jurisdiction and Ecclesiastical Power*, Basel, 1566, fol. Cusa's passage, *Cath. Conc.*, lib. iii. c. 2, is at p. 608 of Schard's volume.

[3] Vol. or Part I, titulus viii. cap. 2, § viii. fin., p. 567 of ed. 1586.

[4] Maffei or Maffejus, also called Volaterranus, was born at Volaterra in 1451, and died at Rome Jan. 25, 1552 (N. S.). The passage referred to in the text occurs in lib. xxiii. fol. 244 *a.*, ed. 1511, Paris.

[5] *O. F.*, canto xxxiv. stanza 80.

[6] The earliest British Museum copy, which has no date of its own, is marked in the catalogue "1520?"

[7] Baron., Ann. 324, cxviii., Pagi, xvi.

[8] Gibbon, vi. 161, Smith.

fourth century. The Christians in those regions had long been noted for their zeal in the endurance and pursuit of martyrdom, for their rigorous ideas as to the sanctity of the outward visible Church, and for their austere asceticism. The Novatian schism which refused return to the Church to those who had incurred excommunication, had started from North Africa, and the errors of Montanus, who claimed supernatural illumination, had found their great champion in the Carthaginian Tertullian.

Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, who had discouraged an eager hankering after martyrdom, had died in 311, and on the election of his archdeacon Cæcilian, who had fully shared his views, the revolt commenced. The disaffected alleged that his consecration was illegal, since Felix, Bishop of Aptunga, who had taken part in it, was a "traditor," that is one who had given up copies of the Scriptures to be burnt by the pagan officials. The Donatists elected Majorinus as the rival bishop, and were at first called the party of Majorinus. The case was argued first before a Synod in Rome, next before a great Council of the Western Church at Arles in A.D. 314, and finally before Constantine himself, the Donatists constantly appealing to the civil power. On each occasion judgment was given against them. Majorinus died about 315, and was succeeded in the schismatic episcopate by Donatus, called by his party, the Great, to distinguish him from an unimportant bishop of the same name. Under him the sect became an organised community extending over all the provinces of North Africa, almost every town having its rival bishop and congregation. Their aim was a very noble one—to embody in each individual the holiness which is ascribed by Scripture to the whole Church of Christ. Outside North Africa, they had only one small congregation in Rome, and only one private chapel in Spain in the house of a female disciple. It is this which constitutes the glaring absurdity of their claim to represent exclusively the true Church of Christ. Palmer points out that as the Church of England nowhere asserts any such claim, the imagined resemblance between our position and that of the Donatists is destroyed (*Treatise on the Church*, i. pp. 197, 198).

The movement was still in active force in the fifth century, when Augustine met the arguments of the Donatist Bishop Petilian at a great Council in Carthage (June 411). Some remains of it were still in existence in the time of Gregory I. (589–604). Under the imperial rule laws of very cruel severity were passed against these sectaries, though they were not always carried into execution.

Circumcelliones. This name signifies l "those who beg around the cells or c of the country people." It was applied poorest and most ignorant class amo Donatists, who mostly spoke the c Punic dialect of North Africa. They an evil name for their fanaticism, ou and excesses, on one occasion even re by force the imperial army on the fi battle. The Donatists themselves cond and disavowed this later and more e movement. The Circumcelliones would compel Jews, pagans, and even p travellers to slay them, that they migl the crown of martyrdom.

The tenacity of the Donatist moven remarkable in the face of the severe rep laws of the State, its total failure to w support in other regions, and the absence commanding personality in its ranks. A parison between Donatus and Tertulli even Novatian, would be absurd. The which it was split up afterwards into and compromised by the sins and fol the Circumcelliones, are all strong pr the grandeur of the one fruitful idea for it strove, namely, the holiness of the Church in its individual members. Bu extreme antagonism to the civil pow Donatus repelled the conciliatory overt Constans in 347 by saying: "What h Emperor to do with the Church?")—the ment soon displayed its weakness. And wild enthusiasm by which it was mani and in its excommunication of other Ch Donatism presents features unlike the I Church, and has indeed more in commo the Church of Rome. Our own Church 26th and 37th Articles condemns th principles of Donatism. [C. J

DONATIVE was a spiritual prefe whether a church or vicarage, which the free gift of the patron. The pars donative was not liable to the eccles jurisdiction as to matters relating church, though he was for personal o A spiritual court could not, therefore, c him, but for drunkenness, &c., might c him. If the patron of a donative pre his nominee to the bishop, and the instituted and admitted him, the living to be a donative. This was said to be b the law does not favour exceptional and favours harmony. Bishoprics are donatives, and there are some livings were such. (See Coke's *Institutes*, i. 34 Burn's *Eccles. Law*, vol ii.) Donative abolished by the Benefices Act of 1898. [E .B.

DOSSAL.—Latin, *dorsale*, is a curtain h the walls of a church, whether behi

or behind the stalls of the clergy or

S.—It is strange to have to argue that his" means "Do this." It is only the cy of modern controversy which has ed that it should mean anything else. ord did a certain act; He ordered His es to continue to do it after He had em, and told them, when they did it, to in remembrance of Him. What more l explanation of the Lord's injunction be given than that which it bears on its amely, that His followers were to do as ing then done, in remembrance of Him? ter the idea of *Sacrament*, in which God omething to man, has been swallowed the idea of *Sacrifice*, in which man gives ing to God, it has become controversially ary to see in our Lord's words a declara- at the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice, and l in them a command to offer it as a e. All this is effected by a new sense assigned to the words "Do this."

how is that possible?

word "Do" being a generic term, can, ll such terms, be used very widely ing as its context differs. In the New ent its Greek equivalent (ποιεῖν) is red about 550 times, and while commonly ted by "do" or "make," it is sometimes ed by another word which the context to require. Thus in one passage it is ted "ordain," in another "go," in "commit," "fulfil," "be," "prosper," int," "continue," "keep." There is no n these renderings, for "offer" is not them; so the controversialist turns to d Testament. There he finds that the drian LXX. translators occasionally use of the generic term "do" for the c term "offer," in such expressions as an offering," in order to avoid an rd tautology. Diligent search will dis- as many as twenty passages in the Old ent where this usage occurs. Typical es are: "And he brought the burnt g, and did (offered) it" (Levit. ix. 16). lid (offered) burnt offerings and meat gs" (1 Kings viii. 64). "I will do (offer) Thee burnt sacrifices" (Psalm lxvi. 15). se passages is founded a justification for tanding "Do this" as "Offer this" in w Testament passage, where there is no ntive affixing a special meaning to the or leading to the use of the generic l of the specific term to avoid tautology. trengthen their case, as they think, these versialists have sought out nine passages ich the Alexandrian translators have ed the Hebrew expression "Keep the er" by "Do the Passover." Here, they say, sacrifice of the lamb being one part of the celebration of the Passover Feast, the word "do" no doubt means "sacrifice." One of these passages is Matt. xxvi. 18: "I will keep (do) the Passover at thy house." But no sacrifice could be offered in a private house, and accordingly St. Mark (xiv. 14) and St. Luke (xxii. 11) render the words "I will eat the Passover." Eating or doing the Paschal feast in a house was not sacrificing the Paschal lamb, which had been sacrificed long before in the Temple and brought thence to the house.

It is hardly credible that there is no other ground than that which is supplied by these passages for justifying the translation of "Do this (thing) in remembrance of Me" by "Sacrifice or offer this (bread and wine) in remembrance of Me." Mr. Staley's *Catholic Religion* is not content with even the last rendering, but assures its readers that "in saying 'This do in remembrance of Me,' our Lord used words which signify literally [!] 'Offer this as My memorial before God'" (p. 247). Even Canon Mason condescends to say that there would be no dogmatic objection to such an interpretation (as "offer this thing"), though he cannot accept it, on the ground "that it is of recent origin." "All the Greek fathers," he writes, "with the exception of S. Justin Martyr, treat the word as meaning 'Perform this action!' Although they certainly see a sacrificial connotation in the words as a whole, they do not give so much as a hint that another meaning of the word 'this' had occurred to them. Such could hardly be the case if the Evangelists and Apostles had understood the words so differently" (*Faith of the Gospel*, p. 328). Even if this word could be grammatically taken in its secondary sense without a context that demanded that sense (which is quite impossible by every rule of exposition), the fact stated by Dr. Mason that it is a novel invention would be sufficient to dispose of such a sense. Not even Justin Martyr is an exception, for he is making a quasi-quotation, and therefore he echoes the word employed in the passage to which he refers. (See *Life and Times of Justin Martyr*, Nisbet, 1893.)

Reputable Roman Catholic theologians (Aquinas, Maldonatus, Estius) do not condescend to grasp at an argument from the misinterpretation of "Do this." Indeed they are precluded from doing so. For even the Liturgies formerly and still in use contradict the new gloss. In the Roman Liturgy the text still runs, "As often as ye do *these things*, ye shall *do them* in remembrance of Me;" and another ancient Liturgy reads "*Do thus*." An unprimitive doctrine has to be supported by an unprimitive wresting of Holy Scripture and of ancient ecclesiastical documents. "Do

this" means "Do this thing," and nothing else. No student of language, and no one acquainted with Church history, could doubt it. (See Abbott, T. R., *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*, 1891.) [F. M.]

DOUAY VERSION.—The Church of Rome has never exhibited any anxiety that the laity should possess the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular languages. This statement is fully confirmed by the Preface to the Rhemish Testament in English, first published at Rheims in quarto in 1582. The Preface says: "We do not publish upon erroneous opinion of necessity, that the Holy Scriptures should always be in our mother tongue, or that they ought, or were ordained by God, to be read indifferently by all . . . but upon special consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our country, unto which divers things are either necessary, or profitable and medicinable now, that otherwise in the peace of the Church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholly tolerable." The Douay Version was made because it was hopeless to exclude Englishmen at that time from the perusal of the Scriptures, and the ablest of the Roman Catholics saw that the only way to counteract the Reformation and to give a chance to the Roman Catholic Church to recover the ground it had lost in England, was by setting forth a version of their own, and exposing what they termed "false and shameless translations containing manifest and wilful corruptions to draw it (Scripture) to their own purpose." Hence Allen, then President of the College at Douay, afterwards Cardinal, 1587, set on foot a Roman Catholic Version to counteract the effect of the various Protestant translations published in England. The English College at Douay, was founded 1568, in connection with the University of Douay established in 1562 by Philip II. of Spain. It was forced in 1578 to migrate to Rheims. The College contained a number of learned English priests, such as Allen, Martin, Bristow, Reynolds, Worthington, several of whom had formerly held important positions at Oxford. The College at Douay made it a special object to prepare an English Roman Catholic Version, translated from the Vulgate Latin, although with occasional use of the Hebrew, and of the Septuagint Greek Version. The New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582, with notes under the "approbation" of four Doctors of Theology. The Old Testament translation did not appear till twenty-seven years later, when the complete Bible was published at Douay (where the English College returned in 1593) in two volumes, dated 1609 and 1610. That Douay Bible was furnished with notes and other additions, and with "approbations" of some six Professors and Doctors of Theology. Though permitted, and therefore accredited to a certain extent, it was years before the Douay Version was formally accepted by any considerable number of the Romish episcopate.

Gregory Martin, who was one of the principal translators, a few months after the New Testament Version appeared, published at Rheims, 1582, a book against the Protestant translations, entitled, *A Discovery of the manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of our days, specially the English Sectaries*, &c. This work was replied to by Dr. Wm. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1583. His learned volume was termed *A Defence of the sincere and true translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue against the manifold cavils, frivolous quarrels, and impudent slanders of Gregory Martin.* Fulke's work is most important, and was reprinted by the Parker Society, 1843. Dr. Fulke published a larger work in 1589, in which he reprinted the Rheims New Testament along with the translation then in use in the Church of England, and with copious notes and confutations. A work of equal, if not greater importance, dealing with the same subject, was published in 1588 by Wm. Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, which was also reprinted by the Parker Society in 1849. Fulke's and Whitaker's works led to the production of a considerable literature, partly set forth in *Rhemes and Douay, An Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English*, by Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel (Oxford: University Press, 1855). The book is now comparatively rare.

Dr. James G. Carleton, in a work, "*The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), has, by a careful induction of passages, pointed out that the Rheims Version exercised a material influence on the Authorised Version of the New Testament. A claim to that effect was put forth in the folio edition of the Rheims New Testament issued without mark of place or publisher in 1738. (See Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 46). Dr. Carleton's collation does not extend to the Old Testament, and does not even embrace the Psalter. The curious fact, however, is that there is no standard edition of the Douay Bible, or of the Rheims New Testament; that is, a standard recognised as one which ought to be faithfully adhered to, or set forth by the highest authorities of the Church of Rome. To this day the Douay Version is accredited but not "authorised." Cotton has given a chronological list of editions from 1582 to 1854. Many of those editions, however, have departed from the text of the original

issued in Rheims and Douay. Dr. Challoner's edition, issued in 1749 (New Testament), 1750 (Old Testament, and 2nd ed. of New Testament), has been taken as the general basis of later editions. But, as Cotton has shown by a collation of the three earliest editions of Challoner (1749, 1750, 1752, 3rd ed., of New Testament), the translation is in many places different. The third edition differs from the first in more than two thousand places (Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 49). Dr. Challoner, moreover, borrowed not a few words and phrases from the Authorised Version (see *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 51).

It should be noted that between 1635 and 1738 (for Dr. Witham's edition in 1730 was not a Roman Catholic edition) no edition was published by Roman Catholics. A long space of time intervened between the publication of the New Testament in 1582, and 1609, when the first edition of the Old Testament was issued. There was thus little anxiety shown to supply English Roman Catholics with the Word of God in a translation made by their own divines. Furthermore, nearly all those editions were supplied with notes. The notes are by no means the same in all the editions. Many of the earlier notes were violent in language, and vindicated in the plainest terms putting "heretics" to death. The story of the notes has been set forth in a work of Rev. Robt. J. M'Ghee, in 1837, with a very long title which summarises its contents: *The Complete Notes of the Douay Bible and Rhemish Testament extracted from the quarto editions of* 1816 *and* 1818, *published under the patronage of the Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests of Ireland as the authorised Interpretation of the Church, and the infallible Guide to everlasting Life. With a Preface embodying the Facts and Documents connected with the publication of both Editions: Dr. Troy's and Dr. Murray's denial of them; the List of Subscribers throughout Ireland; the List of certain Notes suppressed in some copies of the Second Edition. With a copious Index referring to all the Principles of the Church of Rome wrthy of remark in the Notes, which appear utterly subversive of the Gospel of Christ and of all Christian charity among men* (Dublin: Richard Moore Tims; Hatchard and Sons, Piccadilly, London, 1838). Mr. M'Ghee, whatever the merits or demerits of his work, fully proved his case. But the sad story of the evasions and underhand operations of the Roman Catholic prelates, Dr. Troy and Dr. Murray, both Archbishops of Dublin, need not now be disinterred.

The first edition of the New Testament *without notes* was issued in 1820, and was soon withdrawn, as it met with decided opposition on the part of leading Roman Catholic personages. See *Rhemes and Doway*, pp. 119–122. An edition in three volumes was published by Coyne, in 1829, with "approbation" from all the Roman Catholic prelates. The stereotype plates of a copy of this edition, with the approbation of Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, passed into Protestant hands at Coyne's death, and form the source from which cheap editions of the Douay Testament, as it is popularly called, are printed up to the present day.

While there are translations in the Douay Version designed to shelter Romish error, the translation is on the whole a fair one. The translation of the Latin phrase *agere pœnitentiam* given in the Douay Old Testament and Rheims New Testament is by no means consistent. The noun *repentance* occurs some twenty-five times in the New Testament, and the verb *repent* fifty-four times. In forty-nine of these fifty-four times it is rendered *do penance*. *Penance* is, however, an old word for *repentance;* but *penance* in the Roman Catholic sense is employed to denote one of the "seven sacraments," and is a "sacrament" designed only for persons who have sinned after baptism. Hence the exhortation to *do penance* in the latter sense could not possibly apply to the persons whom John the Baptist addressed, but must be explained as meaning in that case *do repentance*. If that simple fact were known, and pressed home on the consideration of Roman Catholics, the translation would be rendered comparatively innocuous. In the Old Testament the passage, Gen. iii. 16, where the Douay (after the Latin Vulgate) reads, "she shall bruise thy head," the "she" is explained in the notes of the Douay as meaning "the woman" (Eve), and not the Virgin Mary. It is also thus explained by Vercellone, *Variæ Lect. Vulg. Lat. Bibl.*, tom. i., Romæ, 1860, pp. 12, 13. This work was dedicated to Pius IX. The mistranslation found in John ii. 4 is more serious, because, although it is baldly literal ("What is it to *Me* and to thee"), it gives the English reader a false impression of the meaning of our Lord's words, which express rebuke, though not necessarily of a severe character. The same phrase, being a common Hebrew idiom, is frequently used in the New Testament to signify *what is there in common between us*, namely, the speaker and the person spoken to, and fully justifies the A.V. rendering, "What have I to do with thee?" The phrase is found both in the Hebrew original and the Greek translation of 2 Sam. xix. 22, as also in many such passages as that in Mark v. 7, of the possessed of the devils, where the Rhemish Version does not dare to translate "what is it to me and to thee," but follows the Protestant Versions.

On the Douay Version it may be well for the student to consult Bishop Westcott's remarks in his *History of the English Bible* (Macmillan, 2nd ed. 1872), and Dr. Eadie in *History of the English Bible*, 2 vols., also has a section on that version. [C. H. H. W.]

DOVE.—The Dove bears several meanings in Christian symbolic art. Representations of Noah's dove are found in the Roman Catacombs, often connected too with the symbol of the fish (see FISH); and also of the descent of the Holy Spirit at the baptism of Christ. The dove is also used symbolically of Christians, the idea being based on the words of Christ in Matt. x. 16, and also those of the Psalmist (Psalm lv. 6). Doves made of gold and silver were often suspended above the fonts of early Christian Churches as symbols of the Spirit; Pyxes, or receptacles for the reserved Host, were made of gold and silver in the shape of a dove and suspended over the Holy Table. The custom probably came to Gaul from the East; it never seems to have existed in Italy. [C. J. C.]

E

EAST, TURNING TO THE, AT THE CREEDS.—This practice has become common in the Church of England, although there is no rubrical direction to that effect in the Prayer Book. The custom of turning to the east was originally connected with sun worship. In the Early Church converts turned to the west when renouncing the devil, and to the east when confessing their belief in the Holy Trinity. Pope Leo the Great, who died in 461, censured those who were wont, on the steps of the Church of St. Peter, to turn towards the rising sun and bow down towards it. It is sometimes argued that the Jews in prayer turned towards Jerusalem. But a Jew who lived eastward of Jerusalem would have faced the *west*. The Holy of holies, moreover, was the *west* end of the Temple. Early Christian churches were built with the entrance to the east and the Communion Table to the west. So, again, it is said that Christ was born in the East. The mediæval idea seems to have been to turn towards the "altar," as peculiarly sacred. See EASTWARD POSITION.

Dean Hook observes that in the ancient Church it was an almost universal practice to turn to the east at times of solemn adoration, and that the custom was derived from the ceremonies of baptism, when it was usual to renounce the devil with the face to the west, and to turn towards the east to make atonement with Christ. The dayspring was regarded as a symbol of Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, and Christians turned to the east becau Lord appeared on the earth in the east, ascended, and will come again there at tl day. The turning to the east may be reg as a survival of a practice which dates a from the time of Tertullian in the s century. [M. E. W

EASTER.—The feast of the Resurrect our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. name appears to be derived from tha Teutonic goddess (A.S. *Eastre*, Germ. (possibly corresponding with Astarte or ' Easter Day is always the first Sunday the full moon which happens upon or after the 21st March. From it the movable feasts are reckoned. The da even the month in which our Lord s and rose again are uncertain. The pr dates assigned for these events are Marc and 21st, and April 7th and 9th in th A.D. 29.

In token of the glory and majesty Lord's Resurrection, and the spiritual jo which it should be celebrated, Ritualists an extra candle called the *Paschal taper* floor of the sanctuary, on the Gospel s the altar. The taper is lighted eve at High Celebration and Evensong til Sunday, and thence on Sundays and fe till Ascension Day, when it is removed the Gospel.

EASTERN CHURCHES.

1. *The Armenian Church.*—Armenian tr of the fifth century held that the fait brought from Jerusalem by way of Edes before Gregory the Illuminator. This is pr For Dionysius of Alexandria wrote abo a letter about Repentance to one Mer Bishop of Armenia. Syriac was at firs in Armenian churches, and the oldest e astical terms and appellations are Syria

Under King Tiridates, a contempor Constantine, Christianity became the religion, through the efforts of Grego hereditary head of the Arsacid priestly f which owned the shrine of Vahak Armenian Herakles, at Ashtishat ir Armenia. This shrine, re-dedicated tc the Baptist, became the mother-chu Armenia.

Gregory won over the old priestly f by allowing the pagan sacrifices for th for forgiveness of sins, or in fulfilment o to continue; for the priests relied on t feed themselves and their families. Ch or rather Levitical, formulæ were subs for the pagan ones. In other respects a transition was made easy. The her priests of several clans became bisho their dignity passed from father to son Catholicate, or headship of the entire C

was also hereditary for generations in the family of Gregory, to whom, even as late as the twelfth century, the Catholici traced their descent. Monkery was introduced by Basil in the course of the fourth century, but the first monasteries were also schools and rest-houses for travellers. For a few generations the Catholici, beginning with Gregory, went to Cæsarea of Cappadocia for ordination. The Greek influence, thus sanctioned, largely shaped the creeds and rites of the young Church. National feeling, however, began to assert itself soon after 400, when Mesrop and Sahak, having elaborated from old local hieroglyphics a new Armenian alphabet, capable of expressing the sounds of their language, began to translate Greek liturgies and homilies and the Old Testament. The New Testament had already been translated from the oldest Syriac Version, but this translation was now recast with the help of new Greek MSS.

Already, about the year 370, in the age of Basil, the Armenian king Pap or Bab had broken with Cæsarea. The breach widened, and towards the end of the fifth century the Armenians definitely rejected the Council of Chalcedon, whose decrees affirming two natures in Christ seemed in their eyes a concession to Nestorius. Thenceforward the Armenians were Monophysites. They held that the flesh of Christ was divine and incorruptible, for had it not been so, the God in Christ would not have suffered, and there could have been no redemptory significance in His death.

This view of Christ's flesh was held, especially in the western regions of Armenia, in so exaggerated a form as to become Docetic; and it was denied that He derived His body at all from woman. The extreme upholders of this view, which was oddly combined with the Adoptionist Christology of Paul of Samosata, were known as early as the seventh century as Paulicians. They were iconoclasts, and hostile to Mariolatry. By their persecution of these devout but warlike people, the Byzantine Emperors drove them into the arms of Islam, and paved the way for their own ultimate destruction by the Turks.

The Armenians rejected the Christmas feast of December 25, adopted in other Churches between 370 and 440. They subsequently, about 500, added a commemoration of Christ's human birth to that of the baptism, which was feasted at Epiphany, and very generally regarded as the spiritual birth or regeneration of Jesus, whereby He became Christ and Son of God, through the descent of the Spirit on Him. The Sabbath was kept as well as Sunday.

Mariolatry was a late growth in Armenia, and the feast of the Annunciation was not fixed before the ninth century. In an earlier age the Church was venerated as the Bride and Virgin Mother of God in Christ, as of all believers. Her intercession was asked for in elaborate hymns which still exist. In a later age, by a change of inscription, these hymns were appropriated to Mary, whose day was fixed on the older feast of Anahita, the old Armenian goddess answering to Aphrodite.

As early as the eighth century infant baptism was established, and the old adult rite, borrowed from the Greeks, was cut down to suit. Adult baptism, however, accompanied with an Adoptionist Christology and with a Marcionite or Manichean rejection of the Old Testament, still survives among a sect of Armenian dissenters, called by others Thouraki from the region where, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, they were numerous, but by themselves, the Catholic Apostolic Church. Their ritual, entitled the "Key of Truth," was discovered and printed with a translation by the present writer at Oxford in 1898. This sect is violently iconoclast, and rejects pictures, images, the worship of the cross, and the teaching of the intercession of Mary and the saints. Their priests are entitled "Elect ones"—a Manichean appellation, and their rite of election has much in common with the corresponding Albigeois rite preserved in a twelfth-century Provençal MS. in Lyons.

Since the Crusades a section of the Armenian Church has recognised the Latin Popes. These Uniats are numerous in Turkey, and have printing presses in Vienna and Venice.

Many Turkish Armenians have espoused the teaching of Protestant missionaries, and reject pictures, Mariolatry, cult of saints, and other excrescences that never had a firm hold on their esteem. After the extinction in 428 of the native Arsacid dynasty, the loyalty of patriotic Armenians crystallised round the person of the catholicos, who has generally resided and kept up a certain state in his monastery of Edgmiatzin at Valarshapat in Ararat. In matters of faith and religion he wields ecumenical authority over all Armenians; but since 1828 the Tsar has controlled his movements and the decisions of his Synod, through a Russian procurator living on the spot.

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2. *The Georgian Church.* — The Georgians were anciently known as the Iberians of the Caucasus, and are still called the *Virq* by their neighbours, though they have always known themselves by the name of Karthli.

Both they and the neighbouring petty kingdom of the Albanians of the Caucasus were evangelised before 400, from Armenia. Mesrop and Sahak, one the Armenian missionary and the other the catholicos, elaborated about the year 400 written characters for both these races, and aided the translation of the Bible and other works into their tongues. The catholici of both these sister Churches went to Armenia for consecration, but the Georgians broke away and allied themselves with the Greek Church about the year 574, submitting to the decrees of Chalcedon. The Albanians, whose catholicos resided at Partav, in the main adhered to their union with the Armenians. It is to their glory that their bishop Israel, towards the end of the seventh century, converted the Huns to Christianity.

The great Armenian translators and saints of the fourth and fifth centuries, are venerated in old Georgian hagiologies; and the oldest rites and customs of the Georgian Church, particularly in respect of hereditary priesthood, of animal sacrifices—which still endure—and of Epiphany, were identical with those of Armenia.

Georgian tradition, already reported by Rufinus in his history before 400, gave the leading rôle in the conversion of the Caucasus to a female saint, named Nino or Nouna. This lady had been brought up in Jerusalem in the first half of the fourth century. She settled in Mtzkhet, the Canterbury of the Georgians, a little west of Tiflis, and began her evangelical work among the Jews, who then had numerous colonies in the Caucasus, as all over Armenia. She claimed the right to baptize, surrounded herself with twelve disciples, and by her acts of healing converted first the queen and then the king, whom she baptized with her own hands. The tradition about her is very circumstantial, and seems to be trustworthy; in it she bears all the traits of a Montanist prophetess of the second century.

Before their rupture with the Armenians, the Georgians already had monasteries in common with them at Jerusalem and Bethlehem as early as about 450. After the rupture they resorted to Greek monasteries, especially those of Sinai and Athos, where the well-known *Iveron* monastery is that of the *Iberians*. In both these centres, and also in and around Tiflis, great stores of their ancient MSS. are preserved. Many of their service books and Bibles belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and some written on Egyptian papyrus belong to a still earlier epoch. But little attempt has been made to edit these valuable codices, and in Europe there are barely half-a-dozen scholars who have faced the intricacies of their tongue, which is neither Aryan nor Semitic nor Tartar.

The Georgian petty kingdom survived till the end of the eighteenth century, when it was incorporated in the Russian Empire. To this fact is due the survival not only of their Church and monastic literature, but of a secular literature of epic and romance, partly of native origin, partly translated at an early date from Pehlevi and Arabic.

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3. *The Syriac Church.*—This is properly speaking the Church of the Syriac-speaking races, who in antiquity were spread over the earliest Roman province of Syria, which lay to the south and west of the Euphrates, and included the great cities of Antioch, Apamea, Emesa, Damascus, and Palmyra, and beyond the Euphrates over Mesopotamia, and Babylonia in the lower course of the two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris. Beyond the latter river they occupied the district of Adiabene, the great Zab valley, and stretched up to Lake Urumiah on the confines of Media, and southwards they inhabited the provinces of Garamea and Susiana.

The earliest centre of Syriac Christianity was Edessa, an important walled city and emporium on the river Daiçan, "the leaper," in Greek *Skirtos*. Its situation made it almost inexpugnable, and it commanded the routes northwards into Armenia and east and south into Mesopotamia.

A Christian community existed here as early as A.D. 150, and the toparch or local prince, Abgar IX., was converted in 207, from which time on Christianity was the State religion. After 216 the city belonged to Rome. The orthodox bishops of Edessa traced back their succession only to Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, 190 to 203.

This first Christian communion was formed among the Jews, who were numerous in this region, and it is to them that we probably owe the Syriac version of the Old Testament

lirect from the Hebrew. It is the earliest nent of Church Syriac. The early Syriac Testament contained nothing but the ls, Epistles of Paul, and Acts; and no books of the New Testament were read urch. It is not clear whether Tatian's ony of the four Gospels, made about 160, ot rendered into Syriac before the four ls. In any case an early version of these lready current in the third and fourth ies, which was recast about A.D. 400 later Greek MSS., and has come to be as the Peshitta. Two MSS. of this version have survived, of which one is ndon, the other, a palimpsest, in Sinai. exts have been published, and the Sinai remarkable as containing in Matt. i. 16, l of the usual text, the statement that l begat Jesus.

earliest Syriac monument apart from criptures is the book of the Acts of ls, a not wholly legendary account of nversion of India. Imbedded in this beautiful Hymn of the Soul, ascribed desanes, the first great Christian theo- and poet who wrote in Syriac, about 170

i, the dualist, wrote in Syriac about 270, thing of him remains. Another monument age was the Refutation of him by the Archelaus, preserved only in Latin and Greek fragments. This book proves ne Syriac faith of the third century was ionist; that is to say, it was held that became Son of God and Christ through escent upon Him in the Jordan of the Spirit.

first great theological work preserved in is the collection of twenty-one homilies hraates, the Persian sage, who wrote 325 to 350. These reflect the faith and tions of the Syriac Church of that age e the limits of the Roman Empire. llowing is the creed of Aphraates, as ted by Mr. Burkitt from the first "On Faith."

r this is Faith:

n a man shall believe in God, the Lord of all,

made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all that in them is,

made Adam in His image,

gave the Law to Moses,

sent of His Spirit in the Prophets,

sent moreover His Messiah into the world.

that a man should believe in the coming to life of the dead,

believe also in the mystery of Baptism:

is the Faith of the Church of God.

And that a man should separate himself from observing hours and sabbaths and months and seasons and enchantments and divinations and Chaldaism and magic, and from fornication and from revelling and from vain doctrines, the weapons of the evil one, and from the blandishment of honeyed words, and from blasphemy and from adultery,

And that no man should bear false witness, and that none should speak with double tongues:

These are the works of the Faith that is laid on the true Rock, which is the Messiah, upon Whom all the building doth rise."

The subsequent history of Syriac Christianity may be told in a few words. Towards the close of the fourth century it was invaded by the jarring disputes of the Greek theologians, whose works on both sides of every issue began to find Syriac translators. At the Council of Ephesus in 431, the main current of Syriac Christianity was ruled out of the Ecumenic Church; and because their bishops supported Nestorius, whose refusal to call Mary the mother of God agreed with their old traditions, they came to be known as Nestorians. This branch of the Syriac Church, in the centuries which followed, evangelised Central Asia, South India, and even as early as 635, the east of China, where there is still preserved a vast stone slab engraved in Syriac and Chinese characters with an outline of their faith and a history of their missions up to the ninth century. The Nestorian Church of to-day numbers a few thousand ignorant believers in Urmi and the surrounding country, who are continually yielding to the rival proselytisers of the Russian and Roman Churches. Animal sacrifices are still kept up among them, as among the Armenians and Georgians.

In 451, the Council of Chalcedon, by affirming two natures in Christ, drove out of the great Church most of the Syriac-speaking believers who had survived the Council of Ephesus twenty years before. This branch came to be known as the Monophysites, and later on as Jacobites, from Jacob of Sarug, who died in 521. The greater part of the surviving Syriac literature is Jacobite. Not only were the great Christian rhetors of the fourth and fifth centuries translated into Syriac, but a great deal of Aristotle and of the old Greek medical writers. These Syriac versions were in turn rendered into Arabic, and the Arabic in turn into Latin in the eleventh century. It is from these Latin versions that the schoolmen of the Middle Ages drew their knowledge of Aristotle.

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4. *The Abyssinian Church.*—Christianity is said to have been introduced into Abyssinia in the year A.D. 333 by a certain Frumentius, called by the Abyssinians Abu Salama. The evidence of an inscription, however, makes it improbable that the conversion of the Abyssinians was quite so early; but there is no doubt that by the end of the sixth century a Church had been organised among them on Monophysite lines, and dependent on Alexandria, whence it is regularly supplied with patriarchs. The Mohammedan conquest of Egypt in the seventh century cut Abyssinia off from connection with the rest of the Christian world, and it is chiefly owing to this that its form of Christianity contains a variety of elements which other parts of the Church have either discarded or never possessed. Thus they retain the Jewish Sabbath while also observing the Sunday; and have preserved in their sacred literature the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, which the rest of the Church has neglected. In the case of some of their practices it is hard to assign their proper shares to Judaism and pre-Islamic paganism; for though it is clear that the Abyssinians are the offspring of a colony from South Arabia, at some periods they were subject to Jewish influence, and even after the establishment of Christianity as the national religion, have at times been under Jewish political supremacy. Ludolf proved that they owe to pagan Arabia their circumcision, and perhaps their polygamy and leviratic marriages (the two last customs being tolerated by the State, though discountenanced by the Church), but the prohibition of certain foods (and especially the 'sinew of the thigh') seems to be due to the influence of Judaism, the terminology of which has certainly affected their language. In their adoration of the Virgin, and their belief in the intercession of saints, they do not fall behind the most idolatrous portions of Christendom; and monasticism and asceticism were at one time rife in the country, having been introduced by Egyptian monks, and encouraged by St. Tekla Haimanot (*circ.* 1255), one of their most distinguished saints. Religious wars would seem to have been from early times of frequent occurrence; and Mohammedan writers assert that an Abyssinian king, whose capital was Axum, not only helped the beginnings of Islam by providing a refuge for the followers of Mohammed but even went to war with his subjects in defence of Mohammed's doctrine of the nature of Christ. With the European Church they had no connection till the early sixteenth century; but about 1499 a certain Pedro Covilham brought the news of their existence to the Court of Portugal, resulting in some 30 years of devil's work done by Jesuits, of which many accounts have been written; those by Major W. Cornwallis Harris (*Highlands of Æthiopia*, London, 1844, iii. 95–131), and Theodore Bent (*Sacred City of Ethiopians*, London, 1893, 103–114) are vivid and accurate. Relations having been established between the Portuguese and Abyssinian courts, the assistance of the former was requested in the year 1540 by the Abyssinians, who for twelve years had been suffering from the inroads of Mohammed Gran, ruler of Harrar, who was endeavouring to conquer their country for Islam; and one Bermudez was made by Pope Paul III. Patriarch of Ethiopia, and with him were sent out some Portuguese troops with artillery, who shortly defeated the invaders and restored tranquillity. The price which was demanded, viz., the submission of Abyssinia to the authority of the Pope, was regarded as too high, and successive detachments of Jesuit missionaries made but little progress in converting the people; though one of these went so far as to lay the whole country under a ban. In 1603 a more adroit envoy, Peter Paes, reached the country after serious difficulties, and succeeded in converting the Emperor Za Denegel, whose conversion was followed by a general rebellion. After much bloodshed the Roman Catholic religion was formally proclaimed in Abyssinia, and all who refused it were threatened with death; at the Jesuits' instigation, hanging, burning, and even the violation of graves were commenced on the system approved by the Inquisition. The Abyssinian Highlanders, however, refused to be coerced by these means, and repeatedly rose, having on their side, besides the horror which Jesuitry naturally inspired, the national dislike of foreign advisers, who by the building of forts (such as that of Fremona) had roused the jealousy even of their royal converts. After some unsuccessful attempts at shaking off the Jesuit yoke, the abdication and death of the Emperor Susenyos in 1632 gave the signal for a successful rising, resulting in the re-establishment of the old Church, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the length and breadth of Ethiopia. From that time the country remained closed to European missions, though some attempts at renewing them were made by the Roman Catholics, and only in the middle of the nine-

teenth century were Protestant missions on a small scale attempted.

Accounts of the present condition of the Abyssinian Church are given by a number of travellers (*e.g.* Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 1840, ii. 33–57, &c.; von Heuglin, *Reise nach Abissinien*, 1768, 253–263; G. Simon, *L'Éthiopie*, 1885, 249–257; Theod. Bent, *op. cit. passim*; Max Schœller, *Colonia Eritrea*, 1895, 108–110). All these writers describe the intellectual and moral condition of the Abyssinian Church as terribly degraded: "Dans l'ordre intellectuel comme dans l'ordre moral on sent le relâchement, le servilisme, la vénalité. Point d'élans supérieurs, point d'aspirations élevées; les vraies sources de vitalité semblent complètement taries" (Simon). The head of the Church is the *Abouna* (more correctly *Aboun*), sent, when one is required, by the Alexandrian patriarch, who receives a fee of some 60,000 francs for the service. The Aboun ordains the clerics, and his residence, like most of the monasteries, is inviolable. The clergy have also a temporal head called *Etchigeh*; next to him is the *Nebrid*, or head of the priesthood; "he superintends all the services of the Church, looks after the working clergy, and generally sees to the executive; he is the guardian of the tables of the law, and all the treasures of the Church at Axum" (Bent). Then there is the *Lij Kaneat*, or judge in ecclesiastical affairs. After them the priests who minister to parishes, the monks who live in monasteries or solitary caves, and wear yellow leather or skins of wild beasts. Finally there are the *defteras*, or unordained clerks, who sing and dance during religious processions, and earn their livelihood to a large extent by writing magical prayers and charms. The priests ordinarily marry before ordination, since they are not allowed to do so afterwards. In their liturgy the old Ethiopian language is used; the ministers are separated from the congregation by a curtain or wall; Communion is administered in both kinds. The attention of many travellers has been attracted by the enormous number of feast-days and fast-days, which together cover some two-thirds of the year; baptism is performed in church, forty days after birth in the case of boys, eighty in that of girls. Marriage is in theory indissoluble if religiously solemnised; whence, in order to facilitate divorce, the ceremony is usually omitted.

A list of 110 works extant in the Ethiopic and Amharic languages is given by Major Harris (*l.c.* iii. 387–391), to which few additions of importance have been made by the discoveries of later travellers. Their code called *Fetha Negest*, containing both Civil and Canon Law, of which an analysis was given by Rüppell (*l.c.* ii. 186), has been published by I. Guidi. [D. S. M.]

5. *The Coptic Church.*—This Church claims to have been founded by St. Mark, as whose successor the patriarch of Alexandria regards himself. Though this tradition is probably valueless, it seems certain that at a very early period Christianity was greatly influenced by the Græco-Jewish philosophy of Alexandria, whence we are justified in inferring the spread of the new religion in that region. From a persecution of Christians in the Thebais under the Emperor Septimius Severus, we learn that by the end of the second century it had made progress even in Upper Egypt; and some of the Saidic (or Upper Egyptian) translation of the Bible is thought to be of the third century; in Lower Egypt, Greek was at this early period the ecclesiastical language. Certain of the practices connected with the ancient cult of Osiris were long retained by the Egyptian Christians; and, indeed, the belief in Osiris as the "first-born of them that slept," as the resurrection and the life, as at once god and man, whose resurrection not only guaranteed, but in a way was identical with the resurrection of his worshippers, prepared the Egyptians for much in the Pauline doctrine which created greater difficulty elsewhere. The ease with which Egyptian ideas could be rendered in terms of Christianity probably facilitated the introduction into the latter of the fancies called Gnosticism, in which certain outgrowths of the Egyptian sacerdotal wisdom seem to have luxuriated. "Till the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius (patriarch of Alexandria) were the only prelates of the Egyptian Church; three bishops were consecrated by Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclas" (Gibbon, ed. Smith, ii. 210). The patriarchate of Cyril, 412–444, was marked by fanaticism and bloodshed; and his follower, Dioscurus, adopting the heresy known as Jacobite or Monophysite, was after the Council of Chalcedon (451) deposed and banished. From that time till the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Egyptian Church was in a disturbed condition, since the great majority of the people were in favour of the Jacobite doctrine, which the Byzantine rulers endeavoured to suppress. The successor of Dioscurus, Proterius, was murdered, and his throne occupied by the Jacobite Timotheus Ælurus. In the reign of Justinian, advantage was taken of internal disputes among the Monophysites themselves to suppress the popular religion with armed force. The patriarch Theodosius (537–568), in whose cause the imperial forces had ostensibly been sent, was removed in favour of the Catholic Paul of

Tanis. He and his successors were able to maintain themselves at the capital by the aid of the imperial forces, while rival Jacobite patriarchs reigned in the monasteries of the Thebais. During the Persian invasion of Egypt the Jacobites again became dominant at the capital, whence, however, their patriarch Benjamin was driven after the victory of Heraclius; to return to his throne in the year 640, when Alexandria was taken by the Arabs under "Amr, son of Al-As," whose task had been rendered easy for him by the insane policy of the Byzantines. The Catholic patriarch was compelled to flee to Constantinople, and till the year 730 there was no orthodox patriarch appointed to succeed him, and few priests of the same sect were to be found in Egypt.

The hatred inspired by the Byzantine persecutions found expression in the disuse of the Greek language for ecclesiastical purposes; for which the vernacular of Egypt was substituted, the two dialects known as Saidic and Bohairic being used in Upper and Lower Egypt respectively. Unlike the Syrians and Armenians, the Copts have, under Arab domination, forgotten their vernacular, whence their MSS. are ordinarily accompanied by Arabic translations, and indeed the Arabic language is used in one part of their service; the exact date at which Coptic became a learned language is not accurately known, but even in the eleventh century it appears to have fallen into desuetude. The literature which survives in it is almost entirely ecclesiastical, though there is some which is rather mystical, or magical, than religious; a popular account of it is to be found in A. J. Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches* (Oxford, 1884, ii. 238–261). The same work also contains an accurate account of the rites and ceremonies in use in Egypt. The Copts acknowledge seven sacraments: "the Jewish practice of circumcision on the eighth day is general, but neither compulsory, nor counted a religious ceremony; yet circumcision after baptism is very strongly prohibited." "Immersion is the only form of baptism recognised by the Greeks of Alexandria; for the last three or more centuries the custom has been for the priest to dip the body first up to the middle, the second time up to the neck, and the third time over the head." The immersion is followed by a double chrism, and also by Communion, after which the infant receives milk and honey mingled. The Communion service is highly elaborated, and the doctrine of the Real Presence held in its most physical literalness. The orders recognised are patriarch, metropolitan, bishop, chief priest, priest, archdeacon, deacon, reader. The seat of the patriarch was transferred to Cairo when the Fatimite sovereigns made that city their capital, and it has practically remained there ever since. He has under him four Metropolitans or Archbishops, viz. of Alexandria, Manufiah, Jerusalem, and Abyssinia. Whereas the patriarch must be unmarried, it is only necessary in the case of the bishops that they should not have married a second time. As in other branches of the Eastern Church, the crown is used at the marriage ceremony, for the removal of which there is a special service on the eighth day after marriage. The employment of unction for the sick is not confined to cases in which the illness is supposed to be mortal.

On the liturgies in use among the Copts there is a very considerable literature, of which the most important work is probably that by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient. Coll.*, i., Paris, 1716, reprinted London, 1844). Three such liturgies appear to have been used from early times, viz. those ascribed to Basil, to Gregory of Nazianzum, and to Cyril (called also the Liturgy of St. Mark); "that of Gregory is reserved for three solemn festivals, the midnight masses of Epiphany, Easter, and Christmas; that of Cyril during the seasons of the Great and Little Fast, *i.e.* Lent and Advent" (Butler, *l.c.* 283), or, according to another authority, once a year. According to Renaudot the Liturgy of Basil, which is in ordinary use, is regarded by the Copts as of authority only second to that of Holy Scripture.

For the history of the Coptic Church a work of importance by an Armenian, Abu Salih, who lived in the twelfth century, called "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt," was published by Mr. B. Evetts in Arabic and English in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1895). This work gives some account of 707 churches and 181 monasteries, with some notices of their origin, and also contains references to the vicissitudes of the Christians during the succession of Mohammedan dynasties. The notice of the Egyptian Church in the account of Egypt by Makrizi (1441) is also of considerable interest, and has been rendered accessible by S. C. Malan in his *Documents of the Coptic Church*, together with other matter bearing on the subject. Many lives of Coptic saints have in recent times been published by M. Amélineau in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, but their fabulous character renders them difficult to use for historical purposes. The account of the existing community given in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1871, &c., ii. 273–307), is both succinct and accurate; the very unfavourable view of the Copts which it embodies is confirmed by the experience of many visitors to Egypt. The Arab domina-

tion long prevented them from coming under the influence of Western Christianity. Since the English occupation, attempts have been made to infuse new life into the old Church, with no great prospect of success; it is possible that the American mission, which endeavours to obtain proselytes to Nonconformist Protestantism, has been more successful. See GREEK CHURCH, JACOBITES, MARONITES, MELCHITES, RUSSIAN CHURCH.

[D. S. M.]

EASTER OFFERINGS are, in the Church of England, gifts presented to the clergy at Easter. Some authorities maintain that these are due by the common law at the rate of 2d. per head for all parishioners of and over the age of sixteen years. Others consider that these offerings are due by custom only. In a case where the customary Easter offerings were proved by terriers to be for "every communicant 2d.; every cow 2d.; every plough 2d.; every foal 1d.; every hive of bees 1d; every horse 3½d.," it was held (1) that the common-law right was excluded; and (2) that each item was an independent charge and payable by every parishioner, even though not a communicant; (3) that, evidence to the contrary being absent, "communicant" must mean only those who actually communicated; (4) that the custom attached not merely to ancient houses but to any house as soon as built and occupied. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

The custom of giving Easter Offerings to the clergy has considerably fallen into disuse. But the incomes of the clergy have been so greatly reduced by the fall in the value of tithes and by agricultural depression that the custom might well be revived. In some churches the offertory on Easter Day is given to the incumbent. A rubric at the end of the Communion Service directs that "yearly at Easter every Parishioner shall reckon with the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or his or their Deputy or Deputies, and pay to them or him all Ecclesiastical Duties accustomably due, then and at that time to be paid."

[M. E. W. J.]

EASTWARD POSITION.—A posture sometimes adopted by the minister officiating at the Lord's Table. There is no reason whatever why one side of the Table of the Lord should in itself be better than another for the officiating minister to stand at. North, south, east, west—what can it matter?—except, indeed, that the eastward position is clearly the most inconvenient, because it makes an obstacle to the sight of the congregation. But just as an unreasonable idea sprang up shortly before the Reformation that the chasuble was a sacrificial garment, which idea was totally unknown, not only to the Primitive Church, when it was merely an outer cloak, but to the earlier Middle Ages also, so a sacrificial character was assigned to the eastward position of the minister before the altar. There is no adequate ground for this opinion. Indeed, it was maintained, rightly or wrongly, by Dean Stanley that the fact of the minister standing in front of the congregation, and looking in the same direction with them, symbolised that he was with them humbly offering prayer to God, and not that he was Christ's representative offering the sacrifice of Him to the Father; but however this may be, the notion more and more prevailed that the eastward position of the minister was that which meant the sacrifice of Christ, and that any other position ignored, if it did not condemn, that suggestion. Hence it has been reintroduced in many churches where doctrines identical with, or approaching to, that of the Sacrifice of the Mass have been believed and taught.

As there are no grounds in reason for the eastward position, so there is no authority for it. Not even did the Jewish priest, who was really a *sacerdos*, stand either facing eastwards, or with his back to the people, as his duties kept him moving from side to side of the altar. The Christian priest or presbyter never took up such a position in the early Church. For many centuries the Table of the Lord stood, not against the wall of the church, but in the centre of the arc of the semi-circular apse, which ordinarily formed the end of the church (Bingham, *Ant.*, viii. 6.) Behind the Lord's Table, in the bay of the apse, was situated the bishop's *cathedra* or throne, and on each side of him were the seats of the clergy. The old throne with the seats on either side of it, still remains *in situ* in the cathedral of Norwich, which was built in the twelfth century; and the same spot is the place of the bishop's throne in the Eastern Church, as marked by Dr. Wright in his *Service of the Mass*, p. 18, where he gives a plan of a Greek Church. When the administration of the Eucharist took place, the bishop or the officiating presbyter proceeded from behind to the Lord's Table and took his stand on the farther side of it, looking over it, and facing the people; and in this position he performed the service, the communicants kneeling on either hand at the north and south sides of the Table. That such were the primitive positions of priest and people is clearly shown in Mr. Tomlinson's *The Liturgy and the Eastward Position.*

The Italian and Spanish Old Catholic reformers have so far resumed the primitive position that their officiating clergy stand to the east of the Communion Table, facing west; and Signor Ugo Janni, arguing for the practice has shown it to be the ancient position by

quotations from the Abbé Guillois' *Catechism*, Canon Salmon, of Châlons, *Histoire de l'art Chrétien*, and Canon Martigny's *Amico Cattolico*. (See the *Labaro* for June 1899, and the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, vol. xxiii. p. 138, 1899.) Canon Farquhar, in confirmation of the same fact, has pointed to the frescoes in San Clemente, Rome (of the eleventh century), and in Raffaelle's Loggia (of the fifteenth century), representing the priest on the east side of the altar, and has stated that a picture by Sacchi, in 1600, is the first painting that represents the officiator with his back turned to the people (*F. C. C., ibid.* p. 141). The well-known Dr. St. John Mivart in his *Essays and Criticism* (i. 192), says, "In the ancient Ambrosian rite of Milan . . . the priest never turns round to the people at any *Dominus Vobiscum*. The last circumstance is due to the fact that according to the strict Ambrosian rite the priest should celebrate facing the people (*i.e.* standing on the farther side of the altar), and no doubt the former existence of a similar custom in Spain accounts for the fact that the priest does not turn round to the people at the *Dominus Vobiscum* in the Mozarabic rite. The whole Mass (Gallican) bears traces of having been originally said with the celebrant facing the people. In the Ambrosian rite the assistants pass behind the altar instead of in front" (*F. C. C.*, xxiii. 72). In the Mozarabic Missal the position of the officiator, which was looking westwards, has been somewhat obscured by some modern rubrics, framed in accordance with the later Roman use, having been inserted by Ortiz, the compiler of Ximenes' edition of the Mozarabic Liturgy in 1500. Cardinal Lorenzana, in his edition of *Missa Gothica* in 1770, explaining the reason why the priest turns only once or twice towards the congregation (instead of six times, as in the Roman Canon), writes, "It is only in this (the final) benediction, and in the offertory, when it was customary for him to have withdrawn a little from the altar, that the priest turns towards the people in the Mozarabic Mass; the chief cause of which is the antiquity of the Mozarabic rite, for in the first ages of the Church the altar was in the same direction as the faithful, and the priest faced the people, so that he had not to turn in order to address them, as is now necessary, for *now* the people stand behind him" (p. 132). See further the illustrations in Mr. Tomlinson's *The Liturgy and Eastward Position*, and Canon Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, pp. 77, 117, 139, 141, 144.

On account of the practice of early times, and the false signification attached at present to the eastward position, the Old Catholic Reformers of Italy hold tenaciously to the westward position as a "reform of great importance." "In modern Churches of the Papal Confession the altar is generally against the wall, and the priest celebrates Mass standing between the people and the altar, and turning his back on the people. Our Catholic Reformed Church of Italy has abolished this use, moving forward the Eucharistic Table from the wall, so that there is no difficulty in walking round it, and the minister who celebrates places himself behind the Table with his face toward the people. This reform has met with, and meets with the approval of our congregations, and of all those who come into our churches and chapels. In truth, to turn the back to the people is not in accordance with the rules of æsthetic, nor indeed of sound belief. . . . This reform of ours is not an innovation, but a return, pure and simple, to the practice of the ancient Church" (*Labaro*, June 1899).

Signor Ugo Janni sums up his estimation of the difference of teaching in the two positions as follows: "The position of the priest at the altar, according to the use of the Roman Church, signifies that the priest, who puts himself between the people and the altar, turning his back to the people, is a *sacerdote*, a mediator, in virtue of the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ which he offers on the altar. This is the reason why some Romanising Ritualists of the Anglican Church, who would cancel the glorious page of the Reformation, hold to this position as a thing of vital importance. For the opposite reason, we are firm in retaining this most beautiful practice of the ancient Catholic Church" (*Labaro*, June 1899).

In England the eastward position was ordered in 1549, no alteration being made in the then prevalent use. But the position was felt to be unsuitable to a reformed Prayer Book, and the rubric was not generally obeyed. "There were so many exceptions taken and opposition made to that order," says Bishop Cosin, "(some standing at the west side of the altar with their faces turned towards the people, others at the east, others at the south, and others at the north), that at last they agreed to set forth this rule [the present rule ordering the priest to stand at the north side], in the fifth of King Edward, instead of the former set forth in the second year" (*Notes*, p. 458). Therefore the position ordered for the clergyman since 1552 is the north of the Table (which seems to have been adopted as a compromise between east and west, and to prevent unseemly difference of use), and he is to keep that position throughout the service, except that immediately before the consecration prayer he is desired by a rubric inserted in 1662 to "stand before the Table" to "order

the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands." In other words, he is to place the paten and chalice, which had been standing since the offertory in the middle of the Table, nearer to the north end of it, in order that he may reach them easily from thence. Having done so, he resumes his place to the north of the Table, where he is able readily and decently to break the Bread before the people, which he cannot do if he stands on the west side of the Table, and to reach the Cup and take it in his hands.

A difficulty has been raised from the use of the word "side" instead of "end" of the Table. It is probable that the word "side" was originally preferred, because at the same time as the enactment of the rule "at the north side," permission was given (confirmed in 1559) to remove the Table into the chancel or church at the time of Communion, where it would, sometimes at least, have been placed lengthwise from east to west, and then the word "end" would not have been applicable; it would have meant either the eastward or the westward position. But every parallelogram or square is a four-sided figure, and the term "side" would cover the longer or the shorter side, which the term "end" would not. The "north side of the Table," therefore, where the priest is ordered to stand, is the same thing as the "north end." Accordingly, Laud's biographer, Heylin, arguing against Bishop Williams, wrote, "It is plain that if we speak according to the rules of art (as certainly they did that composed that rubric), every part of it is a side, however custom hath prevailed to call the narrower parts by the name of ends" (*A Coale from the Altar*, p. 21). And Bishop Wren said, "Custom of speech led men to call the north end or north part of the Table the north side thereof" (*Answer to Impeachment*). The Scottish Liturgy, authorised in 1637, directs the presbyter to stand "at the north side or end," the terms being equivalent.

[F. M.]

EBIONISM.—This name is derived from the Hebrew word which means "poor," poverty being in the Early Ages a characteristic of Jewish Christians. Judaism long exercised a great influence over the Primitive Christians of the House of Israel, specially those who lived in the Holy Land. Some of them maintained that all Jewish Christians ought to continue to observe the Mosaic Law. Others, who were more extreme, held that the Law was binding on all Christians whether Jews or Gentiles. The latter party were known as Ebionites. They taught that Christ was a mere man, the child of Joseph and Mary. They believed, however, that He was the Messiah, and that the Holy Ghost descended on Him at His Baptism, when His Messiahship was revealed to Him by Elijah in the form of John the Baptist. The Ebionites separated from the Catholic Church, and, according to some authorities, formed an independent sect in the reign of Domitian; according to others, about A.D. 107. [E. A. W.]

ECCLESIA.—See CHURCH.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—These are about fifty in number, and include the archbishops, bishops, some deans, judges, officers of state, and eminent laymen. They form a corporate body established by Act of Parliament in 1836, holding a large amount of Church property. They have power to make schemes with regard to this, and these proposals, when confirmed by an Order in Council and gazetted, have the force of Acts of Parliament. The funds of the Commissioners are devoted to church buildings, augmentations of poor livings, the endowment of new churches, &c. In augmenting poor livings the Commissioners frequently contribute a certain sum on the condition that an equal sum be raised by the persons locally interested. The Commissioners may receive contributions towards the endowment funds of new benefices. A report of their doings is handed in annually to one of the Secretaries of State, and laid before Parliament. See Whitehead's *Church Law*. [B. W.]

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.—Every organised body must have some means of enforcing its own rules upon its constituent members. In Apostolic times, this was done by a meeting of the brethren in each "church"; they voted (2 Cor. ii. 6), in the last resort, for the exclusion from Communion of the impenitent and contumacious law-breaker (1 Cor. v. 7, 9, 12, 13), and appointed the judge (1 Cor. vi. 4. See Bishop Ellicot *in loco*). The bishop, in his executive capacity, administered rebukes and heard complaints; but the final rejection of any "heretic" was preceded by "a first and second admonition," which implies a reference to the *ecclesia* according to our Lord's command in Matt. xviii. 17. To treat the offender as a "heathen man" was to reduce him to the condition of the unbaptized; to treat him as a "publican," was to regard him as a disloyal outcast shunned by the rest of the faithful (compare Titus iii. 10). Herein the bishop was merely the "president of the brethren," the mouthpiece of the "Church," which the Founder of the Church bade His Apostles to "hear," and whose judgment was final. The need of co-ordinating the rules agreed upon by the different local churches,

naturally led to the appointment of regular judges, so as to form a common tribunal of appeal. Naturally, too, the procedure and forms of the civil tribunals were instinctively followed; and when the Church became "established," the forms of the Civil or Imperial Law were imposed by the decree of Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian (A.D. 376), which prescribed the manner of proceeding to be adopted and followed in what had been originally merely customary, voluntary tribunals of domestic discipline. "Qui mos est causarum civilium, idem in negotiis ecclesiasticis obtinendi sunt" (*Codex Theod.*, lib. xvi. tit. ii. c. 23).

The decrees of the Emperors and the subsequent legislation of Christian states, when relevant, were recognised and enforced as the "law of the Church"; and hence, too, it arose that in England civilians superseded the canonists when the royal mandate closed the schools of Canon Law, and abolished degrees in Canon Law at Oxford and Cambridge in the reign of Henry VIII. In the article on CANON LAW (*supra*, p. 90) it is explained how the Pontifical Canon Law of Rome was discredited and virtually cast out, except so far as its subsequent reception in the King's Courts validated certain portions of it on the ground of custom, thus constituting it a portion of "the King's Ecclesiastical Common Law." But, in England, the Courts themselves were left intact; yet the co-ordinate jurisdiction of the primate in original suits was abolished by the 23 Hen. VIII. c. 9, unless the diocesan judge were himself the wrong-doer, or "dare not or will not" act. An appeal to the Crown in Chancery, from all and every Court of the Archbishop, was also substituted for the appellate jurisdiction previously wielded by the Pope.

Professor Maitland has shown that the Pope also "ran" Courts of first instance, side by side with the ordinary diocesan Courts of every grade; and of course the abolition of the Papal Supremacy destroyed all such at a blow. With these exceptions, the pre-Reformation Courts continued as before. The lowest of these was the Court of the Archdeacon, which took especial cognisance of neglects in divine service, failure to provide the prescribed ornaments of the church or of the minister, or to repair the church fabrics, disputes as to pews, church rates, and the appointment or the alleged misconduct of the parish clerk or other minor officer. But its chief employment was the attempt to regulate the conduct of the laity on mere gossip or "scandal" relating to bastardy, swearing, slander, drunkenness and the like. Archdeacon Hale's two volumes of "Precedents" give an amusing and vivid picture of the minute inquisition into English family and social life which went on when these Courts were in full swing. Blackmailing, perjuries, bribery, were among the direct fruits of this nominally "spiritual" system. Bishop Stubbs, in the third volume of his *Constitutional History*, repeatedly refers to "the ever-spreading and rankling sore produced by the *inquisitorial, mercenary, and generally disreputable* character of the Courts of Spiritual Discipline, an evil which had no slight share in making the Reformation inevitable, and which outlived the Reformation, and did its worst in alienating the people from the Church reformed" (pp. 299, 373, 523, &c.).

From the Archdeacon's Court an appeal lay to the Consistory Court of the Bishop which is ordinarily presided over by the chancellor of the diocese, or, at Canterbury, by the Commissary of the Archbishop. But the total abolition of the contentious jurisdiction of the archdeacon was recommended by the Royal Commission of 1833, and public opinion so utterly condemned their mischievous action, that as Courts of Discipline for the laity they have practically ceased to exist; but by statute (7 & 8 Vict. c. 59, § 5) the archdeacon may now suspend or remove a lay parish clerk by judicial process. As regards the clergy, the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon's Court was abolished by the Church Discipline Act of 1840. (See above, p. 110. The procedure in the Bishop's Court under that Act is there described.) In the Isle of Man the jurisdiction of the archdeacon was abolished and transferred to the Consistory Court in 1874.

In 1874 an alternative procedure was provided by the "Act for the better administration of the laws respecting the regulation of Public Worship" in suits relating to ritual. Under that Act, the bishop might decide without appeal any question of ritual, provided both parties had agreed beforehand to be bound by his ruling. The bishop had also the power of vetoing any suit by filing in his own registry his "reasons" for deciding to prevent access to the Courts of justice. The rest of the procedure is described in the article PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT, which see.

Side by side with these Courts, the King's Courts also take cognisance of clerical nonconformity, or persistent disregard of the directions given by the rubrics of the Prayer Book on the part of the officiating clergy. In such suits, the bishop is entitled by all the Acts of Uniformity to join himself to the judges of Assize in criminal proceedings under those Acts—of which the 1 Eliz. c. 2 is the leading standard. But the sentences which under that Act the judges are bound to inflict, are so severe (not to say savage), that this method has not been resorted to since 1795.

Recent legislation has provided civil penalties to be imposed on clergymen, who from age, incompetence, or indolence, neglect their parochial duties. Under the latest of the "Pluralities Acts Amendment Acts" (48 & 49 Vict. c. 54) passed in 1885, the bishop is enabled to issue a commission to inquire into the inadequate performance of the ecclesiastical duties of any benefice, and on the report of such inadequacy by the commissioners, he may require the incumbent to appoint one or more curates, and may fix his or their stipends according to the population and the income of the benefice itself. This form of remedy is not in the ordinary Consistory Court, but in a new Court erected by statute only. And by the Benefices Act, 1898, the bishop is further enabled, on the report of the commissioners, to directly choose the curates himself, and to inhibit the incumbent from interfering in any way with, or taking part in, the duties of the parish, or from exercising any patronage belonging to the benefice. The Benefices Act permits an appeal by the incumbent "within one month" to the brand-new Court erected by that Act. This Court of Appeal "consists of the Archbishop of the Province and of a judge of the Supreme Court, who shall be nominated by the Lord Chancellor from time to time"; the king's judge is to find as to the law and the facts, and the archbishop to "give judgment accordingly," but with power to rescind or vary the penalty whenever the judge decides against the accused. There is no appeal to the Crown under this Act—a significant abridgment of the Royal Supremacy as established by the Reformation Settlement—and it may be added that an appeal to the same Court, without any direct access to the Crown, is all that is permitted under the Benefices Act of 1898 to presentees who are wrongfully refused institution by the bishop—except where his refusal is rested on grounds of ritual or doctrine. The way had been prepared in 1892 for this grave innovation, by giving, under the Clergy Discipline Act, a choice of going *either* to the Arches, *or* direct to the Privy Council; but in the former event, the decision of the Dean of the Arches is to admit of no further appeal.

In 1892 the Clergy Discipline Act was passed, dealing with offences of the clergy against morality, or against Ecclesiastical Law, other than questions relating to doctrine or ritual. For this purpose the procedure of the Consistory Court was then modified by requiring that the Chancellor of the diocese shall preside, and shall be the sole judge of questions of law, but shall be aided by five assessors chosen in the manner prescribed by that Act (55 & 56 Vict. c. 32). Questions of fact are decided by the unanimous decision of the assessors, or by the Chancellor and at least a majority of the assessors. The Chancellor fixes the costs, and decides whether a given question is one of law or of fact. Deprivation may be pronounced in the first instance, or may be inflicted by the Consistory Court in cases of disobedience to the original sentence, and the bishop may, at his discretion, depose from Holy Orders a clergyman so deprived "without any further formality."

But with the exceptions above noted, the ordinary course of appeal lay from the bishop's Consistory (or, as in case of licensed curates, from his personal judgment) to the Archbishop of the Province. The Primate of all England retained by Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21, certain prerogatives formerly claimed by him as *Legatus natus* of the Pope. Hence, in his Court of Faculties he still grants degrees in Arts, and (till 1858) in medicine, &c., and grants dispensations, as in the familiar instance of marriage licences. Similar functions of a more judicial character attached to him in his Court of Prerogative, in which he formerly exercised that testamentary jurisdiction which has now been transferred by Parliament to the Probate Court. In his Court of Audience (or some analogous tribunal) he tried his suffragans, and an excellent summary of the precedents will be found in the preliminary Judgment in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. King), the materials for which Archbishop Benson obtained from Hody's MS. now in the Lambeth Library, which had been originally prepared for the use of Archbishop Tenison in the trial of Bishop Watson for simony. In the footnotes to the cheap edition of Archbishop Benson's Judgment (published at twopence by the Church Association), will be found some further illustrations bearing on this little understood Primatial Jurisdiction.

Again, in the "Court of the Vicar General" (almost the sole function of which is the confirmation of bishops), the so-called "judge," even when the Primate presides in person, is really a ministerial officer of the Crown, acting under mandate from the sovereign, and without any real choice, "judicial" or otherwise, to decide on the merits of the Crown nominee.

But by far the most important Court of the Archbishop is that presided over by the "Dean of the Arches," who, under the Public Worship Act, is now nominated by the two archbishops and confirmed by the Crown, or, in their default, is directly appointed by Letters Patent of the Crown. He must have held the office of Judge in one of the Superior Courts, or been in actual practice for ten years as a barrister, and now holds both the office of Auditor of the Chancery Court of York, and Dean of the Arches, and is also Official Principal of both the arch-

bishops. To this Court an appeal lies from the several Consistory Courts of the Province, except when the appellants, under the Clergy Discipline Act of 1892, prefer to go direct to the Privy Council. By granting "Letters of Request" (which the provincial judge has no power to refuse), every diocesan bishop may pass on cases arising within his diocese to the Court of the Archbishop of his own Province (*i.e.* for Canterbury, the "Arches"—for York, the "Chancery Court"), so that the Archbishop's Court becomes then the Court of first instance, and the expense and delay of a first hearing in the bishop's Consistory is thereby saved. The Dean of the Arches issues process in his own name, and can deprive an incumbent without any reference to the Archbishop. Under the Act of 1874, he can also wield in either province any powers which belong to him, as provincial judge in the other province.

The Court of Appeal from all courts of the archbishops is now the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, four bishops sit as assessors to aid the Privy Council Judges in their consideration of ecclesiastical appeals. In strictness, the "Judgment" is that of the "Crown in Council"; but as it is statutably directed to be given with advice of the Council, the Report of the Judicial Committee is popularly regarded as "the Judgment," because it alone embodies the reasoning and gives the authorities upon which the Judgment is based. That "the grounds of the Judgment being thus known and reported, tend to settle principles, and to establish uniformity of decision," was one of the reasons assigned by the Royal Commission of 1832 for preferring the Privy Council to the abolished Court of Delegates in Chancery, which had been erected by Henry VIII.

Beside the above, which constitute the existing Ecclesiastical Courts proper, it must be remembered that ecclesiastical questions may also be raised indirectly in the King's Bench, as under the old writ of *quare impedit*, upon a refusal of the bishop to institute a presentee on grounds of ritual or doctrine. In such cases the House of Lords may be called upon to decide, as the ultimate Court of Appeal.

The fact that conflicting principles of interpretation, and, as a result, conflicting decisions, may be arrived at by this system of dual tribunals, added to the singular usage now created and established by the Privy Council itself, viz. that in ecclesiastical suits there can be *no finality* in any judgment of the Crown, tends greatly to weaken the authority of these Courts. Under pretence of "new light" any litigant whose purse is long enough to wear out his opponent and "break his back," may reopen any "decided" question, so that all ascertained law is thrown afresh into the melting-pot. In secular matters this would be held to be intolerable. Fresh legislation ought to be the only method of setting right any undesirable state of the law as revealed or "laid down" by the Supreme Court.

See Makower's *Constitutional History of the Church of England*, ch. v.; *Reports of the Ecclesiastical Court Commissioners of* 1832 *and* 1883; Archbishop Tait's Preface to Brodrick and Fremantle's *Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Judicial Committee*; Dibdin's *Church Courts*; Whitehead's *Church Law*; Tomlinson's *Lay Judges in Church Courts*; Professor Maitland's *Roman Canon Law in England*. [J. T. T.]

ECCLESIASTICUS.—See APOCRYPHA.

EILETON.—The name for the "corporal" in the Greek Liturgies. See CORPORAL, MASS.

ELEVATION.— The practice of the Latin Church of lifting up the sacrament for adoration immediately after its consecration. This is one of the "superstitions" resulting from Transubstantiation, which is condemned by the Church of England in Article XXVIII. The doctrine of Transubstantiation having been first promulgated in the ninth century, confirmed by Pope Hildebrand in the eleventh, and authorised by Innocent III. in the thirteenth century, we should expect Elevation to have originated about that time. It was, as a matter of fact, in the twelfth century that the practice began to creep in, and at the end of that century it first received sanction by a local ecclesiastical authority. In 1197 Odo, Bishop of Paris, issued some Constitutions, and in them he ordered his presbyters not to raise the Host above the level of the breast until they came to the words in the consecration prayer, "This is my Body," and then to lift it up so as to be seen by all. Another Bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, in 1228 added another feature of the modern practice by desiring a bell to be rung at the time of the Elevation, to move the faithful to prayer. Durandus, the Liturgiologist, in 1280, plainly states what one of the purposes of the ceremony was. "The Host is elevated that the people, knowing from it that Christ has come upon the altar, may reverently prostrate themselves to the ground" (*Rationale*, iv. 41). And a Synod of Exeter, in 1287, gives the reason for the particular practice which we have seen enjoined by Odo. "Because by these words 'This is my Body,' and none other, the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, let the priest not elevate the Host until he has fully brought out those words, lest the creature be worshipped by the people for the Creator" (Wilkins, ii. 132).

These quotations and references are sufficient

to show both the date and the purpose of the ceremony of Elevation. Cardinal Bona acknowledges that "there is not a trace of it to be found in the old Sacramentaries" nor "in any of the old expositors of rites." Of course there are none, because there was no tenet of Transubstantiation. When that dogma was accepted, equally of course the practice of Elevation ensued. The original purpose with which it was fostered was to help on the establishment of the new dogma of Transubstantiation in opposition to the sounder teaching of Berengarius, and the present purpose with which it is kept up, or introduced, is to encourage the worship of the bread—which is the logical consequence of Transubstantiation. Wherever that doctrine, whether in its developed form, honestly professing itself to be Transubstantiation, or in its undeveloped form, calling itself the Objective Presence in the elements, prevails, there the practice of Elevation will sooner or later be found. (See Bishop Cosin, *Notes on the Prayer Book*, p. 340, and Bishop Bull, *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, and Canon Venables' Article in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.)

There is a rite in the Oriental Church, sometimes called Elevation, of a character quite different, and practised for a different purpose. When the officiating priest says "Holy things for holy persons," he reverently lifts the consecrated bread from the Table, and lays it down again. That this is not done, like the Western Elevation, for the purpose of offering an object of worship to the eyes of the people, is certain, because the act is performed behind the closed iconostasis, a solid wooden screen which divides the people from the sanctuary. After this ceremony, the priest breaks the bread in an elaborate manner, takes the Communion himself and gives it to the deacon, and says various prayers, and then, but not till then, the door of the solid wooden screen is thrown open, and the deacon, going to the doorway, lifts up the chalice containing both the bread and the wine, and shows it to the people, to give them to understand that it is now time for them to come forward, saying at the same time, "Approach with the fear of God, faith, and love." They that are to communicate at once draw near without further prayer or prostration. This form of Elevation behind the screen has led to the erroneous idea that it was introduced to represent the Mosaic wave-offering. Cardinal Bona adopts the idea in order thereby to defend the Western Elevation, with which it has nothing in common.

[F. M.]

ELIZABETH'S EXCOMMUNICATION BY PIUS V. — The bull, named from its opening words, *Regnans in excelsis*, and launched against the Queen of England, Feb. 25, 1570,[1] took the world by surprise by its surreptitious publication on the gates of the Bishop of London's palace, St. Paul's Churchyard, early on May 25, 1570. In the most pontifical strain it begins: "He that reigneth on high, to whom is ascribed all power both in heaven and earth, hath committed the absolute government of His one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church (out of which there is no salvation) to only one upon earth, namely, to Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's successor the Bishop of Rome. Him alone has He made Prince over all nations and kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build." In the same lofty style the document proceeds to speak of "the pretended Queen of England abandoned to all wickedness," as having usurped the supremacy over the whole Church of England, and reduced that kingdom, "lately reclaimed to the Catholic faith," to a miserable apostasy; as having abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, the choice of meats, celibacy, and the rites of the Catholic Church; as having presumed to eject bishops, rectors, and other Catholic priests out of their churches and benefices, and to determine ecclesiastical causes: "We therefore, by virtue of our Apostolic power, declare Elizabeth a heretic, to have incurred the sentence of excommunication, to be deprived of her pretended title to the said kingdom; and the nobility, subjects, and people, of the said kingdom absolved from their oaths of allegiance."

The person to affix a copy of this bull to the Bishop of London's gates between two and three o'clock of the morning mentioned, was no desperado of the lower orders, but a gentleman of position, Mr. John Felton, madly zealous for the old religion, belonging to an ancient Norfolk family, and then residing with his lady at the dissolved abbey of Bermondsey in Surrey, now represented by a parish church and spacious churchyard in South London. Mrs. Felton had been a maid-of-honour to Queen Mary, and in her younger days a companion to the Princess Elizabeth. When the bold deed of Mr. Felton became known at court, general search was made for the culprit, who had laid the train for his own discovery

[1] It occurs textually with this date in Cherubini's *Bullarium*, 1617, vol. ii. 305; Jewel's *Works* (Parker Soc.), vol. iv. 1131, from Cherubini; but in Camden's Latin *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. Hearne, 1717, ii. 215, the document is dated Feb. 25, 1569 (old style); in Wilkins, iv. 260, it is 1570, 5 kal. "Maii," evidently a clerical error for the "Martii" of the *Bullarium*.

by having distributed other copies of the bull to various people. He knew his danger, yet made no attempt to escape, and on seeing the abbey beset by soldiers quietly put himself in their hands. A full account of his apprehension is given by the Roman Catholic Church historian Dodd,[1] whose references are Stow and a narrative in his own possession written by Mr. Felton's daughter. The prisoner, being taken to the Tower, was on Aug. 4, 1570, arraigned at Guildhall, and on Aug. 8 drawn on a sledge to St. Paul's Churchyard, where a gallows had been erected for him early that morning before the bishop's palace at the north-west corner of the Yard, by Ludgate Hill, where London House-Yard preserves its memory. Before suffering he took from his finger a diamond ring, valued at £400, which he delivered to the Earl of Sussex for presentation to the Queen. His plate and jewels, reckoned worth £33,000, were confiscated to the Queen's use. Mrs. Felton, by reason of her early connection with Elizabeth, was favoured with a special grant allowing a priest to dwell in her house for the use of herself and family while she lived. Camden relates[2] that most of the moderate Papists secretly disliked this bull, because there had been no previous admonition as justice required, foreseeing also the storms that hung over their heads, when they had previously exercised their religion securely, within their own private houses, or had made no scruple of frequenting divine service as it was received in the English Church. Many of these continued from that time firm in their allegiance, especially on seeing neighbouring princes and Roman Catholic countries keep up their usual correspondence with the Queen, and the bull slighted as an empty noise of words.

It should not be forgotten that this Roman assault on the throne and the Reformed Church of England was delivered in the early years after the close (Dec. 4, 1563) of the Council of Trent, when, on the basis of its decrees, the entire Papal world was gathering its ranks for a recovery from its recent humiliations. On Nov. 13, 1564, the Pope's bull formulated that Profession of Faith commonly known as the Creed of Pope Pius IV., embodying the Tridentine points, which every member of the Roman hierarchy and of the monastic communities was compelled to adopt on oath. Then again, late in 1566, by command of Pius V., there appeared a Roman Catechism, in the sense of the same decrees, with a view of popularising the new Papal doctrine in every direction. The bull *Regnans* came as an attempt, in the very shadow of St. Paul's, to burst open the English door for this impossible theology, and Parliament before long replied with the statute of 1571, for English "ministers to be of sound religion"—which was the reverse of the Tridentine—by accepting the Thirty-nine Articles on entering Holy Orders or obtaining preferment. Thus the bull intended to humiliate Elizabeth did but occasion the last stone, the doctrinal, being set to her Reformation settlement. [C. H.]

[1] *Church History*, ii. 151.

[2] English ed. 428, col. 2: Hearne, ii. 215.

EMBER DAYS.—The word Ember is probably derived from "quatember," a corruption of the Latin words *quatuor tempora*, the four seasons. By the 31st Canon of 1604 it is directed that ordinations shall take place at those times: "No deacons or ministers be made and ordained, but only upon the Sundays immediately following *Jejunia quatuor temporum*, commonly called Ember Days," &c. The Preface to the Ordinal allows, however, that a deacon may be admitted "on urgent occasions upon some other Sunday or Holyday." The Ordinal was composed in 1550, but somewhat altered in 1552, and again in 1662.

The first of the two Ember Collects was drawn up in 1661. The second is from the Ordinal of 1550, from which it was transposed to its present place in the Scottish Liturgy of 1637. The Ember Days are the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays after December 13th, the First Sunday in Lent, Whitsunday, and September 14th. Their date of observance was variable at first, but was settled according to the present form by the Council of Placentia, in A.D. 1095. Prayers and fasts were used in the early Church in connection with the ordination of ministers, following the early apostolic precedent set by the Church at Antioch, though the case there recorded was not actual ordination, but delegation to a special work (Acts xiii. 3). [C. J. C.]

EMBOLISM.—A prayer "intercalated" or inserted after the Lord's Prayer. Such prayers were common in the ancient liturgies.

EMINENCE.—The title given to a Cardinal by a decree of Urban VIII.

EMPIRE, HOLY ROMAN.—See ROMAN.

ENCLOSURE.—Latin, *clausura*, is a name given to the rule of the Roman Catholic Church which prevents intercourse between persons in a convent and persons outside.

ENCRATITES.—The Encratites were Gnostic sectaries of the second century. The founder of the sect was Tatian, an Assyrian by birth, and sometime a pupil of Justin Martyr. Tatian, who flourished A.D. 170, attempted to do service to the cause of Christianity by writing an Apology, which took the form of a doctrinal treatise. (See FATHERS). But all the germs of Gnosticism are found in his system. Although

he allows that matter was created by God, he holds it to be the ultimate source from which the evil influence proceeds. His views of creation approximate to the Alexandrian theories of emanation. The name Encratites means, "people who practise self-control." Asceticism was at this time carried to greater lengths without than it was within the Church, but though the sects were condemned, some of their principles reacted upon the Church itself. (See ASCETICISM.) The Encratites abstained from eating flesh, and from the use of wine even in the Lord's Supper. They also denounced marriage, and would not receive any married person into their order.

[C. J. C.]

ENCYCLICAL.—An Encyclical, a circular letter; in the Church of Rome it is applied to a letter from the Pope to all the bishops in communion with him. Encyclical letters generally condemn prevalent errors, or point out impediments to the work of the Church, &c. In early times the term was used in a wider sense, *e.g.* the letter of the Church of Smyrna which describes the martyrdom of Polycarp, was termed an Encyclical.

ENERGUMENI.—The term literally signifies "worked upon, or in, by a demon." It corresponds to the "demoniacs" in the Gospels, and was applied in the early Church to sufferers from insanity, epilepsy, or similar diseases. A special discipline was provided for such persons, in the third century. It died out in the East during the fourth century, but in Spain it continued until the seventh. Energumeni were divided into the Baptized and the Catechumens. They were registered and maintained by the Christian communities, and were lodged near the church. Sometimes an exorcist exorcised them privately, sometimes the bishop, assisted by the other clergy, exorcised, using prayers, the sign of the cross, laying on of hands, water, salt, saliva, breathing, &c. The energumeni were often admitted to public worship, but not to the Lord's Supper, except before death. (See Dr. Hook's *Dictionary* and *Catholic Dictionary*.) See DEMONS, EXORCISM.

[W. B.]

ENGLISH CANONS are rules and regulations made by the proper ecclesiastical authority within the realm of England, whether before or since the Reformation. They are sometimes called Domestic Canons. In pre-Reformation times they were not valid as canons of the Church if they contravened the Roman Canon Law, and, on the other hand, they were not valid as part of the law of the land if repugnant to that law and that law declined to receive them. There was always a debatable land lying between the jurisdiction of Pope and King, *i.e.* of Church and State, the confines of which were never accurately determined. See CANON LAW.

The pre-Reformation domestic canons comprise Archbishop Theodore's canons of 673, which enjoined the keeping of Easter according to the Roman rule, as against the Welsh and Irish rule, and canons made under various Saxon Archbishops of Canterbury, also those of Lanfranc, Anselm, Langton, Peckham, and other pre-Reformation Archbishops. The most important of all were the legatine constitutions of Otho and Othobon in 1237 and 1268. The following, dealing with the administration of the Eucharist to the sick, is a specimen of a pre-Reformation canon, "Let him (the priest) have a silver or tin vessel always to carry with him to the sick appropriated for this special purpose, that is for giving the Washings of his Fingers to be drunk [? by the sick man] after the taking of the Eucharist." The above is Canon 21 of Archbishop Edmund, A.D. 1236. (See Johnson, *Canons*, vol. ii.)

Of post-Reformation canons the most important are the 141 canons of 1603–4 passed by the Convocation of Canterbury, ratified and published by the authority of King James I. under the Great Seal of England. They deal with the king's supremacy; divine service, and the administration of the sacraments; ministers, their ordination, function, and charge; schoolmasters; things appertaining to churches; churchwardens or questmen, and side-men or assistants; parish clerks; ecclesiastical courts and judges; ecclesiastical proctors, registrars, and apparitors; and conclude with three canons on the authority of synods. The legal effect of these and also of the canons of 1640 will be found dealt with under CANONS, and CANON LAW. [B. W.]

ENGLISH CHURCH, THE, to the Reformation.

I. *Brito-Roman Period* (*c.* 177-410). Reasons could be given for tracing the origin of the Church in Britain to the Asiatic-Greek Churches in the Celtic region of Lyons and Vienne on the Rhone, about A.D. 177, Britain being then occupied by the Romans. The story of a mission from Rome by Pope Eleutherus is unfounded. In the second, third, and fourth centuries, A.D., the British Church is frequently noticed by Greek and Latin Christian writers of the Mediterranean countries. Its own first historical event is the martyrdom of Alban, *c.* 304; after that comes the presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314. There is no proof that British bishops attended the Councils of Nicæa (325) and Sardica (343). They certainly did that of Rimini in 359. That the British Church was untainted with Arianism is testified by Hilary in 358, and by Athanasius in 363.

II. *British Church before the Saxons*, *c.* 410–450. The Roman armies in or about 410 withdrew from Britain. It is computed that *c.* 412–432 the British bishop Ninian, seated at Whithern on the Galloway coast, evangelised the regions below the Grampians as the "Apostle of the Southern Picts." In 429 Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, came by invitation from Gaul with Lupus Bishop of Troyes, and again in 447 with Bishop Severus, to oppose the Pelagian heresy with which Britain was then troubled. Their efforts proved successful.

III. *British Church before Augustine* (*c.* 450–597). About 450 the pagan Saxon invaders began their colonisation of Britain, the Christian British gradually retiring westward to the Cumbrian, Welsh, and Devonian hills. About that time probably the British missionary Patrick became the Apostle of Ireland. (See IRISH CHURCH.) In 520 a victory of the British King Arthur at Badon Hill checked the westward advance of the Saxons, and contemporary with him was David the saint of Wales. In 563 Columba, an Irish Christian Celt, settling on the islet Iona, became the "Apostle of the Northern Picts" above the Grampians, dying in 597. In 585 another Irish Celt, Columbanus, went as a missionary to the pagans of N.E. Gaul, proceeding afterwards to the Apennines, where he died in 615. These Celtic missions began before Augustine's.

IV. *The Anglo-Saxon Church of the Heptarchy* (*c.* 597–827). In 597, the monk Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, reached Kent, in 598 was made a bishop, and in or about 600 baptized Ethelbert the sovereign of Kent, the first Anglo-Saxon king who received Christianity. In 602 or 603 Augustine went into the West, hoping to gain the British Church to his authority, but failed. In or about 605 he died. In 627 Christianity was received in Northumbria, on the baptism of King Edwin by Bishop Paulinus from Kent, but after his fall in battle, 633, Northumbria relapsed to paganism. It was recovered in 634 on the accession of Oswald. This king, baptized in exile among the Celtic Scots, restored Christianity, which had been previously Kentish or Roman, in a Celtic form and spirit. A Celtic see was established in Lindisfarne under the Scottish bishop Aidan, who was the Second Apostle of Northumbria, and Lindisfarne continued the Celtic centre of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, as Canterbury did of the Roman. Under Celtic influence or under Roman, the other heptarchal nations received Christianity, but the great bulk of Anglo-Saxon Christians were of Celtic conversion. In forms of worship and points of discipline they were afterwards Romanised by the energies of a young Northumbrian named Wilfrid, of noble rank, who, with the support of his Queen Eanfled, a princess from Kent, visited Canterbury, and afterwards Rome, to study the whole Roman method, much of which was in 664 publicly adopted in a conference at Whitby. The heptarchal kingdoms, having been separately converted, had each its own established Church, with, as a rule, its one bishop; and it was Archbishop Theodore (669–690), who, in conjunction with the various kings, succeeded in reducing episcopal power by subdividing bishoprics. In this process there was a special difficulty with Wilfrid, who had become bishop over the large kingdom of Northumbria, where, with an immense following and a towering ambition, he was all but a Pope. In 673 Theodore convened at Hertford a Synod of all the bishops, who sat under his presidency (even Wilfrid sending his legates), and consulted as one body for all the heptarchal Churches in common, agreeing to do the same periodically in future. Thus, in 673 the heptarchal mission-churches had practically coalesced into one CHURCH OF ENGLAND under the see of Canterbury, a century and a half before the heptarchal kingdoms became a monarchy. Wilfrid's enormous power had to be broken, and Archbishop Theodore, with the Northumbrian king Egfrid on his side, was resolute. In 678 ecclesiastical Northumbria was partitioned, and Wilfrid appealed to the Pope, the first Anglo-Saxon who ever did this. Having begun with Roman usage and ceremony, he went on to Roman Authority, and was the earliest English ultramontane. He was banished for his pains, and in his exile brought (681) the South Saxon kingdom (Sussex), the only pagan one left, to adopt Christianity. In the eighth century there was a great flocking of the Anglo-Saxons to the Christian Latin schools which Archbishop Theodore had established all over the country, and the learning thus propagated produced Latin writers, especially Bede of Jarrow, historian and commentator (*d.* 735), and Alcuin, a great teacher in the school at York (*d.* 804). The heptarchal Church in this century was conspicuous in Europe, for learning had elsewhere perished, and Charlemagne had to send for Alcuin to re-light the torch in his realms. A natural consequence was an eighth-century flocking of Anglo-Saxons to Rome, which they had learnt to reverence as once the mistress of the world, their predecessor in Britain, the see of St. Peter, foundress of the Kentish Church. There was a great turning of the Anglo-Saxon heart to Rome.

V. *Church of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy*

(*c.* 827–1066). The unification of heptarchal civil rule by the predominance of Egbert, King of Wessex, in 827, came about by arms, without any visible aid from the unified Church of 673. It was almost battered to pieces by the Danes, who, beginning their depredations on English soil in 832, had nearly paganised England in 878, when Alfred's victory saved it. His restorations in learning and religion then went on till nearly his death in 901. The tenth-century revival of Benedictinism began with the appointment of Dunstan, a young Thane, in 943, as Abbot of Glastonbury, and the fervour of that movement survived till near the accession in 1042, of Edward the Confessor. The object was to restore monasteries ruined by the Danes below the Humber, build others, acquire the control of cathedrals and collegiate churches, by violence if necessary, and establish a celibate clergy in full possession of the Church. The conflicts produced in the Council Chamber and in the field in every corner of the land, chiefly in Edgar's reign, ultimately broke up England and placed a Danish family (Christian) on the throne (1016–1042). Edward the Confessor (1042–1066) had little, perhaps deserved little, authority, and the country was under the domination of great earls, as in another heptarchy. The Church of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, without a Church Court, without the strictly clerical Synod of the heptarchal period, managed itself by laymen and ecclesiastics deliberating together, and in that sense only was a national Church, an institution hardly possible perhaps where there is no firm central authority, which England scarcely had for long together between the heptarchy and the Conquest. In one very important matter, the transmission of the ministerial office, this Church confessed a dependency upon the Papal hand. We refer to the *pallium*, without which ornament from Rome an archbishop was not, in public opinion, validly equipped for his office, and could not therefore confer the priesthood.

VI. *The Anglo-Norman Church* (1066–1154). The Conqueror (1066–1087), as sees and abbeys became legally vacant, nominated to them only Normans or other foreigners. Then, by establishing Church Courts for trying ecclesiastical cases, till then unknown in England, and reviving Synods, which had been long disused there, he created a more pronounced CHURCH LIFE than he found. Bishops were allowed to have strong places for their sees if not already possessing such, and grand Norman cathedrals speedily arose, altogether constituting a powerful body of men to be kept in hand. Against encroachments by Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) after 1073 he stood on his guard. His archbishop was Lanfranc. Under Rufus it was Anselm (1093-1109), the first ultramontane primate of English history. Against Henry I. (1100–1135) Anselm gained a triumph for the Papacy in Investitures, when in 1107 the Crown ceased to bestow the ring and crosier on new bishops, allowing cathedral chapters the leave to elect, but retaining the Crown's right to confirm, practically to nominate. In 1127 Archbishop William of Corbeuil held at Westminster the first true legatine Synod, a Papal Court of decree, possessing the highest significance, an unconstitutional assembly brought about by ecclesiastical encroachment with the royal connivance. Stephen (1135–1154), may be considered in this sketch Anglo-Norman. His doubtful title made him look for ecclesiastical support, and at his coronation he swore to allow the clergy exemption from secular course of justice in civil matters, the first instance of that momentous concession in English history, at a time, too, when bishops had become a castled spiritual nobility, with little pretension to be pastors in the Scriptural sense. In or about 1150, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, became by virtue of that office the Pope's legate, and thenceforth to the Reformation every one of his successors was *legatus natus*, native legate, by no English constitutional right, by ecclesiastical encroachment with royal connivance. The clerical body, drifting off from the Crown, were anchoring themselves increasingly on the Papal shore.

VII. *The Plantagenet Church* (1154–1485). Henry II. (1154–1189), resolved on establishing legal order in his realm after civil war, encountered a keen opponent in Archbishop Becket (1161–1170), who stood for clerical exemption from secular control in civil as well as ecclesiastical causes. Becket, being required to submit to the laws and customs of England, which were formulated for this occasion at Clarendon Palace (1164) in a body of "Constitutions," professed his acceptance when face to face with the king, but afterwards recalled his word and fled to France, where, with Papal encouragement, he behaved himself with intolerable insolence to Henry's authority year after year, until the king, unable to endure the violence he could not punish, and seeing Church and State alike disordered by the contest, allowed him to return home without making the least submission. That return constituted Henry's surrender and Becket's triumph, the triumph of the priest over the civil courts in civil cases. The murder of Becket soon afterwards, December 29, 1170, by knights of the court, added the glory of martyrdom, and for a long

while afterwards priests could defy all justice but synodic. This defiance of the crown by the mitre lasted almost a century, the century in which the Papacy from Innocent III. to Boniface VIII. (1198–1303), stood at the meridian height of its Hildebrandine perfection. To this period belongs St. Hugh of Lincoln (*d.* 1200), who in his enormous diocese, from Humber to Thames, was styled "Staff of Pontiffs, Hammer of Kings"; and there were three Archbishops of Canterbury meriting a like fame, Boniface of Savoy (1245–1272), who threatened sheriffs with excommunication and royal castles with interdict; Peckham (1278–1292), who declared excommunicate any who should procure letters from a lay court in obstruction of an ecclesiastical; Winchelsey (1293–1313), who procured a bull forbidding taxes to be levied on, or paid by, ecclesiastics without Papal sanction. Within this period also spread those powerful bodies, exempt monasteries, whose mitred lord abbots, released from their bishops, owning only the Pope, had seats in Parliament, where they could represent no interests but Papal; houses like St. Albans (exempted 1163), Glastonbury, Reading, Canterbury, Abingdon. Then, too, the friars, from 1221, acknowledging only the pontiff, ministering to parishoners independently of the parish priests, with whom they were in consequence at deadly feud, breaking up parochial unity as exempt abbots broke up diocesan. Thus while civil and national solidarity was destroyed by ecclesiastical usurpation, ecclesiastical was made impossible by a loyalty divided with the Papacy. To this confusion had come that CHURCH LIFE which seemed to promise so much at the Conquest. But the promotion of spiritual religion through Holy Scripture among the people, so characteristic of Lindisfarne teaching before Wilfrid's propagandism, was no part of the Hildebrandine reform; contemporary theology at Franciscan Oxford being hardly, if at all, biblical, but a fabric whose arches were scholastic philosophy, Mariolatry, Pelagianism, or even Socinianism; two pillars sustaining the entire system, viz. Papal Supremacy and Transubstantiation.

Above a century had passed after Henry II.'s mournful surrender in 1170, when signs of constitutional recovery, and afterwards of doctrinal, became apparent under the Edwards. In 1285 Edward I.'s statute *Circumspectè agatis* curbed the Church courts, which were gradually drawing *all* causes to themselves. In 131, Edward II.'s *Articuli Cleri* abridged the immunity of the clergy from secular authority. In 1350, 1352, under Edward III., when Papal decadence had commenced, the two historic statutes *Provisors* and *Præmunire*—the first *parliamentary* enactments by any nation whatever against Rome, one seeking to check Papal nominations to English sees and livings, the other the carrying any cause to Rome belonging to the king's court—indicate a reviving civil nationality in England, as did the fields of Crecy and Poictiers in 1346 and 1356, those two blows reaching the Papacy at Avignon, as well as France. In 1366 Wyclif, on the side of the secular or parochial clergy, dealt a literary blow on the ultramontane monastics. In Richard II.'s reign (1377–1399) Wyclif's main tasks are executed; in 1381 his opposition to transubstantiation and the Papacy; *cir.* 1378–1382 his translation of the Bible; *cir.* 1382 his Poor Priests sent forth to carry it about. In 1395 his followers, the Lollards, attained their meridian, and in 1396 Archbishop Arundel vowed the rest of his life to their destruction. Standing by two kings of doubtful title, Henry IV. and V., Arundel obtained two murderous statutes (1401, 1414), to extinguish Lollardism. In 1417 their powerful chief Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, died in the flames. In 1431, in the reign of Henry VI. (1422–1461), the worst of this persecution ended, but the Lollards survived the Wars of the Roses (1460–1485), which ended the Plantagenet line and brought in the Tudors.

VIII. In the *Tudor Church* (1485–1603) there was under Henry VII. (1485–1509) a gradual revival of learning in grammar schools and colleges; in divinity, through Margaret professorships. At Oxford Greek was studied and taught by Colet and others, St. Paul's Epistles taught by Colet alone. No doctrinal reformation was encouraged by authority. On the contrary, private masses for the dead, chanted by solitary priests in small chapels called chantries, paid for by the dying or by surviving relatives, were multitudinous, producing great revenue. In 1512, under Henry VIII. (1509–1547), a convocation sermon by Colet, then Dean of St. Paul's, reveals to us that the people as a rule, could have had no spiritual teaching worthy of the name except what was concealed in Lollard homes. In 1516 the press began carrying to every University Erasmus's Greek Testament with its Latin version; in 1517 Luther's 95 Theses; in 1520 his "Three Reformation Treatises"; in 1521 Erasmus's Latin Paraphrases of St. Paul's Epistles; and that all these quickly found their way to Oxford and Cambridge may be taken for granted, while there is evidence that in 1524, 1525, gownsmen at both those universities were in touch with this literature. In 1526 unlearned Englishmen were beginning to handle Tyndale's New Testament, pouring in from the translator on the Continent. Thus there was more than begun a vigorous Reformation spirit among

English scholars, citizens, yeomen, perhaps even ploughmen, years before 1529, when Henry's separation from the Pope began, while it was not until 1532 that his first anti-Papal statute was passed. The people's Reformation, if counted from 1520, when Luther's writings were publicly burnt at Cambridge, had thus twelve years' start of Henry's, and had even produced a martyr in 1531, Bilney.[1] The leading Reformation statutes of Henry VIII. abolished annates in 1532 (partially and provisionally), appeals to Rome in 1533, annates in 1534 (completely); enacted the convocational submission of the clergy in 1534, the king's supreme headship over the Church of England in 1534, leading to the executions of Fisher, More, and the Charter-house monks in 1535; the suppression of the small monasteries in 1536, the surrendered great monasteries to be vested in the Crown in 1539. Henry's main purpose was to make the Church of his realm, which had been gradually Romanised from Wilfrid's day, and was entirely papalised by Becket, English and national. It was a constitutional and legislative reform that he took in hand with admirable success. The popular and private reform descending from Wyclif, continued by Tyndale's New Testament, was quite distinct, purely doctrinal, with a separate life of its own, a supreme effort to recover Scriptural truth and rid the Church of accumulated superstitions. Under Edward VI. (1547–1553) the constitutional reform previously accomplished was held fast, but in conjunction with it was now legislatively secured that doctrinal Christianity which the common people had been finding in the Bible, and labouring for individually by suffering and martyrdom. The two branches together constituted the English Reformation, and its birthday was Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, when the Book of Common Prayer (for that too was doctrine in worship) came first into use legally. In 1552 an improved edition (called the Second Prayer Book), substantially the one now in use, took its place. The form of ordination was materially revised, and the sacrificer of other days was now a minister of God's Word and Sacraments. The chantries of Henry VII.'s period were abolished as superstitious, and generally converted into grammar schools. Archbishop Cranmer, Primate since 1532, was the father of Edward's reforms. With a hostile episcopate in front of him, and an impatient people behind, but a capable and resolute government at his right hand, he carried all before him, owing to his literary powers, his experience in affairs, and above all his character with the nation. But before England had time to get accustomed to the new order, Edward's brief reign ended. Mary (1553–1558), aided by a sympathetic episcopate, and by a House of Commons secured to her side, repealed all Edward's doctrinal reforms in one week (1553), all Henry's constitutional in another (1554); but when she sought to eradicate the Scripture doctrine from the people's hearts by the stake, she proved the very means of doing what Edward's premature death left undone, rooted it deep and fast to all future time. Mary's reign, however, proved a permanent disaster, by dividing the reformers in their exile. Elizabeth (1558–1603) in 1559 restored by the Supremacy Act Henry's constitutional reform, by the Uniformity Act Edward's liturgical. The former of these, by placing the entire episcopate at her disposal, enabled her to carry out the latter without difficulty. She had now the episcopate, the parliament, the people, at her back all at the same time, which neither Henry nor Edward had. In this work she had but to revive the measures of those two kings, a splendid testimony to the thoroughness with which Henry and Cranmer had done their work. One thing especially was added by Elizabeth, a legislative sanction in 1571 of the thirty-nine Articles, and then the Elizabethan Settlement was accomplished in constitution, in worship, and in doctrine. [C. H.]

[1] But the burning of martyrs had begun in England earlier. Warham burned five in 1511; Denys was burned in 1512; Shoemaker in 1518; Bernard, and five others in 1521; Hilton, 1529; Benet, Tewksbury, and Bayfield in 1531.

ENGLISH CHURCH UNION.—An organisation founded in 1859, under the name of "The Church of England Protection Society," for the purpose of furthering the interests of the Oxford Movement. In May 1860, it changed its title to that which it now holds. Amongst its objects was the following: "To advance and *enforce* the doctrine and discipline of the Church." It was therefore, from its birth, an aggressive movement, not merely designed to advance what its founders believed to be the doctrine and discipline of the Church, but also to "enforce" those views as against opponents. Accordingly, in the first year of its existence it endeavoured to get up a prosecution of those Evangelical clergymen who, at that time, were preaching in London. To its deep regret it was unable to succeed, owing to the want of an aggrieved parishioner willing to act the part of a prosecutor. For several years after, the English Church Union, through its leading members and in the *Church Review*—which for a few years was the property of the Union—advocated the prosecution of those who broke the Church's laws, and it did not abstain from that advocacy until the Courts of Law

had decided that the Ritualists were law-breakers. The first President of the Union was the Hon. Colin Lindsay, who seceded to the Church of Rome in 1868. At an ordinary meeting of the Union, on April 6, 1862, a resolution was passed urging that the law should be altered so as to make it easier to prosecute archbishops and bishops as well as ordinary clergy, "if they should offend against the law." In 1863 the Union opened a fund to defray the cost of prosecuting Bishop Colenso for heresy. The Rev. W. Gresley, a Vice-President of the Union, wrote in June 1864 to the *Church Review*, complaining that the Union was being used for the promotion of extreme ritual, and announcing that under such circumstances he could no longer hold office in its ranks.

In 1864 the Union began its attack on the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, as the final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes, and at its monthly meeting on Nov. 14th, passed a resolution in favour of "an amendment of the Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical matters;" and in a petition to Parliament, demanded that "all appeals from the lower Ecclesiastical Courts concerning doctrine and discipline should be finally determined by the authority of the Church, and not by that of the State."

At the present time it is of interest to note that at the ordinary meeting of the Union in April 1866, a resolution was passed against the enforcement of the Conscience Clause in Church of England schools, in the following terms: "That it is the duty of Churchmen to make every effort to induce the Committee of Council not to enforce a Conscience Clause in any schools of the Church of England." Two months later, at its annual meeting, the Union passed a resolution expressing pleasure at the publication of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, advocating the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. At this meeting Dr. Pusey was one of the speakers, and defined his position as being that "the Council of Trent, whatever its look may be, and our Articles, whatever their look may be, each could be so explained as to be reconcilable one with the other."

In 1867 the Church Association commenced the prosecution of the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, Vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, for illegal practices. The case lasted for many years, and in all its stages Mr. Mackonochie was defended by the English Church Union. Since then it has given assistance to every ritualistic law-breaker prosecuted for illegal practices. It may, therefore, be fairly described as being, to a large extent, a Rebel Defence Union. In 1867 the Union offered the Archbishop of York £500 towards the costs of prosecuting the Rev. Mr. Voysey for heresy. The offer was declined; but it lent the sanction of the Union to the principle of ecclesiastical prosecutions. The Council appointed, in 1869, Sir Charles L. Young, Bart., as Secretary of the Union. After holding office for about seven years he resigned, and subsequently, like the first President of the Union, seceded to the Church of Rome. Since then secessions to Rome from the ranks of the Union have become quite common. How many of the lay members have gone over no one can ascertain, but in my *History of the Romeward Movement*, published in 1900, the names of seventy-eight clerical perverts to Rome from the ranks of the Union are set forth. On Feb. 17, 1871, the Union presented a petition to both houses of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, protesting against the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and refusing to accept its decisions. The petitioners declared: "We feel in conscience constrained to declare, that we are unable consistently with our duty to God and the Church to acknowledge the authority in spiritual matters of the said Judicial Committee." The petition was signed by 910 clergymen.

Evening Communion, though sanctioned by our Lord, has always been disliked by the Union. At its ordinary meeting on Feb. 13, 1871, it passed a resolution expressing "deep regret at the increasing number of Churches throughout the country in which the Holy Communion is celebrated in the afternoon and evening." Two years later, on Jan. 31, 1873, it supported a public demonstration in London, at which a resolution was carried protesting against "any mutilation of the Athanasian Creed." Evangelical Churchmen, as well as Ritualists, were on the Committee which organised this latter demonstration. At the annual meeting on June 18, 1873, great opposition was shown to Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, and it was affirmed: "That this Union is determined to use every effort to uphold the right of the Church of England to the exclusive possession of her own consecrated churchyards." About this time the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Baring) refused to license a curate to St. Oswald's, Durham, unless the vicar gave a written promise that his curate should not wear coloured stoles, take part in the burning of incense, or turn his back to the congregation during the celebration of Holy Communion. The English Church Union, which never objects on principle to prosecuting its opponents, at once went to law against the bishop, and applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a rule calling upon him to show cause why a

writ of *mandamus* should not issue against him. The Court, however, refused to issue the rule, maintaining that a bishop has an absolute discretion as to licensing stipendiary curates. Since this decision of the Court, the bishops, however, have rarely used the power they possess as to refusing licences to Romanising curates. In 1874 the Public Worship Regulation Act became law. Ever since it has met with the bitter hostility of the English Church Union.

At the annual meeting on June 15, 1875, it was resolved that: "The English Church Union is of opinion that, in order to bring about a generally satisfactory settlement of the Ritual Controversy in the Church of England, there should be no prohibition of the following usages when desired by clergy and congregations—viz. (1) the Eastward Position; (2) the Vestments; (3) the Lights; (4) the Mixed Chalice; (5) Unleavened Bread; (6) Incense."

At a special meeting of the Union on Jan. 16, 1877, it was resolved: "That any Court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other secular Court, does not possess any spiritual authority with respect to such decision;" and that: "Suspension *a sacris* being a purely spiritual act, the English Church Union is prepared to support any priest, not guilty of a moral or canonical offence, who refuses to recognise a suspension issued by such a Court." When, in 1877, public indignation was aroused against the Secret Society of the Holy Cross, more particularly on account of its indecent Confessional book, *The Priest in Absolution*, which it circulated among its members, several branches of the English Church Union passed resolutions of sympathy with the Society. On several occasions the Union has opposed any alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, but in almost every instance with the saving clause, "at the present time." In the year 1886 the Union made a new departure by the institution of an annual Requiem Mass for the repose of the souls of its deceased members, an unscriptural service which it has continued ever since. Many of its branches now have special annual Requiem Masses, in addition to the General Requiem offered in London. Beginning with the year 1866, the English Church Union has frequently advocated the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. At its annual meeting in 1888 it adopted an address to the Lambeth Conference, in which it expressed a hope that one result of its deliberations would be "to win back those who have separated from its (Church of England's) fold; and, above all, to prepare the way for the restoration of visible unity between the Anglican Communion and the rest of the Western Church, and the Reunion of East and West, and to hasten the dawn of that blessed day of restored peace and goodwill among all Christian people, when there shall be One Flock and One Shepherd." Two years previously, speaking from the Presidential chair, Lord Halifax said: "Certainly those who are willing to recognise an appeal from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Judicial Committee need not scruple to an appeal to a Christian bishop. Is there a single instructed Christian who would not prefer Leo XIII. to the Privy Council?" Since then the President of the Union has frequently, from the Presidential chair, advocated Reunion with Rome in even stronger terms.

Many warning voices have been heard from time to time against the work of the English Church Union. The Earl of Selborne, a High Churchman, wrote of it: "But its tendency was not towards union: it was a disintegrating, not a cementing power. It was lay and voluntary in its essential character; and it set itself by degrees, more and more, against all existing authority in the Church of England, whether of Courts, or of bishops who followed the judgments of Courts, having itself no species of authority. The danger of such an *imperium in imperio and its fundamental inconsistency with Church principles*, may have been the reason why such men as Sir John Patteson and Sir John Taylor Coleridge, having at one time joined, afterwards withdrew from it." Archbishop Benson, also a High Churchman, wrote: "I cannot help feeling still that in the party (of the E.C.U.), its aims, tactics, opinion of itself, style of criticism, motives, there is something that is very far from heavenliness or Apostolicity."

Rev. G. B. Roberts, *Hist. of the English Church Union. E.C.U. Monthly Circular*, vols. 1865-70. *E.C.U. Gazette*, vols. 1870-1902. *The E.C.U., a Romanizing Confederacy.* Walter Walsh, *Ecclesiastical Prosecutions Advocated by the E.C.U.; History of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England*, pp. 408-420; *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, chap x.

[W. W.]

ENTHRONISATION. — This denotes the solemn placing of a bishop on his throne. The Greek word was also used of the enthroning of relics of saints in the altar of a church at its consecration. A church thus honoured was regarded as higher than, and as distinct from, an oratory. The Greek word was occasionally employed in the installation of a presbyter in the church assigned to him.

[C. J. C.]

EPACT.—The epact (*ἐπακταί, scil. ἡμέραι*) signi-

fies the number of days required to bring the lunar year up to the length of the solar. An epact, therefore, embraces the days between the last moon of the old year and the first of January of the new year. The epacts were carefully noticed in order to ascertain the precise date of Easter.

EPIPHANY.—The feast of Epiphany is of considerable antiquity, but cannot be traced to the Apostolic Age. Jerome states that it commemorated (1) the Baptism of Christ; (2) His manifestation as the divine Son by the voice from heaven. Bingham quotes Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and others to the same effect. Augustine speaks of the appearance of the star and the miracle of Cana as the ground of its observance, but Leo insists that the only reason lay in Christ's manifestation to the Gentiles.

The manifestation of Christ to the Magi, at His baptism, and at Cana, are noticed in the Collect, the Gospel and the lessons appointed by the Church of England for that day (Blakeney on the Prayer Book, p. 215). The festival is first alluded to by Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 200. It was general in the fourth century, and was the usual season in the West for the reception of Catechumens.

[C. J. C.]

EUCHARIST.—Eucharist means Thanksgiving, and as the Communion Service is specially an offering of thanksgiving, the name, so understood, is unobjectionable. The Church of England has shown wisdom in preferring the title "Lord's Supper" and "Holy Communion." For the word Eucharist may be, and by some persons is, understood somewhat differently. In the account of the Lord's Supper, the three Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, tell us that our Lord "gave thanks" before giving the Cup to the Apostles. The word for "gave thanks" is *eucharistesas* (whence the name Eucharist), but St. Matthew (at least according to some copies) and St. Mark in the institution of the Bread use the expression "He blessed" instead of "He gave thanks"—*eulogesas* instead of *eucharistesas*. The A.V. translates *eulogesas* by "He blessed *it*" (that is, the bread), the R.V. more correctly "He blessed." Whom or what did He bless? St. Chrysostom and Theophylact say that "He blessed God" (according to the then universal custom before eating). If so, the *eulogesas* before the bread is identical in meaning with the *eucharistesas* before the cup, which word is indeed used by St. Luke in reference to the bread as well as the cup. We do not doubt that this is the force of *eulogesas* in the passage. Nevertheless, it will bear the meaning of "He blessed the bread," and this signification is supported by 1 Cor. x. 16, "the cup of blessing which we bless." If this meaning be accepted, and if the *eucharistesas* be interpreted by the *eulogesas* instead of the *eulogesas* by the *eucharistesas*, the term "Eucharist" may be supposed to mean the blessing or consecration of the bread and wine, and then it would turn the attention rather to the consecration of the elements than to the general thanksgiving character of the service. Even in this there would be nothing objectionable were it not for the extravagant notions that have been connected with the effects of consecration, which means no more than that certain things or persons are set apart for some sacred purpose. The Church of England has adopted the title "Lord's Supper" and "Holy Communion," which are expressive both of the history and the purpose of the rite. The title "Eucharist" may be, and has been used as a not unbefitting name of a service in which we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for our redemption by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. Bishop Cosin speaks of "the Church's solemn Eucharist or sacrifice of praise offered to God in commemoration of the propitiatory Sacrifice of Christ once offered on the Cross" (*Notes on the Communion Service* —genuine series). [F. M.]

EUCHOLOGION.—Denotes the Service Book of the Greek Church, which contains the service of the Eucharist and other ecclesiastical rites. It corresponds to the Missal, pontifical, or ritual, in the Church of Rome.

EULOGIA.—In early times eulogia was used as an equivalent for Eucharist. It was later applied to portions of the consecrated bread which were sent to those who were absent from the celebration. It was also still later used of the gifts of cakes, &c., sent to divers persons in token of Communion. Both in England and France "blessed bread" was given to the non-communicants. The custom is described in Bishop Gardiner's *Rationale* of 1540.

EUNOMIANS.—Eunomius, the founder of this Arian sect, was the friend and pupil of Ætius, a deacon, who died at Constantinople about 370. Eunomius was made Bishop of Cyzicus in 360, and died in 392. Both he and Ætius were called Anomœans, because they taught the complete difference in essence between the Father and the Son. Eunomius denied the element of mystery in the Christian faith, and believed that men could know God perfectly. His tone of mind was entirely intellectual; Christ, with him, was only the most perfect of created beings, and the essence of religion consisted in mental illumination. His doctrine of the Spirit involved a denial of His divine creative power, for it regarded Him only as a Sanctifier and Teacher, the first in order of created beings after the Son. In philosophy he was a disciple of Aristotle, and

combated the influence of Platonism in the Church, thus foreshadowing the philosophical tone of thought in the later Middle Ages. His Trinitarian opinions logically led to Tritheism. He claimed to be an ardent supporter of tradition, claiming the doctrine of the Fathers even for his heretical views on the Holy Ghost. (See Goode's "Divine Rule of Faith and Practice," vol. i. p. 379.) He opposed the current sacramental teaching of the Church, and also asceticism. He is thought to have been the first to substitute single instead of triple immersion in baptism, perhaps as the outcome of his Trinitarian errors, and to have rebaptised converts, not only from the Church, but from other Arian sects.

The denial of all sacramental grace not only went further than the subsequent teaching of the Reformation, but was plainly the result of Eunomius' intellectual attitude. Though he professed to refer to Scripture, his system was really founded on reasoning. It was on that ground that he differed from the Church, and not on the testimony of Scripture. [C. J. C.]

EUTYCHIANISM.—Eutyches was the abbot of a large monastery near Constantinople, and was greatly esteemed for holiness of life and learning. His teaching was condemned by the Fourth General Council, which was held at Chalcedon in A.D. 451. The heresy which goes under his name was in some respects the opposite of the heresy of Arius. Arius denied the divine nature of Christ, Eutyches and his followers practically denied the humanity of our Saviour. The Eutychians asserted that the human nature of our Lord was absorbed in His divinity, like a drop of honey in the ocean. After the Incarnation, Christ's Body, it was maintained, was no longer of the same substance as other men's, but became divine. But that doctrine is opposed to the teaching of St. Paul, that Christ was in all points tempted like as we are, and consequently it, to a large degree, destroyed the comfort and the power derived from the true doctrine of the Incarnation. Eutyches was wont to employ the expression "that there was only one Incarnate Nature in God the Word." Eutyches maintained that there was only one nature, the divine nature in Christ.

[E. A. W.]

EVANGELICAL COUNSELS or COUNSELS OF PERFECTION.— The word "counsels" is here used in distinction from commands or precepts; "evangelical" implies that those counsels are meant to be drawn from the teaching of the gospel in particular, rather than the Old Testament; "perfection," that they who follow such counsels attain a more complete spiritual state than others. Acquaintance with this subject among Roman Catholic writers seems derived ultimately from the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican of the thirteenth century. For reference a convenient edition of it is Migne's, which, though published in 1841, was not adopted into his *Patrologia Latina* until after that collection was completed in 1855 and its indexes in 1864. It must therefore be looked for in later volumes commencing a second series. The *Summa*, nearly occupying four volumes (i.–iv.) of the 2nd series, is in three parts, each containing many "quæstiones," subdivided into "articuli." The second part consists of two portions, the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ*. The *Prima Secundæ*, with 114 quæstiones, fills vol. ii. Quæstio cviii. in four articuli alone concerns us, and what may perhaps be considered the *locus classicus* of this subject, exhibiting all its leading words, is the paragraph in Art. IV., beginning "Bona autem hujus mundi."[1] The leading ideas are as follows. Observance of God's commandments and precepts in the law is a necessity for every one without exception, who would be saved. But a person who seeks the readiest and surest means of obeying those precepts and so securing salvation is greatly helped by the counsels, which teach the most perfect method of obedience and the most certain path to heaven; not indeed obligatory on all, or even on most, but recommended by way of advice to those who have a vocation. Three counsels are put forward as serviceable in particular. Aquinas several times calls attention to that number,[2] and especially in the passage of Art. IV. above referred to, which deals with the well-known text 1 John ii. 16. The good things, he says, of this world pertaining to the present life, are three: riches, having relation to the lust of the eyes; pleasures (*delicia*), to the lusts of the flesh; honours, to the pride of life. But to effect the *complete* abandonment, so far as is possible, of these three, belongs to the evangelical counsels (hæc autem tria totaliter relinquere, secundum quod possibile est, pertinet ad consilia evangelica); in which three also is founded all religion which professes a state of perfection (in quibus etiam tribus fundatur omnis religio quæ statum perfectionis profitetur); for riches are abdicated by poverty; carnal pleasures by perpetual chastity; pride of life by absolute obedience (per obedientiæ servitutem). These counsels, poverty, celibacy, obedience, are, as is well known, the three distinctive rules of the monastic profession, and the evangelical counsels, as inculcated by its friends, must be understood to mean that, while heaven is to be obtained through obedience to God's precepts, the conventual calling is the best one possible

[1] *Pat. Lat.*, series ii. vol. ii. col. 902.

[2] See Art. III. of Qu. cviii, cols. 900, 901.

for ensuring that end. The teaching was designed in fact, as might have been expected from a monk of the period, to promote the credit of monastic life and the prosperity of monasteries. [C. H.]

EVE.—See VIGIL.

EVENING COMMUNION. — See COMMUNION.

EXARCH.—The bishops of the chief cities of the political "dioceses" of the Empire in the age of Constantine were known in the East by the title of Exarch; the highest of them came later to be called "Patriarchs." Exarch was also the title borne by the Byzantine governors of Italy, between the times of Justinian and of the Frankish conquest. They, as representatives of the Eastern Emperors, confirmed the elections of the Roman Pontiffs. [C. J. C.]

EXCOMMUNICATION. — In Jewish times discipline was carried out by the authorities and not by the deliberations of the assembled people (as in the case of the Corinthian Church, 2 Cor. ii. 6). Exclusion from the congregation was common after the Exile (Ezra x. 8), but existed long before, even in Mosaic times. There are allusions to Jewish discipline in Luke vi. 22; John ix. 22; xii. 42; xvi. 2, although it is doubtful whether the various degrees of exclusion recognised in later Judaism, were clearly distinguished so early. The practice of anathematising in synagogues is alluded to by Justin Martyr and Epiphanius. The bulk of the people nowhere exercised jurisdiction after the Exile. The term "the Jews" in the fourth Gospel often signifies the ruling classes (*cf.* Schürer, *Jewish People in time of Christ*, div. ii. vol. ii. pp. 60–62, Eng. Trans.). In the New Testament we have the instance of the Corinthian offender (1 Cor. v.), upon whom sentence was pronounced by St. Paul, though not without the concurrence of the assembled Church (2 Cor. ii. 6), and that of Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20); in both cases it is said that those sentenced were "delivered to Satan," which may mean either the infliction of some bodily disease, or mere relegation to the heathen world over which Satan ruled. The instance in Titus iii. 10 may be appealed to, but Matt. xviii. 17 may be fairly disputed. (See p. 88.) The excommunication mentioned in 1 *Corinthians* was temporary, the offender on repentance having been received back again.

In the early Church there was a milder excommunication which excluded from the Eucharist, but not from the earlier portions of the service, while the greater, which excluded from all participation in Christian worship, was reserved for crimes of impurity, idolatry, and murder. Sometimes in the latter cases the punishment was life-long, but it was never regarded as taking effect beyond the grave. (See Bp. Harold Browne on Article XXXIII.; Robertson's *Church History*, vol. i. pp. 242, 243.)

In the early centuries there is the case of the Emperor Theodosius (A.D. 378–395) excommunicated by Ambrose Bishop of Milan, on account of the massacre of Thessalonica. It was essentially different from the case of Henry IV. of Germany, or of John of England, who were punished for resistance to the Pope. In the Middle Ages, a whole country might be placed under an interdict, whereby a multitude of innocent persons had to suffer. Civil disabilities were in later times added to ecclesiastical penalties.

Article XXXIII. affirms that persons, who by open denunciation of the Church are rightly cut off from its unity, ought to be avoided by the faithful. The rubric prefixed to the Communion Service provides that for notorious moral offences offenders may be denied the Lord's Supper, but the offence must obviously be proved by the judgment of some competent Court. This is the only safe rule, and the rubric enjoins that the minister must give notice of his action to the bishop within fourteen days. No. 109 of the Canons of 1604 covers the same ground, the offences specified being "notorious crimes and scandals." No doubt the Church of England is "restrained in her practice" of discipline, as Bishop Harold Browne expresses it. The same, however, might be said with regard to the Roman Church, and is often so admitted and regretted by her. All Courts depend upon the civil power to carry out their decisions into practical effect. Ecclesiastical authority is subordinate to statute and common law. Our present tribunals are not secular but ecclesiastical, in the sense that they were historically derived from Church tribunals, and also because the Church is mostly composed of laity, headed by a layman, yet administering laws which have in many cases originated in Synods of the clergy. The Dean of Arches represents "the Church," every whit as much as does the Primate.

Every baptized adult, if confirmed or ready and desirous to be so, has a common-law right and also a statutory right (under 1 Ed. VI., c. 1) to receive the Holy Communion in his own parish, subject to the right of the celebrant to suspend the applicant pending the bishop's decision. If the bishop ruled against the minister, and he *still* refused, or if the Court disallowed the procedure undertaken by the bishop, and the minister persisted in refusal, the layman would have the right to proceed against the clerk so offending (see Jenkins *v.* Cook). The jealousy of the laity against any

abuse of this right on personal or party grounds is the real cause of the abeyance of lay discipline, coupled with the fact that when in full force it did more harm than good, and proved a less efficient safeguard than the power of conscience.

The disciplinary jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts over the laity was never abolished and still exists. But a bishop would be often unwilling to incur great expense, and the Toleration Acts have made certain canonical offences legal, and therefore unpunishable. Yet in any case of flagrant immorality, public opinion would support the minister.

For the law of burial, see under BURIAL.

[C. J. C.]

EXOMOLOGESIS.—This word, which signifies acknowledgment of sin, is much used in the writings of the Early Fathers, and is often quoted by modern Romish controversialists as if equivalent to confession to the priest. Tertullian (*De Penitentia*, cap. ix.) thus defines it. "Exomologesis is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanour calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands (the penitent) to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed; moreover, to know no food or drink but such as is plain—not for the stomach's sake, to wit, but the soul's; for the most part, however, to feed prayers on fastings, to groan, to weep and roar unto the Lord your God; to roll before the feet of the presbyters, and kneel to God's dear ones; to enjoin on all the brethren to be ambassadors to bear his deprecatory supplications (before God)."[1] Whatever may be thought of Tertullian's views on the point, this is sufficient to show that he refers to a public and not private auricular confession. When public discipline was in general use, and persons were disposed to submit to it, there was little occasion for private confession.

EXORCISM. — Exorcism and Exorcist are derived from a Greek word (ἐξορκόω), which in classical Greek means to put a person upon oath. In ecclesiastical Greek it has the sense of driving out by adjuration. We are aware from the Gospels that Christ drove out demons, and gave this power to His disciples. It seems to have been an extraordinary gift, however, given only for extraordinary circumstances. The Church of Rome includes the exorcist among her minor orders. The bishop gives the book of exorcisms into the hand of the person about to be ordained, bidding him learn the contents by heart, and receive power of laying hands on the possessed. Pope Innocent I. prohibited exorcists from exercising their power on the possessed without the express permission of their bishops, and this order is still in force. Consequently the office of exorcist has come to be regarded as a mere step to the priesthood. The Church of Rome uses exorcisms over inanimate as well as animate objects, and the practice is so strange that many have thought it owes its origin to the Manichean idea that all matter is evil. The exorcism for the making of Holy Water is a good specimen. If the officiator be a bishop, he must wear the mitre and carry the pastoral staff; if a priest, he is arrayed in stole and surplice. He first exorcises the salt, then the water:—

"I exorcise thee, thou creature of salt by the living ✠ God, by the true ✠ God, by the holy ✠ God" (whenever a cross appears in the Pontifical the celebrant makes the sign of the cross over the creature to be exorcised) "by the God who ordered thee to be cast into water by Elijah the prophet, that the unwholesomeness of the water might be healed; that thou be made exorcised salt, for the salvation of those that believe; and be to all that use thee health of soul and body; and that from the place where thou shalt be sprinkled, every spectre, and malice, or subtlety of the devil's illusions, and every unclean spirit, flee away and depart, adjured by Him who shall come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire.

"I exorcise thee, thou creature of water, in the name of God the Fa✠ther Almighty, and in the name of Jesus Christ His ✠ Son, our Lord, and in the might of the Holy ✠ Spirit, that thou be conjured water for putting to flight all the power of the enemy: and that thou avail to root out and banish the enemy himself, with his apostate angels, through the might of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall come to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire."

The priest then mixes the salt with the water, and the "Holy Water" is poured into the stoups for the people to cross themselves with on entering the church; it is carried away in bottles for use in private houses, and put to a hundred other uses. Exorcisms are used over the ashes for Ash Wednesday, incense, bells, oils consecrated by the bishops

[1] By *caros*, "dear ones," as the annotator in Migne observes, reference is made by Tertullian to the martyrs and confessors of those days, and not to the presbyters spoken of in the preceding sentence: "All the brethren," and not only the officers of the Church, were to be besought to add their intercessions to God for pardon.

on Holy Thursday, and many other things. In former times exorcisms were used to drive the devil out of "haunted houses," but the latter practice has fallen somewhat into disuse. [T. C.]

EXORCISTS were persons appointed at the latter end of the third century to take care of demoniacs. In later days it was judged necessary by the bishops to ordain such officers. The office of an exorcist is the third of the minor orders in the Church of Rome. See EXORCISM.

EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.—This is popularly known among Roman Catholics as "the Benediction," and usually takes place in the evening. A large consecrated wafer is kept in a lunette in the tabernacle. At the appointed hour a priest, attended by acolytes and thurifer, comes from the vestry vested in alb and cope. While the choir sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, or some hymn, the priest mounts the altar, places the lunette in the monstrance, and after genuflecting before it, sets it upon the top of the tabernacle. He then incenses the wafer, while the choir sing the hymn "Tantum ergo Sacramentum." After this he mounts the altar again, takes the monstrance in his hands, faces the congregation, and slowly elevates and lowers the wafer for the adoration of the people. During this part of the ceremony one of the acolytes rings a small bell. The priest then puts the lunette containing the consecrated wafer into the tabernacle, and retires to the vestry. At what is known as the *Forty Hours Adoration*, the consecrated wafer is exposed during that period. [T. C.]

EXTRAVAGANTS.—See CANON LAW.

EXTREME UNCTION.—A ceremony in which a dying person is anointed by a priest with oil on his eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, feet, and (except in the case of women) reins. Its effects are supposed to be (1) to strengthen the soul in the death agony against the temptations of the devil; (2) to wipe out all the remains of sin; (3) to remove all punishments still due; (4) sometimes to restore to health. The oil is to be applied by help of a piece of tow, or some such material, with the following formula: "By this holy unction and His most gracious mercy may God forgive thee (*indulgeat tibi*) whatsoever thou hast done wrong by thy senses, namely, thy sight, hearing, taste, smelling, and touch"—in which formula, however, the words "and His most gracious mercy" may be omitted at the discretion of the ministering priest. The oil is consecrated once a year, but if his supply becomes low, a priest may add common oil to it. In the thirteenth century this ceremony was declared to be one of the seven sacraments, and to have been instituted by Christ.

The origin of the rite is to be found in "a corrupt following of the Apostles." Extraordinary or miraculous powers were bestowed on the Apostles for the building up of the Church—powers of prophecy, speaking with tongues, interpretation of tongues, raising from the dead, and healing sickness. St. James refers to the last-named of these miraculous powers in these words, "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him" (James v. 14, 15). When the miraculous gifts ceased, about the end of the first century, the practice should in all reason have ceased too. But it seems that it was occasionally and sporadically continued, being administered to the sick person, if he desired it, either by a presbyter, or by a lay friend (man or woman), or by himself. It was thought in these cases that some good might accrue to body or soul from a pious ceremony, which was not confined to the dying, but, as in the Oriental Church at present, used in any grave sickness, and sometimes repeated again and again. In the ninth century (the beginning of the Middle Ages) the administration of the oil was confined to a priest, and gradually it became not a rite, from which restoration to health was hoped, but a preparation for death. For this reason it came to be called, in the twelfth century, the Last, or the Extreme Unction, because it followed after previous unctions at baptism and confirmation; and very soon the expression Extreme Unction was identified with unction of one in extremity. Then followed its inclusion in the list of the Seven Sacraments, first drawn up in the thirteenth century. Combined with the Viaticum it thus became one of the institutions of the new religion into which traditional Christianity was resolved by Innocent III., the most salient features of which were Transubstantiation and the Confessional, supplemented by Extreme Unction and the Viaticum.

The *Congregation in Church* instructs its readers "that this sacrament, which has existed from Apostolic times, is still perfectly valid in the Church of England" (p. 184). But it is not a sacrament, nor is it a rite in any way recognised by the Church of England. Bishop Forbes of Brechin says that "there is nothing to hinder the revival of the Apostolic and Scriptural custom of anointing the sick, whensoever any devout person may desire it" (*Explanation of Articles*). "Nothing to hinder"

—except that not being Apostles, we have not the miraculous gifts which they had. Speaking with tongues is equally a "Scriptural custom." There is "nothing to hinder the revival" of both these Apostolic customs except that (1) we are conscious of not possessing Apostolic powers or the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; (2) we are bound to be loyal in the observance of the Church's rule. The Prayer Book of 1549—which was transitional in its character—permitted anointing, if the sick person desired it still, but "on the forehead and breast only" instead of on seven parts of the body; and it appointed the use of a prayer which did not attribute any spiritual efficacy to the material and visible oil. This was a step towards the abolition of the rite, which was finally effected in 1552. [F. M.]

F

FACULTY.—The technical name for a licence from the Consistory Court to make alterations in any church or churchyard, or to allow the exclusive use of a pew. The power of granting or withholding faculties is vested in the Chancellor of the diocese. An appeal lies from him (ultimately) to the Privy Council, which, however, only with reluctance interferes with his decision. A faculty should always be sought for any alteration of importance in a consecrated building of the Church of England. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

FAITH, RULE OF.—The ultimate criterion or test to be applied to doctrines in order to ascertain their truth or falsity. In the view of Protestant Christianity, this is Holy Scripture, pure and simple. (See Article VI. of the Church of England.) In support of this position, we turn first of all to the Old Testament, and find that under that dispensation the law of God was to be made known to all (Deut. vi. 7–9; xxxi. 12, 13; Josh. i. 8; Mal. ii. 7, 8); and the Court of Appeal to which resort was to be made to determine whether prophets were false or true, was "the law and the testimony" (Isa. viii. 20). In the New Testament we have the practice of our Lord and His Apostles. The Saviour appealed to Scripture to repulse Satan (Matt. iv. 1–10; Luke iv. 1–12), to reprove the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 29) and to establish the truth of His Messiahship (Luke xxiv. 27; John v. 39). Of a similar kind was the Apostolic practice; *e.g.* Peter quotes Scripture when urging the appointment of a successor to Judas (Acts i. 20); Stephen's mingled defence and indictment of the Jews is from first to last an appeal to Old Testament Scripture; the Bereans are commended for pursuing this very course (Acts xvii. 11), and the same line of reasoning was adopted by St. Paul to the Jews at Rome (Acts xxviii. 23). This appeal is one to which it is intended that *all* persons shall have recourse. The books of the New Testament abound in references to those of the Old Testament, on the supposition that they were generally read and known. The Gospel written by St. Luke (i. 4) and all St. Paul's Epistles were meant for general perusal. Private judgment is recommended and even commanded in such passages as Luke xii. 57; 1 Cor. x. 15; 1 Thess. v. 21; 1 John iv. 1.

Entirely opposed to this view is that of the Church of Rome. The Rule of Faith is asserted by that Church to be, not the Word of God, but the Word of God *plus* tradition, or rather, tradition *plus* the Word of God, for in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. tradition is given the first place in the following declaration: (i.) "I most steadfastly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and the other observances and constitutions of the same Church. (ii.) I also admit sacred Scripture, according to the sense in which Holy Mother Church has held and does hold, whose right it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures; nor will I ever take and interpret them unless according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." But "the unanimous consent of the Fathers" is a thing impossible to discover. They are hopelessly divided even upon Matt. xvi. 18, the text on which Rome builds her monstrous claims to Papal Supremacy. It will be well, therefore, to examine the real position and value of tradition. For this we appeal in the first instance to Holy Scripture. Our Lord more than once rebuked the Jews of His day for doing the very thing which Rome does, *i.e.* for exalting tradition above the Word of God so as actually to "transgress" the latter, and make it "of none effect" (Matt. xv. 3; Mark vii. 7–13). St. Paul warns the Church of Colosse against the "tradition of men" as a source of hurt and damage. His reference to "traditions" in 2 Thess. ii. 15, is to his own discourses and epistles, not to oral "tradition" properly so called. (Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 5 and iii. 6.)

The writings of the Fathers, again, are appealed to by Rome as supporting the supreme value of tradition. But the term employed by them means the written truths of the New Testament. It is so used by Irenæus in the second century (*Against Heresies*, Bk. iii. c. iv. 1 and c. v. 1), and by Cyprian in the third century (Epist. lxii. lxiii. and lxiv.). "If," says Cyprian, "we find it prescribed in the Gospel, or contained in the Epistles, or in the Acts of the Apostles, let us observe this divine and holy tradition." The unreliable nature of Rome's much vaunted tradition may be readily under-

stood from the facts that Justin Martyr (second century) informs us, on the authority of tradition, that when the Lord was baptized in Jordan by John, a fire was kindled in the river, and that, contrary to John ii. 11, the Apocryphal Gospels narrate many miracles of Christ's infancy and boyhood.

The necessarily evil result of the Roman Rule of Faith is to exalt the priesthood, and, on the principle of sacerdotalism, to make the dependence of the people upon the priests' teaching absolute. As Rome's Rule of Faith includes all the writings of the Fathers, decrees of Church Councils, and Papal Bulls, it is manifest that the people must depend completely upon their priests, even though they were the false teachers of which St. Paul and St. Peter warned and prophesied. (Acts xx. 30; 2 Pet. ii. 1.)

Ritualists follow the Church of Rome in denying the supreme authority of the Bible, and regarding Scripture *and* tradition as the Rule of Faith. In Tract XC. of *The Tracts for the Times*, we are told, "In the sense in which it is commonly understood at the present day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith"; and again, in a lecture by the Rev. T. S. Vaux ("An Open Bible," p. 18), it is declared that "The Church is not the Church of the Bible, but the Bible is the Book of the Church." [M. E. W. J.]

FALDSTOOL.—This word is the English form of the *faldestolium*, a low crossed or folding stool used either to kneel at or to sit upon. In the King's Coronation there was such a faldstool, on which the sovereign knelt. In the Church of Rome, faldstool is the name of a bishop's seat in the sanctuary, when he does not occupy his throne. In many of our cathedrals and some parish churches the term is applied to a small, low desk at which the Litany is sung or said. Dean Hook, in his *Church Dictionary*, observes that in the rubric before the fifty-first Psalm in the Commination Service, a peculiar place distinct from that in which the ordinary office is performed, is implied. Bishop Andrewes says, "The priest goeth from his seat into the body of the church, and at a low desk before the chancel door, called the faldstool, kneels and says, or sings the Litany." Whether the practice be desirable and necessary or not, it can hardly be objected to as Romish. [W. B.]

FALL, THE.—The possibility of temptation in the case of creatures who were formed perfect, presents to some minds difficulties which a little reflection, however, is sufficient to dispel. All finite creatures being necessarily limited in some way, because they are finite, are liable to temptation; and, if they be also free agents, may be drawn away by the temptation. For they possess various affections, bodily or mental, tending towards particular objects; and such desires must be felt when their objects are present, whether they can be lawfully enjoyed or not. Consequently, the only security against falling must come from within, from *habits* of goodness, from the habit of keeping their lower nature (if these creatures possess such), in obedience to their higher, and their higher in subjection to the Divine Will.

The very notion of a free moral agent implies an exemption from all forcible constraint, and its guidance by moral persuasion only. But since a finite creature cannot possess infinite knowledge, the communication even of knowledge must have its laws and limits, and the limitation, in the case of highly-gifted creatures, may prove a temptation. The creature may be tempted to overpass the bounds assigned to its power or wisdom. Its only safety lies in obedience to, and trust in, God. Its danger lies in an over-bold assertion of its own independence, and in its self-will—a danger probably increased in proportion to knowledge. Absolute security appears attainable only by a voluntary surrender of the creature's will to that of the Creator, and by the creature's partaking in some way of the divine nature.

Sin, in the Shorter Catechism of the Church of Scotland, is defined as "any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God." This definition includes (1) sin in its positive aspect, as passing over any limit laid down by God, which is primarily expressed in the Greek word παράβασις; (2) in its negative aspect, as missing or coming short of the mark which ought to be hit (ἁμαρτία). Both ideas may be included in St. John's definition *sin is lawlessness* (ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία), as the R.V. renders the phrase in 1 John iii. 4, explained partially by the A.V. "sin is the transgression of the law." If a line were drawn by competent authority across any plot of ground which previously was fully open, and one portion reserved, it would be a transgression to cross the limit thus fixed. The boundary between what is and is not permitted may be at first slight, and the beginning of moral transgression a slight deviation from the right path. The creature must not seek to pass whatever limits God has assigned to it by a distinct declaration of His sovereign will.

But *if* free agents should appear about to be overcome by any special temptation which may have come across their path, then, it may be asked, ought not God to remove the temptation itself when it becomes too heavy for them to bear? Mr. Birks well remarks: "The temptation itself, apart from its special form, arises

immediately out of the very laws and limitations of the created will; and hence its entire removal must be simply impossible. It is the prerogative of God alone, that He cannot be tempted with evil. While there is an active energy of thought and will, and a wide region of the unknown, which it has not yet traversed, there must be temptation to break loose from the commands of God, and rove into those fields in search of some higher degrees of unknown felicity. It is the province of Divine Wisdom to dispose and control the forms under which these temptations may appear, so far as they depend, indirectly, on positive agencies; but it is equally its province to discern that the temptation itself is the serious and solemn ordeal which every free agent, besides God Himself, must undergo."

But, it may be asked, cannot God put forth His power, and in the moment of weakness constrain the creature to keep on in the right track? We may answer, yes; but such constraint would destroy the creature as a free moral agent. That course might perhaps be fraught with deeper ills to the rest of God's universe than our limited faculties can at present comprehend. Or might not God at once, by the same Almighty fiat by which He created out of nothing, annihilate the creature which He had made? We can only answer, this He has not done, and no doubt there are deep reasons why such a course was not adopted by Divine Wisdom. The only remaining course is that sin should be allowed to develop itself and show its fearful consequences, while a remedy at the same time should be provided. This has been what has taken place with respect to man; and the plan has this great advantage, that by it, at the same time, sin is proved to be "exceeding sinful," and God's eternal love and justice have been manifested in a way which it could not have entered into the heart of man to conceive.

Such considerations lessen the force of the difficulties which beset the idea of temptation itself in the case of man when created perfect. It is of importance, too, to note here the distinction between holiness and innocence. Innocence in the lowest sense is simply harmlessness. It is thus a lamb is called innocent, and a babe is so in the same sense. The innocence of Adam was probably of a higher type. He had a sense of God and of the duty he owed to Him. His nature was well balanced. Holiness could be obtained only by perseverance in the path of innocence, by continuance in the way of obedience. But man had to meet temptation in some form before he could become holy. Had he been perfectly holy he would at once have rejected the temptation of Satan. But perfection in holiness could only be obtained through probation. The tree of knowledge in the midst of the garden was no arbitrary avenue of temptation, no stumbling-block purposely cast, as it were, in our first parents' way. It was a mitigation of the temptation which in some form or other the creature had to meet. (See T. R. Birks' *Difficulties of Belief*.) The creature must learn implicit obedience to the command of the Creator, must believe that what *He* forbids is evil, and what He commands is good. Adam would have obtained the knowledge of good and evil from submitting to the commands of God, but he ought not to have sought to know it "as God," which Satan tempted him to do. For Adam would have learned that any opposition to God's will must be evil. As Heard well remarks (in the *Tripartite Nature of Man*): "We will have nothing to say to such logical quibbles as these, that a thing is commanded because right; not right because commanded. Distinctions between positive and moral precepts may have a certain relative use in the schools, but they are not as deep as they are subtle. They seem to overlook the gulf fixed between the finite and infinite; and that His thoughts are not as our thoughts, or His ways as our ways. Thus, while with God a thing is right because He wills it, with all His creatures the converse is to be the rule, we are to will it because it is right."

But if Adam had to undergo some probation, and if his probation by the prohibition to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil was a mitigation of the temptation which in one form or other he must inevitably have encountered, why was Satan permitted to press the temptation on him? We cannot with our present knowledge completely remove this difficulty. But it may be considerably lessened, if not removed, by considering that it may have been to manifest to the universe the determination of that Fallen Spirit to abide in sin and rebellion. It may have been, that up to that time, the door of return was opened to him. This, however, we know not; but we do know that the form and circumstances of man's temptation alone were affected by him. The temptation itself must one day have been encountered by man, and if he fell, his moral guilt would be all the deeper, if he himself was the author of his own sin. Mr. Birks has therefore, with some probability, suggested that God permitted Satan to tempt man, powers having been given man for resisting the attack, in order that if the probability of his fall was thus increased, at least the possibility of his recovery might be insured.

Joseph Mede long ago suggested (1) that there may be a *law* with respect to the inter-

course of spirits and men, whereby spirits must present themselves to man under some visible appearance, and (2) that the appearance assumed must more or less resemble the condition of the spirit itself. Whether the conjecture has any truth in it or not, it may be affirmed with more confidence that inasmuch as Satan showed himself under the form of a serpent, the sentence pronounced against him was couched in language suitable to the form assumed. There is no occasion to believe that the serpent was ever different in appearance from what it is now. The curse was pronounced not upon the animal, but upon Satan under that form, and was to the effect that he should never rise from the grovelling character he had assumed, but should be condemned for ever to the deepest degradation.

Satan, in order to insinuate hard thoughts of God, suggested an exaggeration of the command or prohibition which God had given: "Is it even so, that God hath said ye shall eat of no tree of the garden?" Such is the proper translation of Gen. iii. 1. The woman, in her reply, was faulty in several points; first, that she failed to perceive the point of the temptation, and entered into a discussion with the tempter; secondly, that even she represented God's prohibition as stronger than it really was, making it to refer even to touching, of which God had said nothing, by which, perhaps, she let it appear that the command of God was in her opinion too strict; and thirdly, she weakened the threat of death attached to the prohibition down to the mere expression "lest ye die."

Satan's rejoinder was true in the letter, and false in the spirit: "Ye shall not surely die; for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil." "Ye shall not surely die," for though your spiritual life shall be gone, death shall not yet for a season seize upon your souls or bodies. "Your eyes shall be opened," for you shall then apprehend God in a way that you know not now, and shall flee from beholding Him. "You shall be as God, knowing good and evil." You will be as God, for you will have made your own will your only law, you will have cast off God's yoke, but only to be brought in bondage to the yoke of sin. You will have obtained the gift of wisdom, but you will find that it is a wisdom "earthly, sensual, devilish."

The temptation by which the woman was overthrown, and after her the man, was pre-eminently a temptation to selfishness. She saw that "the tree was good for food"—there was self-indulgence inviting, the "lust of the flesh" alluring. It was "pleasant to the eyes,' there was the first dawn of covetousness, "the lust of the eyes" had appeared. It was a tree "to be desired to make one wise," there was pride unveiling itself, "the pride of life."

They took, they ate, they fell. "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," was the sentence, and it was executed. The image of God in which they were created, was in some aspects lost, though still partially retained (James iii. 9); the light that lighted their bosoms was extinguished, their spirits were deadened; severed from the only Fountain of Life, that is God, they died the death. Innocence was gone; their spirits were empty of God, and lost their grasp of Him, their souls revolted against their spirits, and their bodies against their souls.

Thus the penalty was immediate. The spirit died through sin. That is, it died to any present enjoyment of God, and lost all the capacity it had of attaining holiness by its own powers. It lost its real life: it became shattered and fallen. Conscience was no longer a joy, it was a terror. It was felt only as a reprover, not as a comforter, Shattered as it was, no longer powerful to rule, nor able to guide, it still remains, in the form of a capacity for receiving spiritual influences, as the distinguishing faculty of man, whereby even though fallen he is yet superior to the brute creation, having a sense of moral accountability to his righteous Creator. The soul or intellect and the body no doubt suffered also by the fall, but the crowning loss after all was in the spirit. Hence, whatever increase man may make by his own powers in knowledge, he can make no advance in spiritual mindedness.

The restoration of man was achieved by Christ descending from heaven and putting Himself in the place of those to be ransomed. He contended with the tempter by whom they were vanquished, and overcame the "wiles of the devil." He placed Himself under the law which they had broken, and kept that law completely. He endured the penalty which they had deserved, and, in mortal conflict with the Evil one, submitted to have His heel stung and crushed by the jaws of the old serpent, while He was in the act of bruising that serpent's head for ever. He "through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil."

Scripture unquestionably teaches us that eternal justice required an expiation. But Father, Son, and Spirit combined in the eternal counsels as to the mode of atonement. The highest proof of love which God the Father could give was that He gave up His only-begotten Son. "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son." Nor is the modern doctrine that the Father gave His Son to live, to suffer, and to die, merely as an

example of holiness to be followed by man, beset with one difficulty less than the old, simple, and comforting doctrine of Holy Writ, the doctrine taught so clearly by St. Paul, that Christ died in our stead, as a substitute for us, and that He bought us with His precious blood, so that justice and love are reconciled together, and that God can be "just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

In the Paradise lost by Adam God did not reveal Himself as a Father, nor had man any claims on God as being His son.[1] In the Paradise regained by Christ we are gifted with the blessings of sonship, and in that glorious relation we need no more a legal mediator. Yet as while still on earth we stand partly in the one relation and partly in the other, the Lord Jesus stands related to us as both our Mediator and our Elder Brother. In the realms of bliss we shall yet see the blessed unity of the two relations, when, as sons redeemed and regenerated, we shall praise and bless Him for ever. [C. H. H. W.]

FANON.—A head-dress used by the Pope at the celebration of Pontifical High Mass. Marriott considers the word to be connected with German *Fahne*, in the sense of a piece of cloth (of wool or linen). Hence it is applied to a banner, or flag, a clerical vestment, or a corporal. In the inventories of English churchwardens, the maniple is often called the "fannel," and the loose sleeves of butchers are still so termed. Alcuin gives the name to the "sudarium" or handkerchief used at Mass to wipe off perspiration. Possibly this is the oldest and most common signification of the word.

FASTING.—There is no *command* to fast in the New Testament. In the Sermon on the Mount our Lord, speaking to Jews who were then accustomed to fast, says: "When thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly" (Matt. vi. 17, 18). Under the Old Testament there was but one fast distinctly enjoined, namely, "the fast" on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29–31), which is referred to in Acts xxvii. 9. Other fasts were, however, enjoined on special occasions by the direction of the civil or religious authorities (*e.g.* Jer. xxxvi. 9). After the destruction of the Jewish State fasts became more numerous (Zech. vii. 5). But when the Lord was inquired of concerning those fasts, the answer given by the prophet Zechariah showed that those fasts were neither enjoined nor forbidden, and that persons were at liberty to make use of such days or not, according as they found fasting beneficial or otherwise to themselves; such acts not being regarded as in themselves meritorious in the sight of God (Zech. vii. 5 *ff.*). The Lord, by the mouth of Isaiah (ch. lviii. 5–7), asks, "Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness; to undo the heavy burdens? . . . Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

Our Lord's teaching concerning the times most suitable for fasting is set forth in the following passage: "Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast" (Matt. ix. 15), which passage has been explained by the Church of England in her Homily of Fasting, Part II., as follows: "Ye shall note, that so long as God revealeth His mercy unto us, and giveth us of His benefits, either spiritual or corporal, we are said to be with the Bridegroom at the marriage. . . . But the marriage is said then to be ended, and the Bridegroom to be gone, when Almighty God smiteth us with affliction, and seemeth to leave us in the midst of a number of adversities. So God sometimes striketh private men privately with sundry adversities, as trouble of mind, loss of friends, loss of goods, long and dangerous sicknesses, &c. Then it is a fit time for that man to humble himself to Almighty God by fasting, and to mourn and bewail his sins with a sorrowful heart. . . . Again, when God shall afflict a whole region or country with wars, with famine, with pestilence . . . and such other calamities, then is it time for all states and sorts of people . . . to humble themselves by fasting, and bewail their sinful living before God."

The principle here laid down can be exemplified from Scripture histories. David fasted when his child was sick (2 Sam. xii. 16); Esther, with her maidens, fasted ere she went in to Ahasuerus (Esth. iv. 16); Ezra fasted at the river of Ahava (Ezra viii. 21); Daniel set

[1] That is, in the highest sense. As a creature made by God, man is in an inferior sense even His son. For the name "father" is used in the Old Testament as a synonym for maker, creator. So Job xxxviii. 28; Jer. ii. 27, and in Israel's repentant expostulations, as Isaiah lxiii. 16; lxiv. 8, Mal. ii. 10. Compare Luke iii. 38.

himself to seek the Lord by prayer and fasting (Dan. ix. 3). Christ said of certain demons, "This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting" (Mark ix. 29), but the oldest MSS. omit the words "and fasting." (See R.V. and marginal note on Matt. xvii. 21.) And prior to the solemn ordination of elders, Paul and Barnabas "prayed with fasting" (Acts xiv. 23).

Our Lord Himself fasted forty days and forty nights, but during that time He did not experience the pangs of hunger. The Gospels which record the Temptation, all call attention to that fact. St. Matthew says, "He was afterward an hungered" (Matt. iv. 2). St. Mark does not mention the fasting (Mark i. 12, 13). St. Luke says of those days, "And when they were ended, He afterward hungered." The forty days appear, therefore, to have been spent in rapt ecstasy and contemplation. The actual temptation occurred at the close of that period.

Fasting, therefore, appears to be of value only when employed for the purpose of giving oneself up to continuous prayer, while abstinence from special kinds of food is nowhere enjoined or recommended in Scripture, although Daniel, in his penitential sorrow of three weeks, abstained from all pleasant food (Dan. x. 2, 3). St. Paul alludes to the "commanding to abstain from meats" as a mark of the apostasy (1 Tim. iv. 3), and a sign of weak faith in persons who attached importance to such trifling matters. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17, and the whole of that chapter). In fine, when fasting is employed in order to be able to spend the time in prayer, it may be recommended; but abstinence from food as a means of punishing the body and laying up "merit" is to be strongly condemned. An abstinence from certain food may be useful for "bodily exercise" or discipline—"bodily exercise profiteth a little," or "for a little while" (1 Tim. iv. 8) — such exercise has occasionally been useful, but is not to be regarded as really a spiritual work.

The prohibition to eat meat on fast days, prescribed by the statute 2 & 3 Edward VI., c. 19, which may be alluded to in "the Tables and Rules" attached to the Book of Common Prayer which mentions "the Fasts, and Days of Abstinence to be observed in the year," is further dwelt on in the Homily on Fasting, Part II., which states that the statute of Edward VI. referred to, was framed for political reasons. It was "in consideration of the maintaining of fisher-towns bordering upon the seas, and for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners to go upon the sea, to the furnishing of the navy of the realm. . . . Such laws of princes and other magistrates are not made to put holiness in one kind of meat and drink more than another, to make one day more holy than another, but are grounded merely upon policy," namely, as afterwards explained, for the increase and support of the English navy, and "for the sooner reducing of victuals to a more moderate price, to the better sustenance of the poor." [C. H. H. W.]

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, A.D. 1–100.—The so-called "Apostolic Fathers" were: (1) Barnabas, who must not be confounded with St. Paul's companion in travel, but probably a Jewish Christian. The exact date of his Epistle is uncertain. (2) Clement of Rome wrote a letter to the Church of Corinth, very shortly after 100. The Epistle is specially important. It speaks only of two orders of the clergy. There was no idea as yet of any analogy being drawn between the High Priest, Priests, and Levites of the Jewish Church, and the threefold ministry in the Christian Church, although even Clement went too far in speaking of the Christian dispensation in language drawn from Jewish times. Bishop Lightfoot, however, has conclusively shown (*Clement*, vol. ii. p. 135) that Clement's language is not susceptible of a sacerdotal interpretation. (3) Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, about 100–118. The language of Ignatius in his Epistles is too fervid and highly figurative to admit of the deductions which have been made from it, as if he held doctrines like those taught in mediæval days. He speaks of "faith and love" as Christ's flesh and blood (*Trallians*, viii.) and of the Gospel itself as "the flesh of Jesus" (*Philipp.* v.). Ignatius was the first to make use of the term "the Catholic Church" (*Smyrn.* viii.). (4) Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, about 160, speaks of Christian widows as "God's Altar" (*θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ*). (5) The Author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* is unknown. The Epistle is early, although its date is uncertain. (6) Hermas, probably second century. (7) Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, contemporary with Ignatius. (8) Aristides of Athens wrote a remarkable *Apology*, which has recently come to light. He says that God "asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible." Its date is prior to A.D. 140. (9) The writer of the *Didaché* lived probably about A.D. 120. (See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.) (10) Quadratus of Athens wrote, probably between A.D. 123–131, an *Apology* which is lost. (11) Xystus or Sistus, said to have been Bishop of Rome, is regarded by some as a writer of the same period. But the fragments of the *Sententiæ* ascribed to him were probably (as Jerome thought) the work of a heathen writer.

The first menace to Christian doctrine came from *without*, in an attempt to combine the most striking features and tenets of Christianity with Oriental and other systems of philosophy. Heresy (if the word can be correctly used) commenced with Gnosticism. An innate love of mystery has ever exercised a fascination for the human mind, and even exhibits itself to-day in a preference for the indefinable rather than a sober acceptance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The first attempts to assimilate Christianity to systems of Natural Religion and Theosophy were widely different in character from the heretical departures and dissensions that afterwards sprang from *within*. The latter heresies, from their insidious character, were more dangerous a menace, and were more difficult to combat.

The most noted Apologists of the Christian Church, from A.D. 100 to 200, were: *Flavius Justinus* (*circ.* 114–166). Without fixed abode, office, or ordination, he accomplished more than any ecclesiastic of his time. Vainly searching for truth as a scholar in every school of human lore, Justin's conversion was of incalculable value. He was martyred at Rome. He wrote, *The Two Apologies*, *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, and other works. *Tatian of Assyria* (110-172), was converted to Christianity, like his master Justin, by a study of the Hebrew Scriptures. He wrote an Apology *To the Greeks* in vindication of Christianity. In it he points out that Moses and the prophets were older and wiser than the Greek philosophers, and exposes the superstitions and immoralities of the Greek mythology. The most valuable of his writings is the *Diatessaron* or *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, which commences with the prologue of St. John's, "In the beginning was the WORD," &c. It is a powerful witness to the authenticity of St. John's Gospel. Its existence was long called in question, but it was first discovered in an Armenian version of Ephraem's Syriac Commentary on the work, and was edited in 1876, and afterwards by Zahn. An Arabic translation of a large portion was discovered by Ciasca and published in 1888. Athenagoras (A.D. 161-189) in an Apology termed the *Embassy*, replied to the charges of cannibalism, incest, and atheism brought against Christianity. His treatise *De Resurrectione* was, for that day, masterly, but shows a singular forgetfulness of the fact set forth in 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37, that it is only the *germ* of the body laid in the grave which will be raised again.

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (168–181), was author of *Three Books to Autolycus*, in which Socrates and Plato are charged with having stolen their ideas from the Hebrew prophets. He was the first to use the word "Triad" of the Holy Trinity. He speaks of St. John as the author of the fourth Gospel. In another work, which has been lost, he is known to have referred to the Apocalypse as the work of St. John. *Melito*, Bishop of Sardis (177), was the author of twenty works, mostly lost. He omits the Apocrypha in his list of Old Testament Books. The works of *Claudius Apollinarius* (160–180), and of *Miltiades* (170 ?) have been lost. *Hermias* (not to be confounded with *Hermas*), wrote (190 ?), *Mockery of Heathen Philosophers*, a satire designed to prove St. Paul's dictum that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. *Hegesippus*, who died *circ.* 180, was a Christian Jew. He wrote Church History subsequent to "Acts." His works were extant in the sixteenth century, and have since been lost. *Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth (170) wrote a large number of pastoral letters, only fragments of which are extant.

Irenæus (born 115–125, died 192–202), was a pupil of Polycarp. He points out the unity and accord subsisting between the Old and New Testaments. Zealous of the Catholic character of the Church, he was vehemently opposed to ecclesiastical despotism, and contended that all rule should be by faith and love. His most important works are: *Refutation of Gnosticism*, or knowledge falsely so called, in five books. The work is generally known under the shorter title *Against Heresies*. Of his other works only fragments are extant. Irenæus' language with regard to the Lord's Supper is highly mystical, but there are proofs enough to show that he only used metaphorical language. *Hippolytus'* precise date is uncertain. He was probably an anti-pope, and opposed the Roman bishops Zephyrinus (202–218), and Callistus (218–223). His chief work was *The Philosophumena*, against the heresies of his times. It was supposed to be lost, but was found as late as the nineteenth century. The Roman Church has canonised him, and given him a niche among her saints and martyrs. On the controversy between Hippolytus and Calixtus, Bishop of Rome, see Dr. Salmon on the *Infallibility of the Church*, at the close of chap. xx. *Clement of Alexandria* (*circ.* 150–200) was a presbyter of the Church of Alexandria, and may be regarded as the Father of the Alexandrian Christian philosophy. His citations from lost works of poets, philosophers, and historians give him a high rank among the early Christian writers. Author of *Exhortation to the Greeks*; *The Pedagogue, or Tutor*; *The Stromata* (or *Miscellanies*), and writer of the oldest Christian hymn on record.

Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus (150–220–240), was the Father of Latin theology and a voluminous writer. He was converted

to Christianity after a licentious career, when between thirty and forty. Being a Puritan in faith, he associated himself with the Montanist movement (see MONTANISM), and became the champion of Puritanism as opposed to the worldliness of the Roman clergy; but with all this antagonism to Rome, he was a most persistent defender of the Old Catholic orthodoxy. Tertullian, like Hippolytus, protested to the last against the spirit of the Romish hierarchy, and their often worldly, and sometimes even licentious, lives. He was author of *The Apologeticus; On the Testimony of the Soul; On the Prescription of Heretics; Against Marcion;* with numerous other works.

Origen, surnamed ἀδαμάντινος (185-253), was the most illustrious of all the Ante-Nicene Fathers. He endured cruel torture in the Decian persecution, from the effects of which, although subsequently liberated, he died in his sixty-ninth year. He was a great exegetical scholar, and always based his doctrines on Scripture. He was in the main orthodox, but his language on many points has exposed him to the charge of being a precursor of Arianism. His greatest works were *The Hexapla*, and the *De Principiis*. He wrote also voluminous Commentaries, which are only partly extant.

A.D. 200-300. *Gregory*, surnamed Thaumaturgus, or "the Wonder-worker" (214–270), was a convert of Origen to Christianity. The story of Gregory's miracles appears to have been invented in later times with the object of introducing certain doctrines. He wrote, *A Eulogy of Origen; A Paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes*. His *Declaration of Faith* is of considerable interest. *Dionysius of Alexandria*, surnamed the Great (190–265), was a pupil of Origen, and with his master opposed Chiliastic views. He denied St. John to have been the author of the Apocalypse. Only fragments of his writings remain. *Julius Africanus* (*circ.* 170–240), was a philosopher and not an ecclesiastic. He was the first Christian chronographer, and maintained the consistency of the two genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke from an account handed down from his ancestors; his opinion being that St. Matthew gives the *natural*, and St. Luke the *legal* descent of our Lord.

Heraclas, Bishop of Alexandria (233–248), and *Plutarch* (230-250 ?), his brother were pupils of Origen. *Theognostus* who succeeded Dionysius the Great, and wrote books known to us only by a few fragments. *Pierius* (300) was called "the younger Origen." *Pamphilus* (309 ?) was a martyr. He founded a school of theology and large library. *Caius of Rome* (*circ.* 200–225) was a Roman presbyter of great learning. Only fragments of his works are now extant. *Marcus Minutius Felix* (200–250 ?), is often termed "The Christian Cicero," and wrote a remarkable work *Octavius*. The vivid descriptions in it of the torments of the lost have given it an unenviable notoriety. *Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus* (200–258), Bishop of Carthage, was the most eminent bishop of the third century. He was converted to Christianity by the presbyter Cæcilius in 245. He was an ascetic, and in some aspects may be considered as the founder of the sacerdotal school. He was an upholder of the divine authority of bishops, and confronted boldly the Bishop of Rome in his day. His martyrdom occurred September 14, 258. He was a voluminous writer.

Novatian—precise time unknown—was the second Roman anti-pope, as Hippolytus may be viewed as the first. Like Minutius Felix, *Commodian* (220 - 250 ?) was converted to Christianity by the study of Old Testament Scriptures. He wrote bad Latin prose and composed still worse verses, which are interesting from the strange views propounded about a double Antichrist. *Arnobius* was a convert from heathenism. When he lived is not quite clear, but it was probably in the third century. His only extant work is *An Apology of Christianity*, in seven books. *Victorinus* of Petau (303), Bishop of Patavium, wrote Commentaries (in Greek) on various Old Testament books and on the Apocalypse.

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, surnamed Pamphilus (265–340), styled "The Father of Ecclesiastical History," wrote the history of the Christian Church for the first three centuries down to the Council of Nicæa. His theological position, as established in Dorner's "Person of Christ," was that of one who held vague ideas on the important doctrines then discussed. Although as a friend he defended Arius, he was not himself an Arian. His substantial orthodoxy has been established, not only by the work of Dorner, but also by the translation of the *Theophania* by Dr. S. Lee of Cambridge (1843), from a Syriac MS. He was a voluminous writer, his most important works being the *Ecclesiastical History*, in ten books; *Chronicle; Life of Constantine; Martyrs of Palestine; The Onomasticon; Preparatio Evangelica*, &c. *Lactantius*, who died in the early decades of the fourth century, was a pupil of Arnobius and tutor to the eldest son of Constantine the Great. His most important work was his *Institutes*, in seven books.

The third century witnessed many departures from the faith, such as the Valentinian, Marcionite, and other Gnostic heresies. The most formidable heretic of that era was Manes, or Manichæus, a Persian, who amalgamated the principles of the Persian philosophy with Christianity. (See HERESIES.) He was exe-

cuted by order of the Persian monarch Varanes I. The Novatians also produced a schism in the Church at this time by the severity of their discipline, refusing to "administer to," or acknowledge any person who fell into notorious sin after baptism, even though duly repented of, although they allowed the lapsed to have some chance of future restoration hereafter. Marcion's heresy was in the main a revival of Docetism. See DOCETISM.

Athanasius took part as a young theologian in the Council of Nicæa (325), and later became Archbishop of Alexandria, and was Metropolitan of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis. He was deposed half-a-dozen times from his office, and as often reinstated. Though a mark for bitter persecution, he was not himself a persecutor. He was an ascetic, a remarkable orator, and during all his life an inflexible champion of orthodox truth against Arianism. His works may be divided into (1) the Apologetical, in defence of Christianity; (2) his dogmatic and controversial writings; (3) works in self-defence; and (4) his exegetical and practical works. See ATHANASIAN CREED.

Basil the Great (329–379), Bishop of Cæsarea and Metropolitan of all Cappadocia, also contended against the Arian doctrines which were patronised by the Emperor Valens. He was a distinguished writer. *Gregory of Nyssa* (between 333–395), Bishop of Nyssa. As a writer he did lasting service in his accurate distinction between Essence and Hypostasis. He wrote, *Against Eunomius; Against Apollinaris; On the Deity of the Son and Holy Ghost;* many Homilies and Commentaries, &c. *Gregory Nazianzen* (330–390) was for a time preceptor of Jerome, and, with the exception of Chrysostom, the greatest orator of the Greek Church. He wrote among other books, *A Defence of the Nicene Doctrine*, many Orations, and 243 Epistles.

Didymus of Alexandria (309–395), surnamed Cæcus, became blind in his fourth year. He was a strong opponent of the Arians. He wrote *On the Holy Ghost*, and *On the Trinity*, as well as numerous Commentaries and Treatises. *Cyril of Jerusalem* (between 320–386) was Bishop of Jerusalem. He is said to have predicted the miscarriage of the apostate Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple. He was a distinguished writer, and taught a doctrine somewhat akin to Transubstantiation. *Epiphanius* (between 320–403), probably of Jewish parentage, was a strong advocate of Monasticism. He, however, shared the primitive Christian abhorrence of pictures and images. He also opposed vigorously the rising Mariolatry. His writings are of value, though the style is poor. They (especially "The Panarium," or Medicine Chest—antidotes for the poison of all heresies) contain much information about the early heretics.

John Chrysostom (347–407), Patriarch of Constantinople, was a convert to Christianity, and the greatest expositor and preacher of the Greek Church. While strictly orthodox, he laid a greater stress on practical piety than on purity of doctrine. He was chiefly renowned for his pulpit oratory and pastoral care. *Cyril of Alexandria*, who died in 444 as Patriarch of Alexandria, was a fanatic whose character was deeply stained with bribery and cruelty. He was, however, canonised as a saint by the Roman Church, and was a man of extensive learning. He upheld Mariolatry, although he did not maintain the sinlessness of the Virgin. His Christological writings against Nestorius and Theodoret are of considerable importance. He was a vigorous defender of Christianity against Julian, and wrote among other books many Commentaries.

Ephraem the Syrian, who was at the Council of Nice (325), and died in 379, was the divine of the ancient Syrian Church. Expelled from home by his father, who was a priest of the god Abnil, he early became famous for learning He lived as a hermit in a cave at Edessa. His writings evince excessive admiration of the Virgin Mary, the saints, and relics. He was a prolific author of Commentaries, Homilies, and a great hymn writer. *Hilary of Poictiers* (Bishop 350; died 368) was the Athanasius of the West. He was a great Biblical scholar, and a staunch defender of the orthodox faith against Arianism. To him the Incarnation of God was the source and centre of Christian truth and life. He wrote a work in twelve books, *On the Trinity; On Synods;* a Tract against the Arian bishop Auxentius of Milan; Commentaries, hymns, &c. *Ambrose* (*circ.* 340–397), Bishop of Milan, is said to have been guided to the episcopal chair by a prophecy of Probus, Prefect of Italy. That summons was afterwards confirmed at a stormy gathering assembled to elect a successor to the Arian bishop Auxentius, when the shrill voice of a child suddenly exclaimed, "Let Ambrose be bishop," to which both Arians and Catholics replied, "Amen." He wrote an exposition on the Psalms; Commentary on St Luke's Gospel; Commentary on Pauline Epistles (?); On Faith; On the Holy Ghost; On the Sacraments; On Duties; On Virgins; other works on "Virginity"; ninety-one Epistles, &c. *Jerome* (340–419) was the most erudite of the Latin Fathers. Possessed of a remarkable memory and keen discrimination, he combined qualities calculated to render him a consummate master in the art of rhetoric. With Jerome, however, the Bible was held in greater esteem than the

classics. Jerome, with all his great qualities, was vain and ambitious, and fanatically disposed to monkish extravagance. His great work was the translation of the Holy Scriptures from the original languages. His commentaries are of great value. He wrote also on many other subjects.

Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus, 354-430), Bishop of Hippo, born at Tagaste (Tajelt) in Numidia, November 13, 354. He was converted at the age of thirty-three, and was baptized by Ambrose on Easter Day. No Father has ever exercised such a spell over the Christian Church. He was more profound than Ambrose, and more original, though far less learned, than Jerome. He grappled with the Manichæan, the Donatist, and the Pelagian heresies in turn, and his labours have left their mark on the Church for all time. He was evangelical, or Pauline, in his conceptions of sin and grace, but his writings have no few traces of the mud and mire into which he fell when a Manichæan. His great work on *The City of God* was written when the Roman Empire and Rome, its capital, were tottering to their fall. He was a voluminous writer. *The Confessions*, which contains his autobiography, is still popular, and his commentaries and other works are among the most read of the Patristic writings.

Peter, Bishop of Alexandria (*circ.* 300–311), noted for his views in favour of moderate treatment of the lapsed, was beheaded by order of Maximinus, in the Diocletian persecution. He was the author of fifteen Canons on Discipline, and some Homiletic fragments. *Hieracas* (Hierax, 300–320 ?) lived during the Diocletian persecution, and was distinguished for his varied and extensive learning. He, however, denied the resurrection of the body, and viewed celibacy as the only road to the highest degree of blessedness. He held other extravagant opinions. *Methodius* (or Eubulus), Bishop of Olympus, and then of Patara, was also a rigorous celibate. He was martyred in the Diocletian persecution. He wrote, *The Symposium*, or *Banquet of Ten Virgins; On the Resurrection; On Things Created*, and other works. *Lucian*, Presbyter of Antioch (311), also an ascetic, is the reputed founder of the Antiochian school of theology. He died as a martyr. Author of a Creed, and of a Critical Revision of the text of the Septuagint and New Testament. *Theodoret* (390-457), Bishop of Cyprus, the most scholarly advocate of a moderate Nestorianism. Author of an Ecclesiastical History in five books, from A.D. 325 to 429; *Historia Religiosa; Heretical Fables;* Commentaries on Old and New Testaments, &c.

A.D. 400–500. *Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus* (*circ.* 477–580), senator, consul, and Prætorian prefect. After 550, Cassiodorus the statesman became Cassiodorus the monk. He was an erudite and prolific writer, and his services to classical literature cannot be overestimated. He also did useful service by instituting monastic libraries, and employing monks for copying old MSS. He was the author of numerous books.

A.D. 500–600. *Theodorus Lector* (500 ?), author of *Historia Tripartita*, being a compendium of Church History from 431 to 594. This work is an important authority on the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies. *Cassiodorus* (562), consul and monk. Author of *Historia Tripartita*, a useful abstract of the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, in twelve books. *Georgius Florentius* (or Gregorius), St. Gregory of Tours (538–594), Bishop of Tours, wrote *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, in ten books, which is the only full and reliable source of the history of France during the fifth and sixth centuries; *The Miracle of St. Martin*, &c. *St. Isidore of Seville* (560–638), saint and doctor of the Latin Church, was the greatest scholar of his day, and the recognised leader and mouthpiece of the Spanish Church. He was admired alike for his eloquence and for his private virtues. He wrote, *Scripture Allegories; Lives and Deaths of Biblical Saints; Introduction to the Old and New Testaments; Sentences* (his most important dogmatic work); *Synonyms; The Order of Creation; The Ecclesiastical Offices; A Monastic Rule; Etymologies*, (his greatest achievement—an Encyclopædia of the seven liberal arts); *The Differences; On the Nature of Things* (a Natural Philosophy), &c. *St. Maxius* (Confessor) (*circ.* 580-662), was an able and voluminous writer. Forty-eight of his treatises are printed, while some remain in MS. form only, and others are lost. In his theology, Christ is perfect God and perfect Man, and he speaks of the Virgin as the Mother of God.

A.D. 600–700. "*The Venerable Bede*" (Baeda) (673-735), known to his contemporaries as "Presbyter," or "Dominus." "Venerable" is a term found in his writings which was subsequently applied to himself. Posterity is indebted for the learning of Bede to his patron, a nobleman-monk, named Benedict Biscop, who took interest in Bede's studies, and collected a valuable library for his use. He wrote on a great variety of subjects, but his works on ecclesiastical history are of the greatest value, such as, *Lives of the five Holy Abbots of Wearmouth; Life of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne; Life of Felix of Nola, Confessor; Martyrology.* The *Ecclesiastical History*

of the English (*gentis Anglorum*), was his greatest work. *John of Damascus* (*circ.* 676-754), surnamed "Chrysorrhous" (=streaming with gold) from his eloquence; "Father of Scholasticism," saint and learned doctor of the Eastern Church, and last of the Greek Fathers, of whom he has given an important summary. He was an advocate for the veneration of images. He also wrote many books.

[F. W. A.]

FEASTS.—Days of holy and joyful commemoration of persons, doctrines, or events connected with the history of the Christian religion. Some are "movable," *e.g.* Easter Day (on which all the other movable feasts depend). This is always the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon or next after the twenty-first day of March. Other feasts are immovable, or fixed, *e.g.* the Epiphany, which always falls on January 6th. All Sundays in the year are feasts. Hence the Sundays are not reckoned in the forty days during which Lent extends. A Table of the Feasts recommended to be observed in the Church of England is given in the Prayer Book. The Ritualists, imitating Roman distinctions, divide all days into feasts, fasts, or *feriæ*, *i.e.* days which are neither of the former; and also divide all feast days into "classes" of various importance, and into "double" or "simple" feasts. But there is a distinction made in the Prayer Book between "principal feast-days" (Canon 24), *i.e.* those for which "Proper Prefaces" have been provided in the Communion Service, and ordinary saints' days, for which no such prefaces have been provided. The only direction in the Prayer Book regarding the reading of Scripture is as follows: "If any of the Holy Days for which Proper Lessons are appointed in the Table, fall upon a Sunday, which is the first Sunday in Advent, Easter Day, Whitsunday, or Trinity Sunday, the Lessons appointed for such Sunday shall be read, but if it fall upon any other Sunday, the Lessons appointed either for the Sunday or for the Holy Day may be read at the discretion of the minister."

FEBRONIANISM.—This is a name given by Romanists to opinions as to the relation of the Church to the State, which they regard as an extreme form of Gallicanism.

John Nicholas von Hontheim (1701-1790), who assumed the literary name of Febronius, was, in 1748, suffragan bishop of Treves. In 1763 he published a book on the status of the Church and the lawful authority of the Pope, in which he held that the power of the keys was conferred on all the faithful, though its actual administration belonged to the bishops. The Pope had the Primacy from Christ, but this was not necessarily attached to the Roman Church, and he is only superior as a Metropolitan is superior to the other bishops of his province. While greater than any individual bishop, the bishops as a body are greater than he, he can do nothing against the canons of the Church, his duty being only to guard their observance. He exercises his primacy *in* the Church, not *over* it, and is not a supreme, much less an infallible judge. An appeal might always be made from him to a General Council. The book was condemned by Clement XIII. in 1764, the prohibition being resisted in some German dioceses. Pius VI. induced him to retract in 1778, but in 1781 he published another work which clearly evidenced that his retractation must have been very partial. In 1786, the archbishops of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence sought to carry out his principles and make themselves independent of Rome, but the inferior bishops, dreading their autocratic rule, took sides with the Pope, so that the threatened schism soon came to an end. Febronius, who had taken no active part in this later contest, died in peace with Rome in 1790. (See *Catholic Dictionary*, also Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 251-252.) [C. J. C.]

FEES.—Money paid for services. Speaking generally, the rites of a Christian Church cannot be withheld because a fee is not paid. Action may be taken subsequently for the recovery of fees. Surplice fees are customary in the Church of England, and are payable on marriages and burials, but not now on baptisms. Fees customarily payable to a sexton and deputy clerk, may be assigned to the incumbent when those offices are unnecessary and in abeyance. Tables of fees are given in Whitehead's *Church Law*, pp. 137-140.

FERMENTUM properly means *leaven*. It was used to designate a portion of the consecrated bread or wafer which was reserved on certain occasions of the celebration of mass, and put into the chalice as a token of the union between congregations separated from one another. The fermentum was sent by the bishop from the mother church (sometimes called the "baptismal church" to the district church in Rome. Thus, "all ate of the one loaf." The fermentum is spoken of in the earliest *Ordo Romanus*, which may be as old as the time of Gregory the Great. The practice is long since obselete, though curious survivals of it in much later times are mentioned by Scudamore in his article in *Smith & Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

FESTIVALS.—See FEASTS.

FIRE, KINDLING OF.—On Easter Eve fire which had been produced from flint on Maundy

Thursday was wont to be solemnly blessed. The custom is alluded to by Pope Leo (A.D. 855) as then an established custom.

FISH and FISHERMAN. — The Greek word for fish (ἰχθύς) was used at a very early date as a Christian anagram; the several letters forming the initial letters of the Greek word in the phrase, "*Jesus Christ God's Son* (our) *Saviour*." Hence the device of the fish is so often found on Christian inscriptions; and inasmuch as the fish was so interpreted, the spiritual feeding on Christ was represented as feeding on the fish. From the use of the fish, too, in Christ's parable of the draw-net (Matt. xiii. 47–49; Luke v. 4–10), and from His calling His disciples to be "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19), the symbol of the fisherman was also employed to designate Christ Himself and His disciples. The connection of the symbols of the *fish* and the *dove* has been ably handled by Ferd. Becker in his *Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches* (Breslau, 1866), and by many other writers.

FISTULA.—A pipe through which communicants received the sacramental wine from the chalice, to avoid the hair about the mouth being dipped in the chalice. This method is mentioned in the most ancient Roman *Ordines*, the oldest of which is attributed to Gregory the Great (589–604).[1] The fistula was made usually of gold or of silver. Fine silver gilt fistulas are enumerated among the sacramental vessels of the Church of Mayence. Pope Victor III. (1086–1088) bequeathed two to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

The practice fell, of course, into disuse owing to the practice of communicating in the bread only, but traces still survive. Thus, at Papal masses, a cardinal brings the sacramental wine to the Pope, who receives it through a fistula. It was not used in the Eastern Church, a spoon being substituted. The originating cause of the usage was to prevent a drop of the sacramental wine from being accidentally spilt, or adhering to the hair. (See *Catholic Dictionary*, and *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.) [C. J. C.]

FLABELLUM.—A fan used to drive away flies from the bread and wine used in the Lord's Supper. In Greek it is termed ῥιπίδιον. These fans were especially necessary in the East, and were also used in the Western Church. They were ornamented in various ways, and made of different kinds of materials.

FLAGELLANTS.—Religious fanatics in the Middle Ages, so called from the flagella which they carried in processions, and with which they lashed their bare arms and shoulders. They first appeared at Perugia in the thirteenth century, when vice and corruption of every kind abounded. So men, women, and children collected, with wild faces and uncovered shoulders, and sought by prayers, tears, groans, and mutually inflicted scourgings, to appease the divine wrath. Clement VI. repressed the sect; but it was revived again about the time of the Council of Constance, which condemned it. After thirty days of such penances, these misguided people imagined that their guilt was expiated, and were so well satisfied that they did not even care for the sacraments. [W. B.]

FLOWERS.—The Communion Table "is in some churches decked with flowers in token of spiritual joy, under the plea that Christ is described as the Rose of Sharon and the Lily of the Valley" (Cant.). Such a use of flowers is unauthorised by the Prayer Book. The decking of "altars" with flowers is of heathen origin. In an advanced publication, *Services for Holy Week*, the service for Palm Sunday (p. 53) commences with a "sprinkling of holy water," after which the priest exorcises the "flowers and leaves" used in the service.

FONT, THE.—The basin, usually of stone, which contains the water used in the sacrament of baptism. The font stands sometimes in a baptistery, at other times at the west end of the church.

FOOT WASHING, or PEDILAVIUM.—This is a mediæval practice still observed in the Church of Rome, and founded on a literal superstitious view of our Lord's words spoken after His washing of the disciples' feet (John xiii. 14, 15). It takes place on Maundy Thursday in Holy Week, supposed to be derived from the Latin *mandatum*, or command. But see MAUNDAY. The first antiphon sung during the ceremony begins with *mandatum novum*. The principal priest or bishop of the Church, assisted by a deacon or sub-deacon, washes the feet of twelve poor men. The Pope washes the feet of thirteen poor men, all of whom are priests, and some Romish Churches follow the Papal custom. The observance was enjoined under penalties by the Council of Toledo in A.D. 694.

FORUM.—Originally a market-place; later, a tribunal. The Church of Rome divides the tribunals of the Church into the internal and the external tribunal. By the *internal* tribunal is meant *forum conscientiæ*, the court of conscience, "established," as Rome teaches, "in

[1] The received date of this *Ordo Romanus* is A.D. 730. Gregory II. died in 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III. (Robertson, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. x.). For date of *Ordo* see *Dict. of Christ. Ant.*, p. 1521, and Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, 2nd edit., p. 597.

the Sacrament of Penance." The *external* tribunal includes every exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction external to the other tribunal. It is in fact the exercise of an external, coercive jurisdiction supposed to be inherent in the constitution of the Church. The Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction, previous to the Reformation, overspread Europe like a network. Rome accuses Anglicans of Erastianism for submitting to the jurisdiction of the temporal power, and considers such a position as involving the holding of "a degrading view of the Church which God Incarnate founded upon earth." As the XXXVIIth Article says, "We give . . . to our Princes . . . that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers." It is manifest, however, that the question of the *forum externum* involves the whole of the *vexata quæstio* of the relations of Church and State on "one of the most involved and difficult questions," as Bishop Harold Browne writes on Article XXXVII., "that have agitated Christian men: the question, namely, of the due proportions and proper relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in a Christian Commonwealth. The whole course of Church History, from the time of Constantine to the present, seems to have been striving to unravel the difficulty and solve the problem. Perhaps it never will be solved, until the coming of the Son of Man, when there shall be no king but Christ, and all nations, peoples, and languages shall bow down before Him." [M. E. W. J.]

FRACTION.—The rite of breaking the bread in the Lord's Supper. Some curious instances of the meaning attached to the various pieces of the bread, are given in Wright's *Service of the Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches*, pp. 30, 31.

FRANCISCANS.—Francis, the founder of the Franciscans or Minorites, was born in 1182 in Assisi. His father was a rich trader, and his mother a woman of noted piety. After the ordinary school education given to the sons of rich men, Francis entered his father's business, and his wealth enabled him to associate with the young nobles of the district. He knew French, and was strongly influenced by the Troubadours, whose songs he learned to sing. In a fight in Assisi he took the popular side, and after a battle between Perugia and Assisi he was a captive for a year. Returning to Assisi, he prepared to take arms for the Pope against the Emperor, but a severe illness changed his plans. He began to show special kindness to the poor, and when his friends tried to win him back to pleasure, and then taunted him as one in love, he gave the well-known answer: "I am thinking of taking a wife more beautiful, rich, and pure than you could ever imagine." This was the "Lady Poverty" whom Dante has wedded to the name of Francis, and who appears in one of Giotto's frescoes.

A crisis was reached when one day Francis was praying in the Church of St. Damian. The Christ of the Cross seemed to accept his service. Difficulties arose with his father, whose house he left, returning to him his clothes, and going forth in old garments obtained through charity. He found refuge in the Church of St. Damian, which he repaired, extending his labour to other churches, one of which, Santa Maria of the Portiuncula, better known as Santa Maria degli Angeli, became the cradle of Franciscanism. One day, in 1209, he heard a priest reading from the Gospel the injunction to the disciples to go and preach, but to provide neither gold nor silver. He interpreted the words as a commission to him to preach and to be poor. He adopted as a dress the brown woollen gown, tied with a rope, which the poor men of the district wore. Converts were made, who adopted the life of poverty and engaged in preaching. Penitents of Assisi, and later, Minores, they called themselves. Francis wished to found no Order, but he and his companions must have a bond of association. The Papal sanction was obtained, and the tonsure was given to bind them to the Church.

The chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli was obtained, and around it they built rude huts which formed their first convent. In their poverty the friars were to beg, but they were first to labour for their daily bread. They were to be poor that they might follow Christ, be separated from the temptations of the world, and be one with the humblest. The brotherhood increased rapidly, as rich and poor, scholars and peasants were added, and their mission extended throughout the West and reached even to Syria. In 1219 Francis himself proceeded to Damietta to preach to the Mohammedans, but his zeal was not rewarded with success.

During his absence some of the friars in Italy were changing the habits of the Brotherhood, so as to make them more formal. Francis, on his return, was forced to negotiate with the Pope for the recognition of a Rule, which constituted the Brothers into an Order. The Papal Bull of recognition was published in 1220, and the Rule itself, as finally formulated, required the appointment of a

minister-general, and ordained that the friars should give themselves to poverty and work, and in their conduct generally should imitate Christ. It could not have been at the desire of Francis that begging was made the mark and privilege of the Order. The Rule was really as much the production of Honorius III. as of Francis. The Pope was anxious to have a minister-general who should be his servant, and to reduce the Order to obedience to a formal Rule rather than to the visions and ideals of Francis. To the year 1224 has been assigned the incident of the stigmata. The mountain-peak of Verna was the scene of a vision in which Francis beheld a seraph, which represented the image of a man crucified. He had prayed to have the pain which Christ bore in His passion, and when the vision faded there was in his flesh a copy of the wounds of Christ. The Minorites accepted the genuineness of the stigmata, counting them signs of divine favour to Francis and the Order. In the last years of his life Francis suffered from an affection of the eyes which threatened blindness. Yet with failing strength he continued his labours. Before the end he was borne to the Portiuncula, where he died on the bare earth. The death took place on the eve of October 3, 1226, and in 1228 he was canonised. A magnificent basilica was eventually erected to the memory of the saint, and Giotto adorned it with frescoes.

In 1212 Francis had admitted to the life of poverty Clara, daughter of a noble of the district. She and certain maidens found a convent in the chapel of St. Damian, where they lived in the spirit of the Rule which guided the Brothers. They were styled the Poor Ladies, and afterwards formed the Second Order of St. Francis. In 1221 the Tertiaries, or Third Order, were founded. They were men and women who, unable to join the Brotherhood or Sisterhood, desired to imitate Christ, as Francis taught, in the conduct of life.

To Francis, who had a tender feeling for birds and beasts, and spoke to them as brothers or sisters, has been attributed the Canticle of the Sun, in which sun and moon, wind and water, are addressed in the same fashion. Piety and lyric feeling mark the Canticle. Francis' love of song affected his companions, and thus he influenced the rise of the vernacular verse of Italy. Writers before Dante, like Giacopone di Todi, were inspired by him; and others, such as the writers of the *Dies Iræ* and the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, were members of his Order.

Many of the Franciscans were unlettered men, yet their sincerity and simplicity fitted them for work among the poor. Their preaching created a revival, and people were reached beyond the sphere of the Church's influence. In 1224 a band of Franciscans arrived at Dover, and in a short time there were Franciscan houses in Canterbury, London, and Oxford. In 1229 the first Franciscan convent was established in Rome. The Minorites claim that in 1381 there were in the different countries fifteen hundred convents, though by another version there were in 1264 eight thousand cloisters with two hundred thousand friars. Among the distinguished men were counted five Popes and fifty cardinals. The first of these Popes was Nicholas IV. In the movement of Scholasticism the Minorites took a prominent place, Alexander of Hales, a Gloucestershire man, was the first of the Mendicants to press philosophy into the service of theology. Francis had not desired his friars to engage in theology lest they should be turned from piety, and Alexander was the first to bear the title of doctor. Known as Doctor Irrefragabilis, he sustained his reputation by his *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*. John Fidanza, or Bonaventura, elected general of the Franciscan Order in 1256, was a Platonist in philosophy. Setting forth the doctrine of illumination, he attempted to give a metaphysic of mysticism. Among the Scholastics who were members of the Franciscan Order were John Duns Scotus, William of Occam, and Roger Bacon.

Early in the history of the Order many of the friars departed from the ideals of Francis. The connection of Franciscans with the Inquisition was a violation of the love and pity which led to the foundation of the Brotherhood. Rivalry probably induced them to engage in the Inquisition, in which the Dominicans were taking a part. Portions of France and Italy, and also Bohemia and Dalmatia, were entrusted to them. But their connection with the Inquisition, the machine for crushing heresy, did not endure, and throughout the period of their influence the ordinary friars were not concerned with theology, and the thinkers among them, in their freedom of speculation, were not accounted the guardians of orthodoxy.

In other ways the actions of many of the Franciscans were opposed to the intents of Francis. Wealth corrupted them, though they were Mendicants. Four years after the death of the saint some of the friars consulted the Pope regarding the right of the Order to hold property, and Gregory IX. replied by a bull that Francis had had no authority to bind his successors to poverty, and that agents could hold and spend money on behalf of the friars. The same Pope granted indulgences to visitors to the church erected to the memory of Francis by Elias of Cortona, and succeeding Popes enriched the Brothers by associating indulgences with

shrines of the saints of the Order. The relaxation of the vow of poverty created dispeace, and within the Brotherhood there were two parties, the Spirituals, who kept the Rule strictly, and the Conventuals, so styled because they lived in convents, who desired the Rule to be relaxed, as experience dictated. Crescentius, minister-general from 1244 to 1248, erected splendid monasteries. John of Parma, who succeeded him, returned to the simplicity of the Rule. The question of poverty disturbed the Franciscans down to the century of the Reformation. Writers, such as Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and William of Occam, were involved in the controversy. Pope Alexander IV. renewed the interpretation of the Rule made by Innocent IV., and allowed the Roman See to hold, and agents to administer, property for the Order. Gregory X. sought to force the Conventuals to return to simplicity. Nicholas III. confirmed the arrangement of Innocent IV., though he declared that Christ and the Apostles had no property. In the reign of Clement V. the Spirituals asked to be disjoined from the Conventuals. Before the negotiations were concluded some of the Italian Spirituals seceded, and the Pope used the Inquisition to punish them. His successor, John XXII., gave superiors the right to determine the vestments of the friars, and the amount of grain, wine, and oil to be stored in a convent. The extreme Spirituals denied the Pope's right to legislate on such matters, but the Pope declared that those who rejected his bull would be punished as heretics. Thus a new heresy was created. In 1322 the Franciscans decided, in reference to a case brought before a Dominican inquisitor, that Christ held no property, and quoted the declaration of Nicholas III. John XXII., on an appeal, asserted that this doctrine was contrary to Scripture. The Franciscan Order was now in open revolt, when the minister-general, Michael of Cesena, joined the political opponents of the Pope. A battle of books was waged. In the *Protest of Sachsenhausen*, inspired by the Franciscans, Lewis of Bavaria examined the Pope's treatment of the Order, and charged him with heresy. The chief combatants in the battle were Michael of Cesena, William of Occam, and Marsiglio of Padua. These men separated the spiritual from the political power, and rejected the idea of a Papal headship of the Church. Thus were seen beginnings of the Reformation. In due time, however, the Conventuals returned to obedience, while the extreme Spirituals, as the Fraticelli in Italy, were dealt with as heretics. Ultimately the Brethren of the Hermitages, strict observants of the Rule, obtained confirmation, and at the Council of Constance the separation of the Observantines was recognised. The Conventuals objected, and continued their opposition till Leo X. gave the Observantines the right to select a minister-general. The Observantines marked a revival of the Franciscans, and to them are to be added the Capuchins, Cordeliers, and Alcantarines. In spite of this revival, many of the Franciscans illustrated the immorality and ignorance, so prevalent in the Church, which necessitated the Reformation.

Literature.—Lives of Francis in *Acta Sanctorum*. *Speculum Perfectionis*, edited by Paul Sabatier, in *Collection de Documents pour l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, tom. i. *Speculum Vitæ S. Francisci et Sociorum Ejus*. *Fioretti di S. Francesco*. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*. Mrs. Oliphant, *Francis of Assisi*. Müller, *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens*. Thode, *Francis von Assisi*. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*. Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*. Herkless, *Francis and Dominic* (The World's Epoch-Makers). [J. H.]

FRONTAL.—The decorative cloth or embroidery which is suspended in front of the Lord's Table, in order to make it look like an altar. The colour of the frontal varies with the seasons according to the Missal of the Church of Rome. The colours used are generally white, red, violet, green, and black, but according to the old English use, blue, brown, grey, and yellow were also employed. See COLOURS.

FUNERAL CELEBRATIONS.—The object of the celebrations of the Holy Communion at funerals by the Ritualists. At the eighteenth anniversary of the C.B.S. 1880, in a paper read by Hon. C. Wood (now Lord Halifax), we read: "Are we troubled about those who in the shadow of death are awaiting the judgment? The blood of the Sacrifice reaches down to the prisoners of hope, and the dead as they are made to possess their old sins in the darkness of the grave, thank us as we offer *for them the Sacrifice which restores to light and immortality*." See PRAYERS FOR DEAD, PURGATORY.

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GALILEO.—Galileo had already a high place in the scientific world, when, in 1609, he was the first to turn a telescope on the heavens. All Europe soon rang with the news of the surprising announcements he was able to make, which entitled him to rank as the greatest philosopher of his age. The new facts thus brought to light speedily removed all doubts in Galileo's own mind as to the truth of the theory which Copernicus had put forward concerning the motion of the earth.

Galileo was a firm believer in the truth of Scripture, and as soon as he came to believe that the Copernican theory was true, he could not help also believing that it was not contrary to the Bible. Accordingly, in 1613, he wrote a letter, defending this view, to Castelli, who was Mathematical Professor at Pisa. He said that the Bible was beyond doubt infallible; but that though the Scripture could not err, its interpreters might. Clearly we are not to interpret every word of Scripture literally; for if so, we should have to attribute to God hands, feet, and ears, and human and bodily emotions, such as anger, repentance, and hatred. There were obvious reasons why, in speaking incidentally of the sun, or of the earth, or other created bodies, the Scriptures should conform to popular language. For had a different course been pursued, the vulgar would have been only perplexed, and have been rendered more difficult of persuasion in the articles concerning their salvation:—

"I believe that the intention of Holy Writ was to persuade men of the truths necessary to salvation, such as neither science nor other means could render credible, but only the voice of the Holy Spirit. But I do not think it necessary to believe that the same God who gave us our senses, our speech, our intellect, would have us put aside the use of these, to teach us instead such things as with their help we could find out for ourselves, particularly in the case of those sciences of which there is not the smallest mention in Scripture; and above all in astronomy, of which so little notice is taken, that none of the planets except the sun and moon, and once or twice only Venus, under the name of Lucifer, is so much as named there. Surely, if the intention of the sacred writers had been to teach the people astronomy, they would not have passed the subject over so completely."

This letter was the occasion of the first collision between Galileo and ecclesiastical authorities; for though it was a private letter, a copy fell (either through indiscretion or treachery), into the hands of Dominicans at Florence, one of whom denounced it to the Holy Office at Rome. And naturally it gave much offence that a layman should presume to teach theologians how to interpret Scripture.

It is a commonplace with Roman Catholic apologists to say that Galileo had only himself to blame for the trouble he got into, through, as one of them expresses it, poking his nose into what was other people's business. "Why did he not stick to his mathematics, and leave the interpretation of Scripture to theologians? He seemed determined to ruin himself. Had he not got a message from Cardinal Barberini (afterwards Pope Urban VIII.), telling him that he ought not to travel out of the limits of physics and mathematics, but confine himself to such reasonings as Ptolemy and Copernicus had used? Declaring the views of Scripture theologians maintain to be their own particular province." Cardinal Bellarmine also had said that if Galileo spoke with circumspection, and only as a mathematician, he would be put to no further trouble.

It is necessary to explain how a collision had been avoided before, and what was meant by saying that Galileo ought to speak "only as a mathematician." The reason why Copernican speculations about the earth's motion had been tolerated by ecclesiastics, while the writings of Galileo on the same subject were rigidly condemned, was that Galileo's predecessors, in order to avoid shocking existing prejudices, had taken some pains to represent the notion of the earth's motion, not as a true account of what actually takes place, but as a mathematical fiction imagined for the more convenient calculation of the places of the heavenly bodies. There is great virtue in an *if*. Theologians insisted in saying, without contradiction, that the earth does not move; but they had no objection to allow mathematicians to amuse themselves with the problem. *If* the earth and the planets went round the sun, what appearances would the planets on that hypothesis present? Galileo found that the answer to that question was, Exactly the appearances which we observe now; while, on the contrary, the observed appearances were not explained by the older theory. He could not then resist the conviction that the Copernican doctrine of the earth's motion was no mere mathematical fiction, but the absolute truth.

Holding this belief, how could he acquiesce in the conclusion that the Bible teaches the direct contrary? From the language used by Roman Catholic writers, one would imagine that Galileo had attempted to establish the earth's motion by an array of Bible texts, and to prove that the opposite doctrine was an anti-Scriptural heresy. Far from this, all he contended for was toleration for his own belief. He only endeavoured to make out that there was nothing in the Bible that forbade him to believe that the earth moved. And unless he imagined that the same thing could be scientifically true and theologically false, how was it possible for him, who believed that nothing false is taught as an article of faith in the Scriptures, when he had come to believe that the doctrine that the earth does not move is false, to avoid asserting that the doctrine that the earth is at rest is not taught in the Bible as an article of faith? Nothing is so puzzling as a real love of

truth to people who are not possessed of it themselves.

When Galileo's letter was brought under the notice of the Roman Inquisition there was great unwillingness to deal harshly with the philosopher, who was then at the height of his reputation, and who had many and powerful friends at Rome itself, where he had recently exhibited his telescope, amid general admiration. Now, in every criminal trial there are two questions—a question of law, and a question of fact. In the case of a trial for heresy, the question of fact is, What are the words which the accused person has spoken or written? the question of law is, Whether these words contain heresy. The practice of the Inquisition is only to deal directly with the question of fact; while the question of law is referred to a special Board of skilled theologians, under the title of *Qualifiers*, their business being to state the *quality* of the propositions submitted to them, and in particular whether or not they are heretical. The Inquisition was able to pronounce Galileo's acquittal on the question of fact. The document submitted to them only purported to be a copy of a letter written by Galileo; where was the original? It could not be produced. Hence the Inquisition were content, in the absence of positive evidence, to pronounce a verdict of Not Guilty; only they took care that the verdict should be, Not Guilty, but don't do it again.

They obtained a report from their "qualifiers," which ran in the following terms:—

1. The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable from its place is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Holy Scripture.

2. The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is also absurd, philosophically false, and theologically considered at least erroneous in faith.

Galileo was not required to make abjuration, or to do penance, because he had not been convicted of heresy; but, by order of the Holy Office, Cardinal Bellarmine summoned him before him, and admonished him in the name of the Pope and of the Holy Office, under pain of imprisonment, that he must give up the opinion that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth moves, and must not hold, teach it, or defend it either by word or writing, otherwise proceedings would be taken against him in the Holy Office. Galileo submitted, and promised to obey.

But it was not enough that Galileo should be personally warned against holding the heliocentric theory of the universe; the whole world must be similarly instructed, and this was done by another tribunal. On March 5, 1616, the Congregation of the Index, a Committee of Cardinals appointed by the Pope for the prevention of the circulation of dangerous books, published the following decree:—

"Since it has come to the knowledge of this Holy Congregation that the false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether opposed to the Divine Scripture, of the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun, which Nicolas Copernicus, in his work, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium*, and Didacus à Stunica in his Commentary on Job, teach, is being promulgated and accepted by many, as may be seen from a printed letter of a certain Carmelite Father (Foscarini), entitled, &c., wherein the said Father has attempted to show that the said doctrine is consonant to truth, and not opposed to Holy Scripture; therefore, lest this opinion insinuate itself further to the damage of Catholic truth, this congregation has decreed that the said books, Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus*, and Stunica on Job, be suspended till they are corrected, but that the book of Foscarini the Carmelite be altogether prohibited and condemned, and all other books that teach the same thing."

The Congregation of the Index continued its war on the Copernican theory for about two centuries. The Index of 1704 contains the comprehensive prohibition, "all books that teach the mobility of the earth, or the immobility of the sun." A striking proof that this prohibition did not remain a dead letter is afforded by the preface to what is commonly called the Jesuits' edition of Newton's *Principia*. Whether apprehensive that their own book might be placed on the Index, and its sale forbidden, or that they might suffer in some other way for the publication of a book so plainly teaching the mobility of the earth, they tender in the preface the following apology:—

"Newton, in this third book, supposes the motion of the earth. We could not explain the author's propositions otherwise than by making the same supposition. We are therefore forced to sustain a character which is not our own; but we profess to pay the obsequious reverence which is due to the decrees pronounced by the sovereign Pontiffs against the motion of the earth."

These prohibitions continued in force for a century longer. At the beginning of the last century the astronomer Lalande made great exertions at Rome to have the names of Galileo, Copernicus, and Foscarini removed from the Index; but in vain. Accordingly, the Index for 1828 contains the names of these

three culprits; but the prohibition against all books teaching the mobility of the earth was quietly dropped out of the later editions of the Index. It was only on the accession of Gregory XVI., the predecessor of Pius IX., that the important step was taken, and the attempt to insist on believing on the immobility of the earth was finally abandoned. For the first time for some two hundred years, an Index of prohibited books was published, in which no confession of previous error was made, but the names of Galileo, Copernicus, and Foscarini were silently withdrawn. Even then there were some at the Papal Court who regarded this as a weak-minded concession to modern prejudice.

To return to the history of Galileo. He went back to Florence much disheartened at the condemnation of the Copernican doctrines, but professing outward submission to the Papal decisions. It would be unreasonable to suppose that he accepted them in his heart; and we cannot help regarding as ironical some of the language he used. Thus, for instance, in a tract which he published on the motions of comets, he says: "Since the motion attributed to the earth, which I, as a pious and Catholic person, consider most false and not to exist, accommodates itself so well as to explain so many and such different phenomena, I shall not feel sure but that, false as it is, it may not just as deludingly correspond with the phenomena of comets." He preserved the same verbal conformity to the commands of his superiors in the work which he published in 1632, which was the cause of his subsequent troubles. He gave it the form of a dialogue, which enabled him to state the arguments on both sides without committing himself to an adoption of either; and he said that he proposed to discuss the Copernican system as a mere mathematical hypothesis, and to show, not its absolute truth, but its superiority to some bad arguments by which it had been assailed. The disguise, however, was found to be a little too thin. So the sale of the dialogue was forbidden, and a summons was served on Galileo, ordering him to appear before the Inquisition at Rome. He made every effort to escape obedience, pleading inability to undertake the journey (a more formidable business then than now) on account of his age (he was seventy) and the bad state of his health, and asking for at least a reprieve. His excuses were not accepted by the Pope, who said he might come in a litter if he pleased; but come he must. The Florentine Inquisitor visited Galileo, and found him confined to his bed, and professing himself unable to undertake the journey in his then state of health. A certificate was forwarded, signed by three of the most eminent medical men in Florence, to the effect that Galileo was suffering from hernia, and could not be moved without danger to his life. The answer from the Inquisition was, that if he did not come, the Pope and the Holy Office would send down a commissary and a physician of their own, whose expenses would have to be defrayed at Galileo's cost. If they should find him able to travel, they were at once to deprive him of his liberty, and send him up in irons; if they should find that the move would involve danger of life, they were to send him up bound and in irons as soon as the danger was over.

Under this persuasion Galileo was induced to face the journey to Rome, where he met with as much indulgence as the rules of the Inquisition permitted. Until personal examination was necessary, he was allowed to lodge in the Florentine ambassador's palace, but on condition that he was to observe strict seclusion, and receive the visits of none but intimate friends. When personal examination was necessary, the three or four weeks he spent within the walls of the Inquisition were not passed in any close or unwholesome dungeon, but in the apartments of the Fiscal of the Inquisition, where the attendance of his own servant was allowed him. Even this mitigated confinement had an unfavourable effect on his health.

The result of the trial is well known. Galileo pleaded in vain that he had not infringed the injunction laid on him by defending an opinion already condemned, and the condemnation of which had been made known to him. When he urged that he had left the question undetermined, and had only discussed the probability of the Copernican hypothesis, he was told that therein he had committed a grave error, for that an opinion can in no manner be probable which has already been declared and defined to be contrary to the Divine Scriptures. The Inquisitors were certainly justified by the evidence, when they arrived at the conclusion that there were very strong grounds for suspecting that Galileo held the heretical doctrine of the earth's motion, and also the heresy that an opinion can be held and defended as probable after it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture. Accordingly, in order to remove from the minds of all Catholic Christians this vehement suspicion legitimately conceived against him, he was ordered to swear that with a sincere heart and faith unfeigned he abjured, cursed, and detested the above-named and all other heresies; and to swear further that for the future he would not assert, either by word of mouth or in writing, anything to bring upon him similar suspicion. And in order that his grave and

pernicious error might not remain altogether unpunished, that he might be more cautious for the future, and be an example to others to abstain from offences of this sort, his book was prohibited by public edict; he was condemned to the prisons of the Holy Office during the Pope's pleasure, and was commanded for three weeks to recite the seven Penitential Psalms once a week.

Galileo made his abjuration accordingly, but for the remaining eight or nine years of his life never completely recovered his liberty; for though his confinement was as little disagreeable as such a thing could be, he was never permitted to have quite free intercourse with his friends. He was for five months a guest with the Archbishop of Siena; afterwards, when his residence in a city was thought to lead to a mischievous propagation of his opinions, he was allowed to reside in his own country-house, a little distance from Florence, but not to occupy his house in that city. He must remain in solitude, and neither invite nor receive guests for conference. When he asked special permission to go to Florence for medical advice, he was told that if he was troublesome the liberty he already enjoyed would be taken from him. At length he was once allowed to go. He was not permitted either to reprint his old books, or to print new ones. When he died, his power to make a will was disputed, and the question was raised whether his body might be placed in consecrated ground. That was decided in his favour; but when the Grand Duke proposed to raise a marble monument to him, he received a message from the Pope that such an intention, if carried out, would be most pernicious, and that he must remember that Galileo during his life had caused scandal to all Christendom by his false and damnable doctrine.

In considering Romanist apologies for the treatment of Galileo, I have chiefly in view one of the ablest, published in the *Clifton Tracts* in 1854, and founded on two articles, one in the *Dublin Review* for July 1838, the other in the *Rambler* for January 1852.

The apologist begins by informing us that Protestants (we are not told who) had asserted that Galileo had been kept for five years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, that he had been put on the rack, that his eyes had been put out by the cruel Inquisitors; whereas, his penance had been nothing more than the recital of the Penitential Psalms once a week, and his place of imprisonment only the Dominican Convent, where the officers of the Inquisition themselves resided, or the "delightful palace" of the Tuscan ambassador at Rome, and finally Galileo's country-place near Florence.

Although we accept the statement that Galileo was not put on the rack, it is right to mention that the point has been contested. It appears from the sentence on Galileo that his answers not being thought satisfactory, it was deemed necessary to proceed to a *rigoroso esame*, and it is sufficiently proved that in the language of the Inquisition this phrase meant an examination in which torture might be used. Torture was an established method with the Inquisition. It was used in secular courts at the time, and the Inquisition considered that they were less able than other Courts to dispense with it, because the offence of heresy being a secret one, residing in the mind alone, and therefore one which an accused person could easily deny, special means were necessary to elicit his real opinions. In the case, however, of children and very old persons a minor form of torture was commonly used, that of threatening torture; and accused persons in the hands of the Inquisition had good reason to take such threats very seriously. There is clear evidence that torture was threatened in Galileo's case; but, as far as we can judge, not good reason to think that it was actually used. But the point seems of quite small importance. The opinion expressed in Galileo's abjuration, that the doctrine of the earth's motion was false, was certainly not that with which he had entered the walls of the Inquisition; and the arguments which induced him to express a change of mind were certainly not addressed to his intellect.

The question, however, whether or not the Inquisitors dealt mildly with Galileo is irrelevant to the subject of this article. What we are concerned with is, Did the Inquisitors, acting under the Pope's authority, and with his personal concurrence, oblige Galileo to profess belief in what we now know to be false; and if so, how can Infallibility be claimed for an authority guilty of such a prodigious blunder? Our apologist contends that it was right to require a retractation, because the scientific arguments by which Galileo supported his opinion were not as good as have since been obtained on the same side; and that his doctrine being likely to prejudice in men's minds their respect for the Bible, he might properly be called on to condemn and renounce it, and declare it to be "false in the sense of unproved."

The Inquisitors did not claim to know more about scientific arguments than Galileo, but they did claim to know better than he how to interpret Scripture. Yet it turns out now that, with regard to the interpretation of Scripture, Galileo was right, and they were wrong. The condemnation of Galileo has been a good deal discussed with reference to the question of the Pope's personal infalli-

bility. But the question is much deeper, and affects the question of the Church's infallibility, speaking by no matter what organ. The Council of Trent declared that it is the province of Holy Mother Church to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Now there are many texts of Scripture which we hold that the Roman Church interprets wrongly; but we have no means of forcing her to own that we are right and she wrong. We have the means in the case of such texts as "He hath made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved."[1] From such texts it was inferred in the sixteenth century that the physical fact of the immobility of the earth was a revealed truth. Every one entitled to speak on behalf of 'Holy Mother Church' asserted it. If general consent, universal long tradition, absence of opposing view, can prove any interpretation of Scripture to be lawfully imposed by the head of the Church, this certainly was so. And yet it has now to be confessed that that interpretation was wrong. It must be owned, therefore, that whatever respect the Church may claim when she interprets Scripture, she is not infallible, and that the Church of a more learned age may wisely review and correct the decisions of its predecessors.

Yes; but it will be said that the Church's infallibility when she interprets Scripture is limited to questions of faith and morals, and that the question of the earth's mobility is not one of faith. But this is to accuse the heads of the Church in Galileo's time of a far graver mistake. It is surely a less error to decide a question that belongs to your province wrongly, than not to know what belongs to your province, and what does not. If modern apologists are right, the Church in Galileo's time not only was wrong in pronouncing it to be heresy to hold that the earth went round the sun; but was utterly wrong in imagining that either of the opinions—the sun goes round the earth, or the earth goes round the sun—possibly could be heresy, the whole subject being outside the domain with which faith has to deal. On the contrary, the Church in Galileo's time held that it was of faith to maintain the absolute correctness of everything asserted in express words of Scripture, and that the doctrine of the earth's fixity was so asserted.

It remains to discuss how the condemnation of Galileo directly affects the question of Papal infallibility. It is certain that the decrees of the Inquisition and of the Congregation of the Index expressed the sentiments of the individual Pope who was the prime mover in the whole business, and who even personally presided at some of the meetings. But on various pleas it has been contended that the tribunal which published the decrees was not the Pope *speaking infallibly*. That he did not speak infallibly then, we need not dispute; but if he did not speak infallibly then, it will be impossible to know that he ever speaks infallibly.

We need not then tarry over the plea that either Paul in 1616, or Urban in 1633, erred but only as a private doctor, not as a Pope speaking *ex cathedra*. With regard to the question when the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*, the only rational distinction is between his official and non-official utterances. We do not hold the Papacy responsible for everything Urban may have said in conversation with Galileo, but in all the transactions which we are discussing it is clear that neither Urban nor Paul acted as a private doctor, but as Pope. It is said, however, that the Pope is both teacher and governor of the Church, and that though infallible as teacher, he may err in the steps he takes as governor, for the preservation of the Church's discipline. But when the punishment of heresy is concerned, it is impossible to separate the Pope's disciplinary from his teaching power. It may be assumed as certain that the Pope would not punish a man for heresy without having first ascertained that the doctrine which he held was heresy; and the Pope could not teach the world more distinctly that a certain doctrine is heretical than by setting the example of punishing a man for holding it.

Neither need we linger over a plea in which some Romanists find much comfort, that the condemnation of Galileo does not contain what is called the customary clause of Papal confirmation at the end. We may be sure that Paul V. did not knowingly omit anything necessary to give validity to his sentence; and the fact is, that the "custom" in question has come in since Paul's time, and that this clause does not appear in previous decrees of the Congregation of the Index.

Sixtus V. appointed fifteen Congregations of Cardinals, assigning to each its proper function, but with the limitation "that they refer to us all the more important and difficult matters under consideration." It is now customary that the secretary of the Congregation should

[1] The Prayer Book Version of Psalm xciii. 2 is: "He hath made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved." But as Driver (*The Parallel Psalter*) well remarks, "The reference is not to the physical globe (the 'round world')." The Authorised Version and the Revised Version, and the New Version of Driver all render correctly, "the world is established that it cannot be moved."—EDD.

certify when a matter has been thus referred to the Pope; but clearly the only important question is whether the matter has been thus referred, and not whether the secretary has certified it. Such a certificate was certainly not necessary in the case of the Holy Office, the highest of all the Congregations, having jurisdiction over every member of the Church of whatever rank. On account of its supreme importance, the Pope was wont to be its president, and the votes to be taken in his presence; so that no important decree could go forth without having been first submitted to the Pope. The Pope indisputably did thus take part in the decision in Galileo's case.

Assuredly Galileo and the Copernicans of his day were not allowed to suppose that to persist in their heresy would be to resist anything short of infallible wisdom. They were pressed with the words of the bull of Sixtus V., by which the Congregation of the Index was remodelled: "They are to examine and expose the books which are repugnant to the Catholic doctrines and Christian discipline, and after reporting them to us, they are to condemn them *by our authority*." (See INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.) What was done by the Inquisition in Galileo's case was not a mere verdict on a matter of fact on which the judges might pardonably go wrong, but it was the decision by the Pope's authority on a question of doctrine. Pope Urban made that decision his own by directing (in 1633), that *in order that these things might be known to all*, copies of the sentence on Galileo were to be transmitted to all Apostolic Nuncios, and all Inquisitors of heretical pravity, especially the Florentine Inquisitors. These were to summon the professors of mathematics, and to read the sentence for their instruction. This sentence refers to the interference of the Congregation of the Index as made "to the end that so pernicious a doctrine" as the Copernican "might be altogether taken away and spread no further to the heavy detriment of Catholic truth." It states that the Congregation was held in the Pope's presence in which Galileo was ordered to give up this false opinion. It relates that Galileo had been formally made acquainted with "the declaration made by our Lord the Pope, and promulgated by the Sacred Congregation of the Index," the tenor whereof is that the doctrine of the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun is contrary to the sacred Scriptures, and therefore can neither be defended nor held. It may be added that the desired Papal confirmation in express terms was given by a later Pope, Alexander VII., in 1664, who republished and confirmed the previous decrees with the words, "Cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis, auctoritate Apostolica tenore presentium confirmamus et approbamus." We recommend, therefore, Roman apologists to consider again whether it may not be possible to maintain that the sun actually does go round the earth, this being in our judgment quite as hopeful a line of defence as to deny that successive Popes officially asserted that it does.

To conclude, then, the history of Galileo makes short work of the question: Is it possible for the Church of Rome to err in her interpretation of Scripture, or to mistake in what she teaches to be an essential part of the Christian faith? She *can* err, for she *has* erred. She has made many errors more dangerous to the souls of men, but never committed any blunder more calculated to throw contempt on her pretensions in the minds of all thinking men, than when she persisted for about two hundred years in teaching that it was the doctrine of the Bible, and therefore an essential part of the Catholic faith, that the earth stands still, and that the sun and planets revolve daily round it.—Extracted by permission from Dr. Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*. [G. S.]

GALLICANISM.—The Four Gallican Propositions of 1682, drawn up by the celebrated Bossuet, are as follows: (1) The first declared that the power possessed by Peter and his successors was in things spiritual, not in things temporal, in accordance with the texts, "My kingdom is not of this world;" "Render unto Cæsar," &c.; "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Consequently, kings are not, by the law of God, subject to any ecclesiastical power with respect to their temporal government, nor can their subjects be released from the duty of obeying them, nor absolved from their oath of allegiance. (2) The second defined the power of the Pope in things spiritual, viz., as such that the decrees of the Council of Constance, approved as they are by the Holy See and the practice of the whole Church, remain in full force and perpetual obligation; and it declared that these decrees must not be depreciated as insufficiently approved, or as restricted to a time of schism. These decrees declared that a general Council, legitimately assembled, derives its authority immediately from Christ [and therefore not from the Pope], and that every person of what dignity soever, *even Papal*, is bound to obey it in what relates to the faith, or to the extirpation of schism, or to the reformation of the Church in its head and members. These decrees were absolutely necessary at the time. The object was to heal the schism, there being then three claimants of the Popedom; and although the whole Christian world longed for an end to the schism, all the claimants had

shown great reluctance to a voluntary resignation. The Council deposed all three, and elected a new Pope; but since each of the candidates had some who believed him to be the real Pope, it is evident the act of the Council could not meet with universal recognition unless it was maintained that the Council had an authority higher than the Papal, and was able even to depose a real Pope if the good of the Church required it. (3) The third Gallican decree declared that the exercise of the Apostolic authority must be regulated by the canons enacted by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world; in particular that the ancient rules, customs, and institutions of the realm and Church of France must remain inviolable. (4) The fourth, that though the Pope has the principal power in deciding questions of faith, and though his decrees extend to all Churches, nevertheless his judgment is not irreversible until confirmed by the consent of the Church. Thus these decrees took away altogether the Pope's temporal power over countries of which he was not the civil sovereign; in spiritual things they limited his disciplinary power by general and local canons; even in matters of faith they held that his decisions needed to be ratified by universal consent.

A point has been made by a Roman Catholic controversialist who wrote in answer to Janus, that the French bishops were not unanimous on this occasion. But the fact is, that the chief opposition Bossuet encountered was from those who went farther than himself in denying the prerogatives of Rome. His chief opponent, the Bishop of Tournay, held that the Apostolic See was liable to fall into heresy. Bossuet's own opinion was that, though individual Popes might be carried away by some temporary blast of false doctrine, the See would never fall permanently into misbelief, as some Eastern Sees had done, but that by the interposition of right-thinking people, either the erring Pope himself or his successors would be brought back to the true faith. In this way the fall of Liberius or the monothelism of Honorius presented no difficulty to his theory.

Though the four Gallican propositions expressed the real opinion of the French Church, yet but for Court pressure Bossuet and his colleagues would not have engaged in the controversy with Rome which the act of formulating these propositions involved. And this was one cause of the want of permanence of Gallicanism, that so much of its strength consisted in the Royal support; or rather that the contest was not so much one between the French nation and a foreign power as between the King and the Pope, which of the two should have the filling up of livings and so forth. It was exactly in the same way that Henry VIII. gave a national character to what may also be represented as a conflict in which only his personal interests were involved. It is evident that in such a conflict, if the king failed to persuade the nation that his interests were theirs—if, for instance, his appointments to offices were not made to deserving men—then really religious men would be indifferent to a contest which they might look on as one between a self-seeking king and a self-seeking foreign bishop; and they would be on the side of the bishop if they thought his government on the whole likely to be guided by higher aims. On these grounds, much as we are inclined to sympathise with the anti-papalism of the Gallican bishops, it is doubtful whether these hangers-on of the Court of Louis XIV. really carried the religious mind of the nation with them. The doctrine, however, was no new invention of theirs; it but stated the tradition of the Gallican Church, which had been expressed on many former occasions.

Ultimately the dispute between Louis and the Pope was settled. The king withdrew measures he had taken for enforcing the Gallican declaration in his dominions, and the bishops seeking consecration were allowed to say that they were sorry it had been made, which did not at all imply that they believed it was not true. A great magazine of arguments in this controversy is the book which Bossuet wrote in defence of the Gallican declaration. It was more than once withheld from publication by the royal authority, lest it should impede the desired reconciliation with Rome, and was not actually published until after Bossuet's death.

The subsequent history of Gallicanism will not take long to state. The fruits of the zeal of Louis in suppressing heresy showed themselves after his death. The Jansenists, whom it had been the work of his life to put down, whatever may have been their doctrinal errors, were some of the holiest and best men in his kingdom. (See JANSENISTS.) Much of true religion was lost to France by the driving out of the Huguenots (see HUGUENOTS); and Christianity, represented in that kingdom by its most superstitious form, revolted the philosophic and enlightened. The principle of blind submission to authority was found to be too weak to maintain the hearty faith of the people, and a great wave of infidelity swept over the land. In an early stage of the revolutionary troubles an attempt was made to maintain a national Church in France, though robbed of the greater part of its worldly wealth. A new distribution of sees was made: bishops were to be elected by their flocks, and were to seek for no institution from

the Pope, but merely notify to him the fact of their appointment. By a very unwise step on the part of the framers of this new constitution, all the clergy were required to swear their acceptance, and a number of the most respected refused. Thereupon ensued an immediate schism between the constitutional clergy and the non-jurors; and as in the progress of events the leaders of the revolutionary party showed more and more hostility to religion, so the respect of religious men refused to attach itself to the constitutional clergy, who were found in alliance with deists and atheists.

When the first Napoleon discerned the political necessity of coming to terms with Christianity, he saw that an agreement with the Pope afforded him the only practical means. Even more than Louis XIV., Napoleon sought to make himself absolute over Church and State in France, and he thought that if he could make the Pope absolute over the French clergy he could direct the Pope as he pleased. The Pope proved less flexible than Napoleon had anticipated, but in the first stage of the reconciliation his help was absolutely necessary, and was given. The terms of a new Episcopate were arranged, into which survivors both of the constitutional clergy and of the non-jurors were to be admitted. But however desirable this reconciliation was in every way to the cause of the Church in France, it involved a complete abandonment of Gallican principles. For it was by the Pope's authority that the existing bishops were forced to resign and a new distribution of sees effected. This course of events produced a natural reaction in France in favour of Ultramontanism, all the abominations and impieties of republican fanaticism being imputed, however unjustly, to the opposite system. This reaction found an eloquent representative in the Count Joseph de Maistre, whose writings exercised a prodigious influence in France; so that the dying away of Gallicanism in its birthplace and stronghold seemed to make things easy for its formal condemnation by Pius IX.

In Ireland, before the establishment of Maynooth, Irish priests commonly got their education in Continental schools where Gallican principles predominated, and so imported them into this country. At Maynooth itself French text-books were used. In the agitation for Emancipation a prevalent argument against granting it was that Roman Catholics could not be loyal subjects, since they would serve two masters, or rather indeed only one, inasmuch as they must obey the Pope if he forbade them to obey their sovereign. In reply to this, great pains were taken by the advocates for Emancipation to show that Irish Roman Catholics did not believe in the Pope's power to release subjects from their allegiance, and that the Ultramontane doctrine of the Papal power was not recognised as any part of the doctrine of their Church. The Irish Roman Catholic bishops were examined before a Parliamentary Committee, and gave evidence which was afterwards cited by the American bishop Kenrick, himself an Irishman, at the Vatican Council. As a sample of their evidence, it is sufficient to give Archbishop Murray's answer to the question whether the Irish bishops had adopted or rejected what are called the Gallican liberties. He said, "These liberties have not come under their consideration as a body. The Irish Catholic bishops have therefore not either adopted or rejected them. They have adopted, however, and that on their oaths, the leading doctrines which these liberties contain; that is, the doctrines which reject the deposing power of the Popes and their right to interfere with the temporalities of princes. That is distinctly recognised; not as one of the Gallican liberties, but as a doctrine which the Gospel teaches." Bishop Doyle said that if the Pope were to intermeddle with the temporal rights of the king, they would oppose him even by the exercise of their spiritual authority; that is, as he explained it, by preaching the Gospel to the people, and instructing them, in such a case, to oppose the Pope. Besides this repudiation of the temporal power of the Pope, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops declared their opinion that the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters was limited by the Canons and by the Councils, and they swore, as they could then with truth, that the doctrine of the Pope's personal infallibility was no part of the Christian faith. Soon after they gave a practical proof of their independence of the Pope; for when a negotiation between the Pope and the English Government resulted in an agreement that, as a condition of Emancipation, the English Government should be given a veto on the nomination to Irish bishoprics, the Irish bishops remonstrated with the Pope in such strong terms that the project had to be abandoned.—Extracted by permission from Dr. Salmon's work on *The Infallibility of the Church*, 2nd edit. 1890 (pp. 264–68).[1] [G. S.]

[1] It should be noted that although there was among the Irish Roman Catholic clergy at the time above referred to, a disposition to uphold Gallican principles to a certain extent, matters have long since been completely changed. All the text books which contained any leanings in that direction have been struck out of the *Maynorth Calendar*. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, is completely under Jesuit influence—Gallicanism, both in France and Ireland, has for a long time been a thing of the past.—EDD.

GEHENNA.—See HELL.

GENUFLEXION.—This is defined in *The Congregation in Church* as "a temporary bending of the knee as distinguished from actual kneeling." It is frequent in Roman Catholic worship. Genuflexions are mostly made towards the "altar," for the purpose of adoring Christ supposed to be "present" in the consecrated Host or Elements. "A double genuflexion," *i.e.* one of both knees—"is made on entering or leaving a church where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed." No such genuflexions are directed in the Book of Common Prayer or in Holy Scripture. See BOWING.

GIRDLE.—The Girdle in the Roman Church is a white cord used to confine the alb at the waist. It is sometimes furnished with three knots, signifying the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and is often explained as representing the cord by which Christ was bound in the Garden.

GLEBE (Lat. *gleba*, a clod, soil).—Originally, soil. The technical name for land belonging to a benefice. Such land may be, under certain conditions, sold, or exchanged for other land. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*)

GLORIA PATRI.—This is the Latin name for the Doxology. It is of frequent occurrence in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church of England, being used at the end of every Psalm, and at other points of the service. The American Church uses the *Gloria Patri* once at the end of all the Psalms appointed for morning or evening prayer. A proposal to this effect with regard to the English Liturgy was made in 1689, but was not adopted.

GNOSTICISM, from the Greek *gnosis* (knowledge), derived its name from the fact that those to whom the name of Gnostic was applied, claimed to know the truth. It was a mixture of Judaism, Christianity, Platonic and Greek Philosophy, combined with ideas and conceptions largely drawn from the East. The general features of Gnosticism were:

1. That God lived in the Pleroma, or fulness of light.

2. From the Pleroma there emanated a number of æons, or spiritual beings, of which Christ was one.

3. The particular work which Christ performed on earth was the deliverance of mankind from the power of a lesser Being, styled the Demiurge, or Creator.

4. Matter produced by the Creator was essentially evil, being the work of an evil Being.

It was supposed by some of them that the divine emanation descended on the man Jesus at His baptism, and deserted Him at His crucifixion. Others of them believed that Christ merely assumed the appearance of a body, and did not take to Himself a real body of flesh and blood, on account of matter being, according to the Gnostic doctrine, essentially evil.

Thus, by the teaching of Gnosticism, Christ was neither "perfect God," but only an emanation from God, nor was He "perfect man," because He had not a real human body. Gnosticism was the earliest form of Rationalism.

[E. A. W.]

GODFATHERS and GODMOTHERS.—See SPONSORS.

GOOD FRIDAY.—The Friday before Easter Day, so called because it commemorates the day on which our Lord suffered death upon the cross. It is strange that it has now become unusual to have the Lord's Supper administered on Good Friday, although St. Chrysostom mentions consecrating on that day, and it was general in the Church of England up to very recent times. The mass doctors say that as Christ is there Himself offering sacrifice the Church should forbear from doing so. But such an argument would surely tell in favour of the abolition of all such pretended sacrifices. The Church of England provides special Collects, Epistle and Gospel for the day, and the religious observance of Good Friday, apart from superstition, seems proper and desirable. See ADORATION OF THE CROSS.

GOOD WORKS.—Acts of Christian piety which spring from faith in Christ, are pleasing and acceptable unto God, and will in the end receive "great recompense of reward," even that "crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give . . . in that day . . . unto all them . . . that love His appearing" (2 Tim. iv. 8). In this both Romanists and Protestants are fully agreed. But the point on which they fundamentally differ, is that the Romanist declares that good works may even in certain cases be works of supererogation, *i.e.* works in excess of that obedience which it is the bounden duty of man to render to God; and that all good works merit reward, and grace of congruity, and even satisfy for sin. See *Cat. Concil. Trident.*, ii. v., quæst. lxvii. (Donovan's English translation, or in other editions, *quæst.* cii.) The Protestant doctrine, on the other hand, maintains that good works can *never merit* reward, or further grace, at the hands of God, but that whatever spiritual assistance or recompense He is pleased to vouchsafe, is bestowed not of debt, but of God's free grace and mercy. The Church of Rome, moreover, teaches that the excess of merit obtained by supererogatory works accumulates into a kind of deposit, which, by his use of "the power of the keys," the Pope can dispense to

the faithful by way of indulgences, and for the remission of temporal punishment. By retaining indulgences in the Church the Council of Trent necessarily admits the existence of good works in a supererogatory sense.

Nothing in the *earliest* Fathers bears much upon the latter subject, except that some of them attached undue importance to martyrdom and virginity, and it was from a belief in the merits of martyrdom and voluntary celibacy and poverty—"counsels of perfection," as they were called, in order to distinguish them from precepts of obedience—that, in process of time, the doctrine of works of supererogation grew up. In the fourth and fifth centuries there is no lack of Patristic testimony against such a doctrine. Ambrose (A.D. 394–397) asks, "What can we do worthy of the heavenly rewards?" (on Psalm cxviii.). "Everlasting rest," writes Basil (A.D. 370–379) "is laid up for them that strive lawfully in this life, not to be rendered according to the debt of works, but vouchsafed according to the grace of a bountiful God to those who hope in Him" (on Psalm cxiv.). Jerome (A.D. 331–420) writes, "If we consider our own merits we must despair" (on Isa. lxiv.). Augustine (A.D. 387–430), Rome's great authority, writes, "We hold God our debtor. How? Because of His promises. We say not to God, 'Pay what Thou hast received,' but 'Pay what Thou hast promised'" (on Psalm lxxxiii.). The Holy Scriptures contain many passages at variance with the doctrine of supererogation, and entirely inconsistent with it. The Word of God "concludes all under sin," declaring that "there is none that doeth good, no not one" (Psalm xiv. 3), that "in many things we all offend" (James iii. 2), and that "if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves" (1 John i. 8). It is therefore clear that no man can be so perfectly holy as not only to fulfil the whole of God's will, but even to exceed it. And even were such a thing as absolute sinlessness in thought and deed possible for man, yet our Lord teaches us that even so perfect an obedience would leave us undeserving of a reward. "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do" (Luke xvii. 10). This is the view of Article XIV. of the Church of England.

Some think that Christ spoke in solemn irony, for when can we truly say, "We have done that which was our duty to do"? But even if we could render perfect obedience to all the divine precepts, we should be unprofitable, and so merit merely exemption from punishment, and not reward. The idea of a common treasury by means of which the excess of holiness of some may supply the deficiency of holiness of others, is contrary to the parable of the Ten Virgins, in which the wise virgins could spare no oil for the foolish. Moreover, the standard of holiness is the All Holy God Himself, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 48). Unless, therefore, a man become as perfect as God, he cannot be said to have rendered a perfect obedience to the precepts of the Gospel. The whole idea of works of supererogation rests upon a false view of the principle of obedience in man. Christian obedience is not viewed in Scripture in the light of a task of so much work to be completed for so much payment. It was in answer to St. Peter's question, "What shall we have therefore?" (Matt. xix. 27) that our Lord uttered the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, to show "that God is debtor unto no man." Rewards in Christ's kingdom are of grace, not of debt. Christian obedience is not the task-work of a slave, but the freedom of a son, and springs from a true faith and a holy love. The Articles XII., XIII., XIV. of the Church of England treat this subject sufficiently. See INDULGENCES.

[M. E. W. J.]

GORHAM CASE, THE.—According to the judgment of the Privy Council in the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, the validity of the doctrine of the conditional (or hypothetical) regeneration of infants in baptism was declared consistent with the teaching of the Church of England. The Gorham Case proved to be one of far-reaching importance in the history of the Church of England. It was the first great decision on a doctrinal question since the Reformation, and though its effects were minimised by the leaders and sympathisers of the then incipient Tractarian Movement, the decision of the Court was nevertheless viewed by them as a serious blow to their theory of Sacramental Grace. The circumstances of the case were as follows.

The Rev. Geo. Cornelius Gorham, B.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and a clergyman of over thirty years' standing, incurred, when vicar of St. Just, Cornwall, the displeasure of his diocesan, Bishop Henry Phillpots of Exeter, on account of certain phrases, such as "National Establishment," used by him in a circular relating to a new church in Pendeen, and in advertising for a curate "free from Tractarian Error." The vicar, on his part, protested against the bishop's determination to institute a particular inquiry into any curate nominated by him. This was the first indication of that friction which developed into a serious and protracted controversy. In 1847 Lord Chancellor Cottenham offered Mr.

Gorham the living of Brampford Speke in the same diocese. The required signatures of three beneficed clergymen were, on his acceptance of the offer, appended to the Letters Testimonial. These, on being submitted to the bishop for his counter-signature, were endorsed to the effect that he must conscientiously withhold his signature, inasmuch as he considered that the affixing of his name would imply his personal belief that the party to whom it relates had not held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, and that his own experience attested that Mr. Gorham did hold, write, and maintain what was contrary to the discipline of the said Church. This drew forth a remonstrance from Mr. Gorham. The bishop refused to alter his determination. The Lord Chancellor, on being appealed to, ordered the Presentation to be made out, which was done on November 2nd. Mr. Gorham in due course applied to the bishop for institution. That application led to a correspondence which resulted in the signification of the bishop's intention to test the presentee's soundness as to doctrine by examination. This examination began on November 17, 1847, lasting six days in spite of Mr. Gorham's protest against its continuance, "on the ground that his doctrine had been sufficiently tested, and that the examination was becoming over-minute and inquisitorial." Notwithstanding, for three days in the following March (1848) it was resumed, and finally terminated on the 11th of that month. The examination was conducted partly by written questions and partly *viva voce*. When the latter method was used, the bishop's chaplain and Mr. Gorham took down both question and answer. The whole examination was eventually published by Mr. Gorham, and acknowledged to be correct by the bishop, who subsequently incorporated the book in his Act of Petition to the Court of Arches. No less than 149 questions were put at this examination, most of which were answered by Mr. Gorham, while some were declined on the ground of irrelevancy.

To Questions V., VI., and VII., which were to the effect, "Does the Church hold, and do you hold, that every infant lawfully baptized is by God made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven—that such infants are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, and received by the laver of regeneration into the number of the children of God?" Mr. Gorham replied that these propositions being stated in the words of the Book of Common Prayer must be held to contain nothing contrary to the Word of God or to sound doctrine, "and therefore may be deemed to be fairly defensible, if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority." (See Preface to Book of Common Prayer.)

"Just and favourable construction" of passages like these must be sought, argued Mr. Gorham, (1) by bringing them into juxtaposition with the precise and dogmatical teaching of the Church in her explicit standard of doctrine, the XXXIX. Articles; (2) by comparing the various parts of her Formularies with each other; (3) by ascertaining the views of those by whom her services were reformed and her Articles sanctioned.

The real point involved in these questions was the efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism, not merely in infants, but in adults, and that question could not, he argued, be fairly dissevered from the efficacy of the other Sacrament, that of the Lord's Supper. (See Article XXIX.)

The Articles were cited as teaching that, in addition to right administration of both sacraments, "worthy reception" is essential to their becoming "effectual signs of grace." No distinction is made in this respect between adults and infants. "They that *receive* baptism *rightly* (*recte baptismum suscipientes*, *i.e.* not merely by lawful administration, but by worthy reception) are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sins and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed."

Such, Mr. Gorham contended, is the doctrine of the Articles on the efficacy of both Sacraments—where there is no worthy reception, there is no bestowal of grace.

The Formularies fairly construed are consistent with the Articles. In the Catechism "the inward and spiritual grace" is carefully distinguished from "the outward and visible sign" which is its token, pledge, and manifestation when rightly received. The conditions of "repentance and faith" are expressly required even of infants, who must enter into these stipulations by their representatives. Faith and repentance are declared by the adult in his own person, and are stipulated by the infant through his sponsors as dispositions which exist, or shall hereafter exist, in the mind of the candidate. The whole Baptismal Service, therefore, is constructed on the assumption that these promises are sincere, and are pledged on behalf of the infant by its sponsors as conditions which should be forthcoming in the mind of the candidate for baptism. In this charitable hope the Formularies of the Church affirm that the subject of baptism is "a member of Christ, the child of

God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven" (Question V.).

Question VI. In the same strain of charitable hypothesis it is affirmed that infants "so baptized," namely, not merely according to the institution of Christ, but, with "the stipulation (the answer) of a good conscience towards God," are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost; (Question VII.) it being impossible that such dispositions and fruits should exist, except when the Holy Ghost has imparted a new nature, which He may do before baptism, in baptism, or after baptism, "as He listeth."

The examination resulted in the refusal on the part of the bishop to institute Mr. Gorham, on the ground of the unsoundness of the doctrines enunciated by him.

In compelling the bishop by legal proceedings to grant institution, the form known as *Duplex Querula* was adopted, which consisted of a complaint tendered to the archbishop against his Ordinary for some alleged denial of justice. The Dean of Arches (Sir H. J. Fust) issued a monition to the bishop to institute Mr. Gorham within fifteen days, or show cause for refusing; institution to be proceeded with by default. The bishop responded by what is called an "Act on Petition," in which he included the book published by Mr. Gorham containing a detailed account of his examination. The bishop expressed himself convinced that Mr. Gorham was of unsound doctrine in respect to the efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism, inasmuch as he held that spiritual regeneration is not given or conferred in that Holy Sacrament. This elicited a defensive rejoinder from Mr Gorham. The case came on for hearing in the Arches Court in February 1849, and judgment was given in the following August in favour of the bishop. Sir H. J. Fust concluded his judgment by stating that "the doctrine of the Church of England undoubtedly is that children baptized are regenerated at baptism, and are undoubtedly saved if they die without committing actual sin. Mr. Gorham has maintained, and does maintain, opinions opposed to that Church of which he professes himself a member and a minister."

From the decision of the Court of Arches Mr. Gorham appealed to her Majesty in Council. The case came on for hearing on Appeal, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, December 11, 1849. The appellant's points, as put by his Counsel, were principally these: The Articles are the Code of Doctrine in the Church of England, the Prayer Book the Code of Devotion. It is not imputed to Mr. Gorham that he holds anything inconsistent with the Articles, but that he holds doctrine inconsistent with opinions gathered by the bishop inferentially from the Services of the Church. The doctrine which Mr. Gorham is alleged to contradict may be stated as that of unconditional regeneration in baptism, which is substantially the same as that *opus operatum* of the Council of Trent, which Article XXV. condemns, as is shown by the version of that Article in the edition of 1552 (their Article XXVI.), where the words used were "and in such only as worthily receive the same, have they a wholesome effect, and that not on account of the work wrought, "*idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato.*" The present Article XXV., though leaving out the particular words *ex opere operato*, as effectually condemns the idea of unconditional grace. The question is not whether the doctrine of Mr. Gorham is laid down in the Articles, but whether it is tenable consistently with them.

A true view of the baptismal services shows that they all admit of explanation on that same charitable hypothesis which is confessedly the true explanation in the service for adult baptism, and which charitable hypothesis necessarily pervades the entire Prayer Book from Morning Prayer onward to the close.

Mr. Gorham, on his part, denied the allegation of the bishop that he maintained, or had at any time maintained, unsound doctrine respecting the efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism, or that he had held, or persisted in holding, any opinions thereon at variance with the plain teaching of the Church of England in her Articles and Liturgy.

The construction put upon Mr. Gorham's doctrine by the Judicial Committee was as follows:—

"Baptism is a Sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but the grace of regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of baptism that regeneration invariably takes place in baptism; that the grace may be granted before, in, or after baptism; that baptism is an effectual sign of grace, by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it—in them alone it has a wholesome effect; and that without reference to the qualification of the recipient, it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace. That infants baptized, and dying before actual sin, are certainly saved; but that in no case is regeneration in baptism unconditional."

The concluding words of the judgment given in the Court of Appeal, reversing that of the Court of Arches, are as follows:—

"The judgment of their lordships is, that the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham is not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established, and that Mr. Gorham ought not, by

reason of the doctrine held by him, to have been refused admission to the vicarage of Brampford Speke. We shall therefore humbly report to her Majesty that the sentence pronounced by the learned Judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury ought to be reversed, and that it ought to be declared that the respondent, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, has not shown sufficient cause why he did not institute Mr. Gorham to the said vicarage.

"We shall humbly advise her Majesty to remit the cause with that declaration to the Arches Court of Canterbury, to the end that right and justice may be done in this matter pursuant to the said declaration" (March 8, 1850).

As the result of this judgment, the Dean of Arches, acting for the archbishop, duly instituted Mr. Gorham to the living of Brampford Speke.

Literature.—Brodrick and Fremantle's *Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*, London, 1865. Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Bishop of Exeter, 91 pp., London, 1850. By the same to the Churchwardens of the Parish of Brampford Speke. A Pastoral Letter by the Bishop of Exeter to his Clergy on "The Present State of the Church," 126 pp., London, 1851. This last contains an Address of sympathy from thirty-seven ministers in Prussia. J. B. Mozley, *Review of the Baptismal Controversy*, new edition, 1895, and his *Primitive Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration*, 1856. Among Mr. Gorham's publications relating to the case, the following may be quoted: "Examination before Admission to a Benefice, by the Bishop of Exeter, followed by Refusal to Institute," London. This is the book mentioned as having been filed in the *Register of the Court of Arches*. The Rev. W. Goode issued a remarkable pamphlet by way of comment on the Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Primate above mentioned, 107 pp. [W. H. W.]

GOSPEL.—This is derived from two Anglo-Saxon words, *god* (good), and *spell* (news), and therefore is equivalent to the Greek term "good tidings." The complete revelation of the goodness of God was reserved until in the fulness of time the Lord Jesus Christ appeared. It is in His Person and work that God's way of salvation, through faith in Him, was made known to men. In that revelation we discover four cardinal and essential features. (1) His Incarnation, by which God was manifested in human nature, as full of grace and truth. (2) His atoning Sacrifice on the Cross, by which the barrier between God and sinners was removed, and their reconciliation made possible. (3) His Resurrection, by which that Atonement was sealed and ratified, followed by His Ascension in our nature to the right hand of God, there to plead the sacrifice offered upon the cross, and to pour down the gifts and graces of His Holy Spirit. (4) His second coming in power and glory to set up His kingdom upon earth, to gather His living saints to Himself, to raise from death those who are asleep in Jesus, and then finally to call all the buried myriads of mankind from their graves and to judge the quick and the dead, thus to effect the final triumph of good over evil. Such in the main is the Gospel message on its historical side, and because it is such, it is the "power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." [W. B.]

GRACE (χάρις, *charis*).—A term of frequent occurrence in the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, in which it occupies a very important place. Without a proper understanding of the import of this word, we can never make any satisfactory progress in the knowledge of the Bible, or, indeed, comprehend the general design of divine revelation. Owing partly to the variety of application of the term "grace," and partly to its familiar and careless use in religious conversation, a good deal of indefinite, if not confused, thought exists. Consequently it will be necessary to enter somewhat into details in treating this subject.

Before considering our main topic, namely its special Christian aspect, it will be useful to notice its various applications. The word χάρις (*charis*) is connected with χαίρω (*chairo*) "rejoice," and it has five meanings.

1. It signifies, according to its etymology, that which causes pleasure or joy, *outward grace* (as we say well or ill-*favoured*), *loveliness*, *agreeableness*, *acceptableness*. "All bare him witness, and wondered at the *gracious* words" (A.V.) *i.e.* "words of grace" (R.V.) λόγοι χάριτος (the genitive of quality) Luke iv. 22. "Let your speech be always with *grace*," *i.e.* with all pleasantness (Col. iv. 6.) See also Eph. iv. 29, though possibly the meaning is different there.

2. It signifies *favour*, *goodwill*. "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God." χάριν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, there where God is, *i.e.* God's favour (Luke i. 30). "And the child grew and waxed strong, filled with wisdom, and the *grace* of God was upon him" (Luke ii. 40). "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in *favour* with God and men" (Luke ii. 52). See also Acts ii. 47; vii. 46 ("favour in the sight of God" contrast "favour with God," Luke i. 30; ii. 52). "Desiring to gain *favour* with the Jews" (Acts xxiv. 27; *cf.* xxv. 9). "Asking *favour* (*i.e.* to be shown to them but which would operate) against him" (Acts xxv. 3; *cf.* ver. 15).

3. It signifies *kindness, goodness.* "For ye know the *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, &c." (2 Cor. viii. 9). If the context be considered in which these words occur, "the grace" here means probably not so much "spontaneous love" as the "gracious beneficence" of our Lord.

4. It signifies the *favour manifested or bestowed, a gracious act.* "And God is able to make all *grace* (*i.e.* all earthly blessings) abound" (2 Cor. ix. 8; 1 Pet. v. 10).

5. It signifies that which results in the recipient of the favour. Grace stands for the emotion of *joy*, "For I had much joy (χάριν, *charin*, A.V., but R.V. reads, χαράν, *charan*), and comfort in thy love" (Philem. 7); for a sense of *thanks* for benefits, services, and favours, also, possibly, matter of thankfulness. "What *thank* have ye?" (Luke vi. 32; *cf.* 33, 34); "Doth he thank (lit. hath he *favour* or *thanks* to) that servant" (Luke xvii. 9). See also Rom. vi. 17; vii. 25 (R.V. marginal reading); 1 Cor. x. 30 (marginal rendering "thanksgiving" for "grace"); 1 Cor. xv. 57; 2 Cor. ii. 14; viii. 16; ix. 15; 1 Tim. i. 12; 2 Tim. i. 3; 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20 (where *charis* is rendered "thankworthy," A.V., "acceptable" R.V.).

The significance of the term χάρις, then, may be briefly thus stated. It means originally *acceptableness, pleasingness*, the attribute of one well-*favoured*. But its two chief usages may be represented by our word *favour*, which, in the singular number, means a disposition of mind, and in the plural (favours) the marks and outward manifestations of such a disposition. Then, by a very simple change, the word was applied to the reflex acts and operations of the grace manifested, such as *joy* and *thanks*, on the part of the recipient.

Having thus prepared the way, we will now consider the term "grace" with its special reference to God's redemptive purposes. In this usage of the term, there are four meanings which need to be carefully noted in the order in which we now give them.

First, grace is *God's free, sovereign, undeserved favour or love to man when in his state of sin and misery by reason of the fall.*[1] In this signification grace is a quality of the divine administration, and is connected with God's mercy as distinguished from His justice. When thus viewed, grace is the cause of the electing purpose, the reason of our personal justification; the germ of the renovating progress; the present motive to all piety, as it is the prolific source of all favour. In a word, it is the source and fountain-head of all spiritual blessings.

[1] Numerous proof texts of this usage are given further on in the article.

Secondly, "grace" is used as signifying *grace as manifested in the provision made by God for man's salvation.* "The grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation" (Titus ii. 11).

Thirdly, "grace" is used for *grace as manifested in the application of the plan of salvation*, viz., the grace enabling the sinner to embrace the means provided for his recovery and restoration.[2]

In the first of these meanings we think chiefly of the purposes of God the Father; in the second, of the work of God the Son; in the third, of the influence of God the Holy Spirit. Put briefly, grace, then, may be regarded as the free, unmerited favour of God the Father, by which He has provided for man salvation in Christ, and by which God enables man, through the Spirit, to enjoy salvation's blessings.

Fourthly, by a very natural extension of the meaning of the word,[3] it is applied to the reflex acts and operation of the grace manifested from God to the sinner—to the exercised love, beneficence, spiritual joy, &c., which are at once the fruit and the evidence of imparted grace.

Although the main aspect of grace is that of a quality in the divine administration, it cannot be properly discussed apart, but must be viewed, in order to be understood aright, in connection with the diverse purposes and acts which peculiarly exemplify it. Thus "purpose and grace" are joined together when tracing redemptive privileges to their source in 2 Tim. i. 9.

With a view to illustrate the doctrine of divine grace we will take the passages in which the word "grace" occurs in groups.

The first of these groups to be noticed is the well-known *salutations of grace* which occur in the Epistles. They are similar in character, but in some instances slightly varying in form. The opening salutations are as follows: "*Grace* to you and peace" (1 Thess. i. 1; *cf.* Rev. i. 4). "*Grace* to you and peace, be multiplied" (1 Pet. i. 2; 2 Pet. i. 2). "*Grace* to you and peace from God our Father" (Col. i. 2). "*Grace* to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 3; 2 Cor. i. 2; Gal. i. 3 ("our Lord Jesus Christ"); Eph. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; 2 Thess. i. 2; Philemon 3). "*Grace* and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour" (Tit. i. 4). "*Grace*, mercy, peace[4] from God the Father and Christ

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This application of the word is called by grammarians the metonymy of the instrumental cause.

[4] χάρις (*charis*) is the divine favour extended to the *sinful*; ἔλεος (*eleos*) is mercy to the *miserable*; εἰρήνη (*eirēnē*) is peace, the result of grace.

Jesus our Lord" (1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2; Tit. i. 4 (A.V.) "our Saviour" for "our Lord"). "*Grace*, mercy, peace shall be with us, from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father" (2 John 3; *cf.* Jude 2). In these salutations *grace*, the well-spring of all mercies, and peace, the crown of all blessings, are mentioned in connection with both God the Father and God the Son. These blessings come from the Father as their *source*, and from the Son as the *Medium*, and (though not directly stated in these salutations) imparted through the Holy Spirit.[1] In the closing salutations which are fewer in number, and briefer in form, with one exception, grace is mentioned in reference to the Saviour only. They are as follows: The *grace* of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you (1 Cor. xvi. 23). "The *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (Rom. xvi. 20; 1 Thess. v. 28). "The *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all" (Rom. xvi. 24, in A.V. not in R.V.; 2 Thess. iii. 18). "The *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit" (Gal. vi. 18; Phil. iv. 23; Philem. i. 25). "The *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all" (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

The second group of passages for our study is that which contains *statements respecting the connection between salvation* (whether viewed as a whole plan or in its various parts), *and the grace of God*. For convenience they may be arranged as follows.

Salvation is most definitely spoken of as being gratuitously bestowed, and its ultimate source is traced to the free, unmerited goodness of God, "by *grace*" we "are saved" (Eph. ii. 5); redemption is "according to the riches of his *grace;*" (Eph. i. 7) the design of salvation from first to last is "that God might shew the exceeding riches of his *grace* in kindness towards us in Christ Jesus" (Eph. ii. 7); and He has "fore-ordained us unto adoption as sons . . . to the praise of the glory of his *grace*" (Eph. i. 5, 6). The recovery of man from the effects of the Fall, and the restoration of him to higher blessings than those lost in Adam, is spoken of as the abounding of "the *grace* of God, and the gift by the *grace*" (Rom. v. 15; *cf.* verses 17, 20, 21). Salvation, too, in all its various processes and parts is traced to grace. There is "the election of *grace*" (Rom. xi. 5); we are "called . . . according to his own purpose and *grace*" (2 Tim. i. 9); we are "justified freely by his *grace*" (Rom. iii. 24; *cf.* Eph. i. 5–7); we are completely sanctified, and shall be glorified by His *grace*, and so are warned against falling short of "the *grace* of God" (Heb. xii. 15), and are inexcusable if we do so, as "God is able to make all *grace* abound" to us (2 Cor. ix. 8). The death of Christ, which is the chief manifestation of God's grace, and the ground upon which the blessings of salvation are conferred, is specially stated to have been on behalf of every man without distinction, "That by the *grace* of God he should taste death for every man" (Heb. ii. 9). "Eternal comfort and good hope," two choice blessings of salvation, are named as being "through *grace*" (2 Thess. ii. 16). In order to prevent any possible mistake about the gratuitous character of salvation, we have contrasted for us in an emphatic manner, the principle of "grace" with that of "works" (Rom. xi. 6; *cf.* iv. 4), and are told that salvation does not originate in ourselves, but is "the gift of God" (Eph. ii. 8); and the promise is "of faith, that it may be according to *grace*" (not law), that it may be "sure to all the seed" (Rom. iv. 14–16). Even though the doctrine of grace was abused, and used as an encouragement to the continuance and abounding in sin, the Apostle does not tone down these statements, but forcibly contends that salvation by grace, because it is wholly by grace, ought to have the opposite effect, and prove an incentive to holiness. "Shall we continue in sin, that *grace* may abound? God forbid. We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein?" (Rom. vi. 1, 2).

The two groups of passages we have dealt with practically exhaust those in which the grace of God is used for the free, unmerited love of God. We now pass to a different class of passages in which grace is used for the *manifestation* and *modes* of the grace; and these cover a wide range. There is a great variety, and there are also nice shades of meaning in the use of grace in this secondary sense. These need to be carefully discriminated if we are to understand the true meaning of a large number of important and precious passages in God's Word. The following is an attempt to classify grace when used metaphorically, (or, to put it more technically, by the trope of metonymy) *i.e.* where the cause stands for the *effect*.

1. Grace is *a synonym for salvation* in its various aspects and the divine provisions made for it.

Grace stands for *salvation foretold* by the prophets and now revealed, "*Grace* and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John i. 17); for *per-*

[1] The Holy Spirit's work is not mentioned in these salutations, possibly because the blessings sought are viewed from their objective rather than from their subjective side. The Apostles in their opening greetings do not stop to mention the process by which the blessings implored reach the soul.

fect salvation, "Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the *grace* that should come unto you" (1 Pet. i. 10); *complete redemption*, "Set your hope perfectly on the *grace* that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 13); for the proffered *reconciliation*, "That ye receive not the *grace* of God in vain" (2 Cor. vi. 1); for *the provisions made for salvation*, "This is the true *grace* of God" (1 Pet. v. 12); for the *spiritual provision* which God has made for us in Christ, "It is good that the heart be stablished by *grace*" (Heb. xiii. 9), "Turning the *grace* of our God into lasciviousness" (Jude, 4); for the *atoning death of Christ*, "I do not frustrate the *grace* of God" (Gal. ii. 21).

2. Grace is *a synonym for the blessings of salvation*. "Of his fulness have all we received, and *grace* for *grace*," *i.e.* in successive communications and fresh measure as each fresh supply became necessary (John i. 16); "Full of *grace* and truth," *i.e.* fully manifested the blessings of salvation and God's faithfulness to His ancient (Messianic) promises (John i. 14).

3. Grace is *a synonym for the message or teaching of the Gospel*. "Since the day ye heard and knew the *grace* of God" (*i.e.* the message of salvation) "in truth" (Col. i. 6; *cf.* Acts xx. 24); "To continue in the *grace* of God," *i.e.* the teaching of the Gospel (Acts xiii. 43).

4. Grace is *a synonym for the status of salvation*. Grace stands for the state of gratuitous justification. "Through whom also we have had our access by faith into this *grace* wherein we stand" (Rom. v. 2); for the condition of acceptance with God into which faith in Christ brings us, "Ye are fallen away from *grace*" (Gal. v. 4).

5. Grace is *a synonym for the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit*, enabling, sustaining, directing us, and also for supplies of divine grace.

Grace stands for the enabling influence of the Holy Spirit. "By the *grace* of God I am what I am: and his *grace* which was bestowed upon me was not found vain; . . . yet not I, but the *grace* of God which was with me" (1 Cor. xv. 10); "Singing with *grace* in your hearts unto God" (which enables you to lift your hearts as well as your voices to God), (Col. iii. 16); "And great *grace* was upon them all," *i.e.* working in them, leading them to impart their goods to the poor (Acts iv. 33) "Helped them much which had believed through (the assistance of divine) *grace*" (τῆς χάριτος,[1] *tēs charitos*), (Acts xviii. 27); "Let us have (and turn to good account) *grace* (R.V. margin, 'thankfulness') whereby we may offer service well-pleasing to God" (Heb. xii. 28).

The grace of God stands for the sustaining grace of God. "And he hath said unto me, My *grace* is sufficient for thee" (2 Cor. xii. 9). The grace of God stands for the directing grace of God. "In (*i.e.* in the sphere of, and actuated and guided by) the *grace* of God, we behaved ourselves in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward" 2 Cor. i. 12. Grace stands for supplies of divine grace: "But he giveth more *grace*," and "giveth *grace* to the humble" (Jas. iv. 6); "For God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble" (1 Pet. v. 5); "Ye all are partakers with me of *grace*" (τῆς χάριτος), *i.e.* supplies of divine grace sustaining me under "my bonds," and nerving me "in the defence and confirmation of the Gospel" (Phil. i. 7); "That the *grace*, being multiplied (*i.e.* the supplies of the grace which preserves us in trial and works life in you) through the many (sharing in it), may cause the thanksgiving (which it excites) to abound unto the glory of God" (2 Cor. iv. 15. See also Heb. xii. 28).

Grace stands for *the power qualifying an Apostle or a minister to fulfil the various duties of his office*. "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this *grace* given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ" (Eph. iii. 8); "Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of that *grace* of God which was given me according to the working of his power" (Eph. iii. 7); "If so be that ye have heard of the dispensation (*i.e.* the arrangements made for dispensing as a steward) of that *grace* of God which was given me to you-ward" (Eph. iii. 2); "For I say through the *grace* that was given me" (Rom. xii. 3); "Because of the *grace* that was given me of God" (Rom. xv. 15); "According to the *grace* of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder" (1 Cor. iii. 10); "Perceived the *grace* (*i.e.* the call, the spiritual outfit, and success) that was given unto me" (Gal. ii. 9); "They sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been committed to the *grace* of God for the work which they had fulfilled" (Acts xiv. 26; *cf.* xiii. 3); "Being commended by the brethren to the *grace* of the Lord" (Acts xv. 40). The reference in Acts xiv. 26, xv. 40, is not only to the protection and helping favour of God, but to divine power from God to enable those sent to fulfil the duties of their office.

Grace stands for *the power qualifying for fulfilling special offices in the Church*. "According as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the

[1] Bishop Lightfoot commenting on Phil. i. 7 remarks, "In this case ἡ χάρις, with the definite article, stands absolutely for 'the divine grace,' as frequently (*e.g.* Acts xviii. 27; 2 Cor. iv. 15; Gal. v. 4; Eph. ii. 8).

manifold *grace* of God" (1 Pet. iv. 10); "And having gifts differing according to the *grace* that was given to us, whether prophecy, &c." (Rom. xii. 6).

Grace stands for *the power qualifying members of a Church to have a rich supply of spiritual gifts* (χαρίσματα, *charismata*). "I thank my God always concerning you, for the *grace* of God which was given you in Christ Jesus; that in everything ye were enriched in him, in all utterance and in all knowledge; . . . so that ye come behind in no gift" (1 Cor. i. 4–7).

6. Grace in one instance is *a synonym for the spiritual life itself.* "But grow in the *grace* and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," *i.e.* the spiritual life of which Christ is the Dispenser through the Holy Spirit, and in the knowledge of which He is the object (2 Pet. iii. 18).

7. Grace is *a synonym for a spiritual blessing conveyed by the means of one servant of God to another.*

Grace stands for *the effusion of the divine grace to be expected by the visit of an Apostle,* "And in this confidence I was minded to come before unto you, that ye might have a second *benefit*," or "grace" as in margin of both A.V. and R.V. (2 Cor. i. 15); for *the spiritual benefit to be conveyed by the edifying conversation of ordinary believers,* "But such (speech) as is good for edifying as the need may be, that it may give *grace* to them that hear" (Eph. iv. 29).

Grace is *a synonym for the fruit and evidence of imparted grace.* This reflex use of "grace" it not common in the New Testament, and we really only find it in the Epistles to the Corinthians. "We made known to you the *grace* of God—*i.e.* the spirit of liberality—which hath been given in the churches of Macedonia" (2 Cor. viii. 1); "That as he had made a beginning before, so he would also complete in you this *grace* also," *i.e.* this spirit of liberality (2 Cor. viii. 6); "Them will I send to carry your *bounty* (liberality, A.V.) unto Jerusalem" (1 Cor. xvi. 3); "See that ye abound in this *grace* also," *i.e.* charitable helpfulness (2 Cor. viii. 7); "Who was also appointed by the churches to travel with us in the matter of this *grace*," *i.e.* the alms collected for the poor (2 Cor. viii. 19).

Having completed the examination of the groups of passages in which the word "grace" is found, there are a few phrases in which this term occurs that require notice. Perhaps the most important of these is the phrase *the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ,* or its simpler form *the grace of Christ.* "Grace" in this expression does not mean "the spontaneous love of the Saviour," nor "the whole work of Christ as a manifestation of His redeeming love." But it means either the salvation secured to us by the atoning death of Christ, or the blessings of salvation imparted by Him to us by the agency of the Holy Spirit, or both these ideas combined in one. "That called you in the *grace of Christ*," *i.e.* in the sphere and by the means (of the preaching) of the salvation secured by the work of Christ (Gal. i. 6); "And the *grace of our Lord* (*i.e.* the divine favour and pardoning mercy, which I received on account of the atoning work of Christ) abounded exceedingly with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. i. 14); "The *grace of the Lord Jesus Christ* (*i.e.* the blessings of salvation secured by His atonement), and the love of God, and the communion (with the Father and the Son) of the Holy Ghost," *i.e.* by the agency of the Holy Ghost (2 Cor. xiii. 14); "Through the *grace of the Lord Jesus*" (*i.e.* through the efficacy of the salvation secured by the work of the Lord Jesus) we shall be saved even as they (Acts xv. 11). The following phrases call for a passing comment: *The throne of grace* means the throne upon which God is seated, who gratuitously dispenses favours to believing suppliants (Heb. iv. 16). *The grace of life* (1 Pet. iii. 7) signifies the eternal life given by grace. *The election of grace* points to the selection (choice of some out of the whole number) not for their own personal worth, but of God's free mercy (Rom. xi. 5). *The word of grace* is the word proclaiming this grace as revealed in the Gospel (Acts xiv. 3; *cf.* xx. 24). *The Spirit of grace* (Heb. x. 29) refers to the Holy Spirit that confers grace. *The riches of His grace* (Eph. i. 6), termed also "the exceeding riches of His grace" (Eph. ii. 7), is the overflowing abundance of unmerited love, inexhaustible in God, and freely accessible through Christ. *The glory of His grace* (Eph. i. 6) is the divine excellence of His goodness exercised towards us, and possibly the sanctifying effect produced in us. *The grace that is in Christ Jesus* (2 Tim. ii. 1), the supply of the spiritual life which is ever ready to be given to those who are savingly united to the Saviour. *To continue in the grace of God* (Acts xiii. 43) means either, continue in loyal adherence to the principles and teaching of the Gospel, which you, by divine grace, have embraced; or continue in your new heavenly experiences of divine grace and your Christian course. *Grace and apostleship* (Rom. i. 5) is used to teach us that St. Paul was called to the apostleship through the mercy of God despite his unworthiness, and that he was qualified by divine power to discharge his office. *Purpose and grace* (2 Tim. i. 9) is employed to indicate that the redemptive blessings are sure because they

were fixed by the divine purpose, and that purpose was due to the sovereign free favour of God, and that the carrying out of that purpose is from first to last a manifestation of His grace.

Upon such a subject as the grace of God, full of divine mystery, it is easy to indulge in speculations which lead to little profit. Some have endeavoured to tie regenerating grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Sacrament of Baptism. But in the Gorham case it was held that regenerating grace, as befits its free and sovereign nature, is not tied to baptism, which is its appointed sign and covenant seal.

Others have made nice distinctions between common and special grace—grace which all who hear the Gospel receive, which renders them guilty if they reject its offers, and grace which secures its acceptance. But for this distinction there is no foundation in Scripture. Such a theory really removes no difficulty on the subject, but creates further difficulties.

Others, again, speak of grace as *irresistible*. But here we need to be cautious in adopting such a term. If grace were absolutely irresistible, then man would be a mere machine in the process of salvation, and his freewill would be entirely destroyed, if, at least, no room be left for its action. The XVIIth Article states that grace works first, and then we work *with* the grace. Of course, if all barriers to the inlet of divine grace were removed, and our faith in Christ was perfectly child-like, grace would flow in as a mighty stream. In so far as grace works in the soul, its power, since it is divine, is able to convert the heart, illumine the understanding, and rectify the conscience to the highest possible degree.

Pelagianism holds that men can, unaided by divine grace, turn to God; the Roman Catholics and Ritualists teach that every baptized child can do so: the Arminians hold that, along with the preaching of the Gospel, power is given to enable all to embrace salvation. The Calvinist contends that only the elect can or do receive grace which enables them to believe, and that none who have received divine grace will be finally lost.

Upon a subject which is profound and highly speculative, upon which we have so little revealed, and upon which the holiest men have differed, and will to the end probably differ, it is well to be not unbecomingly dogmatic. It is a comfort to know that, as a matter of practice, Arminians and Calvinists, in their earnest appeals to sinners, often use very similar language.

Before closing this article it may be well to offer a few criticisms upon the definition of grace which Romanists and Ritualists give of this term. Our comments need only be brief, as the underlying fallacies in such definitions have been anticipated in the previous summary and analysis.

The definition of grace given in the *Catholic Dictionary* is that "Grace is a supernatural gift freely bestowed by God on rational or intellectual creatures, in order that they may attain eternal life." This, of course, is rather an evasion of a definition than a definition, besides being a strange medley of theological ideas, and if it teaches anything, is a misrepresentation of Gospel truth. Before telling us that grace is "a gift," we want to know what the gift *is*. If we ask what is "the (not "a") gift" that enables us to have "eternal life," the answer would naturally be the Saviour, who is "the true God, and eternal life" (1 John v. 20), "The Lord our Righteousness" (Jer. xxiii. 6). But, then, that cannot be the meaning of grace in the definition, for how can we talk with any regard to propriety of language and congruity of ideas, of the Saviour, or justifying righteousness being "a supernatural gift freely bestowed on" men or angels? Again, take "a supernatural gift" to be the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, then we remark that in the Bible the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the "gift" rather than His gracious influences, and also His gracious influences are the process by which we become holy and qualified for the enjoyment of eternal life, not the means by which we attain it. Our holiness to the end is imperfect. Justifying righteousness is the "gift by grace" (Rom. v. 15; *cf.* ver. 17) which alone furnishes a title to heaven. The definition under consideration neither suits justifying nor sanctifying grace. In it the one thing which is indispensable to be defined, and professed to be done, is conveniently omitted, whether through carelessness or design. Nothing which we can name as the "supernatural gift" would make the definition conform to the laws of common sense and sound Scriptural teaching. The truth is that this definition fails (as all other definitions of grace in like circumstances must fail) because it leaves out of sight the fact that the grace of God is a quality of the divine administration which manifests itself in the provisions made for salvation, and in the power enabling us to embrace the salvation provided and to have eternal life. Roman Catholics, especially the mediæval writers, delight in exercising their ingenuity in making minute and artificial distinctions about divine grace, but in them all there is the radical fault of confusing justifying and sanctifying grace. Upon no strictly theological point, perhaps, are Protestants and Romanists more directly at variance than

respecting sanctifying grace. Romanists regard sanctifying grace as "shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given to us" (Council of Trent, Sess. vi. canon 11), and consider infused virtues as another form of habitual grace. The teaching of the Holy Scriptures, however, is that the Holy Spirit sheds abroad the love of God in our hearts (Rom. v. 5), and hence are produced the graces which adorn the soul. There is no such thing as grace in the sense of "a supernatural gift," when by the phrase is meant a sort of deposit or germ left by the Holy Spirit in our souls; a something existing by its own inherent power apart from Himself; a something which at last becomes "infused virtues" possessing a vitality in themselves. The simple and sound Scriptural teaching concerning the sanctifying process is, that from first to last it is carried on by the direct and immediate operation of the Holy Ghost in our souls and upon our lives.

Sanctifying grace is *an enabling power*, not "a supernatural gift" in the sense of the Roman Catholics (see SANCTIFICATION). It is worthy of notice that the need of grace as "a supernatural (and undefined) gift" readily lends itself to the sacerdotal and mechanical system of Rome; "grace" then becomes something, though indefinite, yet apparently more tangible, and possessing a transferable character through human instrumentality, than the true grace of God which in its every aspect is sovereign and free in its character. A better way could not have been devised whereby to exclude from the Church the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. To such an extent is this sin against the Holy Spirit carried in all the other doctrines of the Church of Rome, more especially in her teaching concerning the Sacraments, that many simple, pious Romanists might well exclaim in the language of the Ephesian disciples, "We did not so much as hear whether there be a Holy Spirit" (Acts xix. 2).

In further justification of the way in which Roman doctrine respecting grace does dishonour to the work of the Holy Spirit, allusion may be made to the materialistic theory of Aquinas adopted by the Ritualists, viz., that the glorified body of Christ imparted by means of Sacraments is what they understand by "grace." In Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*, the index refers you under "Grace, what it is," to the following statement (p. 158), "the body and blood of Christ are the true recuperative *substance* which is represented in the New Testament by the word "grace"; the antidote to the Fall, and the germinating nucleus of the restored Life." Cobb's *Kiss of Peace* (p. 408) says the Eucharist is "the food which should nourish by its *substance* that supernatural life, the germ of which was implanted in them at Holy Baptism." This "substance" is clearly supposed to be ubiquitous, and the office of the Holy Spirit is reduced (as by Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*) to impregnating portions of "consecrated" *matter* with this insensible "substance," so that on the "Sacrament" being swallowed (as in the Lord's Supper), or applied to the skin (as in baptism), this "germ" or "nucleus" grows and fructifies. Thus a pantheistic materialism supplants the Holy Spirit in His special work and office as the "Giver of Life" acting *directly* upon the created spirit. Some better definition of sanctifying grace is needed than that given by Roman divines. Grace was said by S. Wilberforce to be "God's love in action": perhaps it would be better to define it as the "diversity of gifts" wrought by the Holy Spirit directly and immediately within the soul of man.

[C. N.]

GRACE AT MEALS.—The custom of giving thanks before meat was one strictly observed among the Jews. The first treatise of both the Talmuds (of Jerusalem and of Babylon) is largely occupied with the point. Our Lord put His seal of approval upon the practice on the several occasions on which He fed the multitudes in the wilderness. The same Greek word is there employed (Matt. xiv. 19) which is found in the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper in Matt. xxvi. 26 (εὐλογήσας), which need not necessarily be explained of any consecration of the bread or fish used on those occasions. Even the word employed in the next verse (ver. 27), that is εὐχαριστήσας, is that also employed in the "grace" or "blessing" pronounced over ordinary food (1 Cor. x. 30, 31, and so also in Acts xxvii. 35). The food partaken of after such "benediction" is said by St. Paul to be "sanctified (ἁγιάζεται) by the word of God and prayer" (1 Tim. iv. 4. 5). The practice passed from the Jews to the Christians, and is mentioned by several of the Early Fathers, *e.g.* repeatedly by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others. [C. H. H. W.]

GRACE, MEANS OF.—These are appointed channels, through which the grace of God is generally conveyed to the souls of men. These channels are various. The principal are these: (1) The Holy Scriptures, which, as the divine treasure-house of revealed truth, are to be searched and devoutly studied (John v. 39; 2 Tim. iii. 15–17; Acts xvii. 11). (2) The preaching and teaching of the Word of God. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God" (Rom. x. 17; compare 1 Pet. i. 25). (3) Prayer, private, public, social, addressed directly to the Father through the

d by the Holy Spirit, and not through man or angelic mediators (Luke xi. 9–hn xiv. 13; Heb. iv. 16; Eph. ii. 18). e two Sacraments (*a*) Baptism (Matt. 19; Mark xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. ; (*b*) The Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. 22–26; Luke xxii. 15–21; x. 16, 17; xi. 17 to end). To these y appointed ordinances may be added such as Confirmation, although only of ı authority. The efficacy of them all ls entirely on the power and presence of ıly Spirit. [W. B.]

JAL.—The name of the book containing ısic for the Mass, though more properly n antiphon sung after the Epistle, and ed because it was chanted on the altar or whilst the deacon ascended the steps "Ambo" or chanting pulpit.

CHURCH, THE.—Christianity, in ıt stages of its progress, spread in places with some notable exceptions, such as itself, Greek was the official language. sideration of the facts that Christianity ı historical origin in Palestine, that the ing of the Apostles, of whom we have e knowledge, was confined almost en- to Eastern lands, and, also, that the 'estament Scriptures circulated in Greek ıs, the early Church may not incorrectly scribed as Eastern and Greek. The val Church, on the other hand, from its ıce in the civilised world, is properly Western and Latin. In spite, then, of ıurch being Greek in its beginnings, to ıt an extent, the chief area of its influence to be found among the Latin communi- ınd at last, in the eleventh century, the and Roman Churches were formally ted. While the position of the bishopric ne was unique, in virtue of its associa- rith the ancient capital of the Empire, was no Church in the East, after the ction of Jerusalem in 70, which obtained nacy over all others. The Council of recognised Alexandria, Rome, and ch as Patriarchates; while Constanti- and Jerusalem, at a later time, obtained ame rank. Moscow, after a lapse of ies, was also styled a patriarchate. Rome re-eminent among the Churches of the and the bishop was styled by the great tine, "President of the Church of the " but no patriarchate stood alone in ıst, giving its bishop the primacy in the h.

ty was expressed, not through the govern- of one man, but through creed, ritual, ıistorical tradition. The true Catholic h, which knows no geographical bounds, ıst manifested in the most visible fashion possible, when bishops from various parts of Christendom assembled at Nicæa, in 325, to hold a General or Œcumenical Council. They claimed to act under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and their chief business was to settle the Creed. The Councils, of which the Nicene was the first, determined the formula of the faith, but the assertion that these Councils were guided by special divine revelation is denied by the Protestant Churches, as the XXXIX. Articles and the Westminister Confession, for example, show. The Nicene Creed, which marked off the orthodox from the Arians—the most notable heretics of the period—came to be generally accepted in the East and in the West; but in the course of the explication of its terms—those especially which applied to the Saviour—many and different sects of the Greek Church were formed. At the second Council, which met at Constantinople in 381, an addition to the Nicene formula was adopted in order to set forth with clearness the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which had been the subject of dispute between the orthodox and the Macedonians, a sect of semi-Arians, who followed Macedonius, a bishop of Constantinople. In the addition the most significant phrase was *τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον*, to which the Latins, at a later date, made in their translation the further addition of *filioque*. The third General Council, which met at Ephesus in 431, was mainly concerned with the question of the divine and human elements in Christ. The Creed had declared Him to be *ὁμοούσιος* as regards the Father, and had described Him as *ἐνανθρωπήσας*. The Nestorians, so named from Nestorius, a bishop of Constantinople, admitted the double nature of Christ, but made the union of the natures unreal. They refused to describe the Virgin as *θεοτόκος*, asserting that God could not have a mother. Mary was simply the mother of the man who is the instrument of the Godhead. The Council, eager to assert the reality of the union of the two natures, determined that Mary is rightly described as *θεοτόκος*. The theological troubles did not end with this Council. The Nestorians continued to be suspected of asserting two separate natures in Christ, while over against them the followers of Eutyches, the abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, seemed to deny the two natures. The fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon, 451, affirmed the creed of Nicæa and Constantinople, and issued a declaration regarding the faith, in which Mary was described as *θεοτόκος*, and Christ as being *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* or, according to the Latin translation, *in duabus naturis*. In consequence of the declaration, the Nestorians separated from the Church. The spread of their

doctrines was largely due to the teachers of the theological school of Edessa, which was a centre of thought for Armenia, Syria, Chaldea, and Persia. According to the testimony of a writer of the sixth century (Cosmas Indicopleustes), the Nestorians had established themselves in Persia, India, and Ceylon, and were to be found among the Bactrians, Huns, Armenians, Medes, and Elamites, and also among the Tartars and Chinese. The declaration of Chalcedon, with the phrase, "in two natures, without confusion, without change," had still further effect on the unity of the Church. The Monophysites, who may be traced back to Eutyches, held the doctrine of one nature, and they, separating from the Church, afterwards formed distinct sects. It was not, however, till the middle of the sixth century that they were organised. Jacobus Baradæus was ordained by the Monophysite leaders Bishop of Edessa, and through him, as Gibbon says, "the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated." The Monophysites have sometimes been styled Jacobites from this man, though the name has been more commonly restricted to the Syrian Monophysites. (See JACOBITES.) In Egypt, the Coptic Church, in its separation from the Catholic Church, owed its existence to Dioscurus, who was deposed from the see of Alexandria by the Council of Chalcedon for his advocacy of Eutyches. The Copts, following their founder, continued to be Monophysites. In the Abyssinian Church Monophysitism further established itself, and in Armenia found its most important centre. At the fifth General Council, held in Constantinople, 553, an attempt was made, by granting certain concessions, to reconcile the Monophysites to the Church, but the attempt ended in failure. The sixth Council, 680, which was also held at Constantinople, condemning the Monothelite heresy, and determining as an article of faith that Christ had two wills, indirectly created a new sect. The Monophysites in general were Monothelites, but apart from them, the Maronites on Mount Lebanon organised themselves into a new Church. In the twelfth century they were united, not to the Greek, but to the Roman Church; though from the proceedings of the Council of Constance it appears that some of them, still holding the Monothelite doctrine, were found in the fifteenth century in the island of Cyprus.

The sixth Council condemned Honorius, Bishop of Rome, as a Monothelite heretic, and in consequence strained the relationship of the two great divisions of the Church. During the period of the Christological controversies sects were formed, which were in reality sects of the Greek Church, though the ecclesiastical separation of East and West was no accomplished. Estrangement, howeve gradually but constantly manifesting through such events as the condemna Honorius. This estrangement was fost political changes in the Empire. The f tion of Constantinople was followed transference of the chief seat of Gove from Rome to the new city, and if th had for a time to submit to the politic of the East, there was no sign of eccles Rome yielding to Constantinople. The in Rome claimed to be of Apostolic and, in the course of time maintained bishops inherited the privileges besto St. Peter, who was alleged to be the the Roman bishops. It was beyond q the sole Western patriarchate, and was ated with the ancient capital. The Ch Constantinople, without the asset o tradition, could not obtain supremac the Roman Church, and Rome had th no formidable rival in the race for The only question was, was there to be or supreme pontiff of the whole C Towards the end of the fifth century G Bishop of Rome, declared in a letter Emperor Anastasius, that the primacy Roman Church had been erected by th of Christ Himself, and was acknowlec the universal Church. The acknowle was supposed to be based on the sixth of the Council of Nicæa, which the interpreted or altered to suit thei claims; but the 28th Canon of Cha which gave equal privileges to Constan and Rome, was ignored. The bishops o increased in dignity and power in th and did not hesitate in their asser supremacy over the whole Church. Th macy, however, was not admitted in th and towards the close of the sixth cent bishops of Constantinople styled thei Œcumenical patriarchs. The sixth Council, as has been shown, conder bishop of Rome for heresy, and som later, at a Council known as the Quinis Greeks condemned the Roman prac fasting on the Saturdays as well as Wednesdays of Lent. The estran between the Greek and Roman divis the Church was still further marked Synod of Constantinople, 754, which to be the seventh General Council, con the veneration of images. In the nin tury a dispute regarding the bisho Constantinople, begun in the reign c Nicholas I., brought Rome once mo touch with the ecclesiastical affairs East. Nicholas acted as if he had to s appeal, and attempted to obtain an ad

supremacy of Rome. But though the in Constantinople was protracted many years, Rome gained nothing; en the troubles ceased the separation hurches was all but complete. In the Nicholas ecclesiastical affairs were rther confused by a bitter quarrel ng the Bulgarians. Christianity was ced among them in the ninth century, uestion arose regarding the relation of Church to the patriarchate of Con- ople, or to the bishopric of Rome. In Council was held at Constantinople, in spite of the meagre attendance, the Church regards as the eighth General . The dispute regarding the bishopric stantinople, and the business of the an Church, were both settled to the of the Latins, but the Greeks refused mise the Council. They, in turn, held cil in 879 which anathematised that and during its sittings the Bishop of tinople, supported by the Greek , acted as if Rome had not asserted or supremacy. Bulgaria was eventually by the Greek patriarch, and the association of the Greek and Roman s of the Church was the prelude to nal separation. That separation took the year 1054. The Greek provinces ia, through the action of the Normans, connected with the see of Rome; and riarch of Constantinople warned the of those provinces against certain s in the ritual of the Latin Church. ore there was open feud, and at last e, Leo IX., sent legates to Constanti- who, unable to end the dispute to their tion, entered the church of St. Sophia ced on the altar a document containing ommunication of the patriarch and his

In this fashion the final rupture the Greek and Latin Churches was about.

attempts at reconciliation were made Popes Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and t IV.; but the Greeks would not the proposed conditions, especially aling with Papal Supremacy. Nego- were again begun in the reign of X., who was anxious to obtain the of the Greek Emperor Michael for a . Michael, on the other hand, desired ical reasons to be strengthened in his on of the Imperial throne, and sought nce with the bishop of Rome. The r sent ambassadors to the Lateran , 1274, who in his name accepted the d conditions for the union of the s. The union effected was political han ecclesiastical, and did not endure beyond the lifetime of Michael. In the fifteenth century another union was formed, which was no more lasting than that of the thirteenth century. Certain Greeks appeared at the Council of Florence, who accepted, or were tricked into accepting, terms which they would have repudiated but for their dread of the Turks, who were threatening the Imperial power in the East. The help of the Western powers was sought by the Emperor, John Palæologus; and he and his political associates were willing to pay the price of the autonomy of their Church for the needed help. A ceremonial of union was carried out, but there was no reality in it. The attempt made in 1721 by a few non-juring bishops in Scotland and England to secure union with the Greek Church, seemed like an echo of the mediæval negotiations.

The Orthodox Greek Church, as it has long been styled, is the Church which had its centre in Constantinople, and which the Roman Church cast forth from its communion, or from which the Roman Church separated itself. Associated through doctrine with the Orthodox Greek Church are the national Churches of Russia, Georgia—now incorporated in the Russian—Servia, Roumania, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

So far as the doctrine is concerned, which gives unity to the Greek Church, the point of chief historical importance is the rejection of the *filioque* clause, which was added in the West to the Nicene Creed. The phrase, which implies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, was formally inserted into the Creed at a Synod of Toledo, 589, and the use of it passed into France and England. At a Synod of Friuli, 796, and a Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, 809, it was accepted by Charlemain (Charlemagne) and his bishops. The Greeks in their rejection of the Double Procession adhered to the words set forth by an Œcumenical Council, and so doing, maintained their own independence, and acted according to their sense of their own nationality. At the Council of Florence, in the fifteenth century, when the union of the Churches was under consideration, it was arranged that the Greeks should continue to hold their own form of the creed. Purgatory was another subject of discussion. The Latins spoke of the fire of purgatory, while the Greeks held that it should be described as a place of darkness, gloom, and exclusion from the divine presence. Another point of debate was the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, which the Greeks counted heresy. These three matters, with the question of Roman Papacy, obtained special prominence at the Council, though the Latins asserted that there were in

all fifty-four points in which the Greeks were heretical. There are six sacraments which all priests of the Greek Church may administer: baptism, confirmation, penance, Eucharist, matrimony, unction of the sick; but bishops alone can confer ministerial orders. The clergy may be married, except the bishops, who are selected from the monks. Second marriages are not permitted to the clergy. At baptism immersion is practised, while the unction of the sick is the anointing with oil, after the fashion of the Apostolic Age. Further, the Eucharist is administered to infants. In protest against the Roman custom, the Greeks condemn the practice of kneeling at public worship and at the celebration of the Eucharist, and also the custom of fasting on Saturdays during Lent. Instrumental music is strictly forbidden in the churches, and the buildings contain no images, though pictures of the saints may be seen, which receive the highest veneration. The Liturgy of St. James, as it is styled, is in constant use, either in its longer form, known as the Liturgy of St. Basil, or in its shorter, associated with the name of Chrysostom. The language, whether in the Greek or the Slavonic, is archaic. In government, doctrine, and worship, the Greek Church is essentially conservative of ancient forms, and recognises little or no need of changes or adaptations for modern wants. Nowhere is the conservatism better seen than in the monasteries. The monks of the West, throughout their history, have been alive in thought and action, seeking to monasticise the Church itself. But in the East the monks have been for the most part united in lifeless associations. In the earlier centuries they affected the form of the creed, as they speculated in their cloisters, and in later times they have given the bishops to the Church. But they have not entered into the life of the Church, and have formed but dull or lifeless associations existing outside the ordinary work of the Church.

The buildings which serve as churches are constructed according to symbolic designs, and symbolism permeates the ceremonies of worship, and especially the service of the Mass. In the Russian Church, the best representative of the Eastern Church at the present time, the symbolism is most complete. In the sacred building the name "altar" is given to the portion of the Church often called "the sanctuary." This is in accordance with the statement of Ignatius in which *ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* is spoken of (Ephes. v.; *cf.* Trall. vii.). The altar is separated from other parts by a screen. Inside "the altar," are the Holy Table and the Preparation Table. On the first of these are three candlesticks; one with two candles representing the two natures in C one symbolical of the Trinity; and one senting the seven gifts of the Spirit. with pictures of cherubs, and the artopl or bread-holder, on which is placed the soaked with wine, are also to be foun other things on the Holy Table. The itself is regarded as God's throne, covered with two cloths, the upper of is elaborately ornamented. The Prep Table stands on the left side of the alt on it are such articles as the cross, the c in which is the wine mixed with wat knife used as a spear for piercing the and the censer.

In the *Liturgy of the Eucharist* the three parts: (1) the preparation c materials; (2) the preparation of the municants; (3) the Eucharist proper. cakes are prepared with symbolical rites. called "the Lamb," represents Chris when the preparation of this cake is con the priest pours wine and water int chalice. The second cake is in honour Virgin; the third is in honour of the the fourth is associated with living m of the Church; and the fifth with th The Eucharistic elements, when prepar covered with beautiful coverings indica the glory of Christ. The second pa *Liturgy of the Catechumens*, consists ma prayers and hymns to the Trinity, a reading of Scripture. The *Liturgy of the ful* follows. The first part of this lit the final preparation of the Eucharist ments or "gifts"; the second part is t sentation of the sacrifice, the arrangem the sacrifice, and the memorial for the m of the Church. The third part is th paration for the reception, followed reception of the Holy Communion. Th municant receives at the hands of the p spoonful of the bread and wine whic been mixed together in the chalice. cake called "the Lamb" is the bread soaked in the wine, is given to the con cant. The last part of the liturgy *Thanksgiving after Communion*. The service of the Mass, of which the foreg but the slightest indication, is an el series of ceremonies associated with the rite. The rite represents an expiatory sac and, further, according to the doctrine Church, the true body and blood of Chri stantially present in the bread and wi partaken of by the communicant.

Literature.—Hefele's *History of the C* Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Dreiei* Dorner's *History of the Doctrine of the of Christ*. Neale, *The Holy Eastern* Stanley, *The Eastern Church*. Littledale

Eastern Church. Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom.* Sinclair, *The Churches of the East.* Wright's *Service of the Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches.* [J. H.]

GREGORIAN.—See MUSIC.

GREMIAL.—A piece of cloth or linen placed on the lap of a bishop in the Romish Church, when celebrating Mass, or conferring orders. Romanists think it important to distinguish this vestment from one somewhat similar, the *subcinctorium*, which is worn exclusively by the Pope.

GUILDS.—The Guild Movement within the Church of England has spread to a vast extent. It has been of the greatest value to the Oxford Movement. The Guilds are not all equally advanced in a Romeward direction, but it must be confessed that, with but few exceptions, they are of a distinctly non-Protestant character. In only too many instances Guilds have been used for the purpose of teaching the members, in their private meetings, those more extreme doctrines which, for a time, it may be injudicious to proclaim publicly from the pulpit.

Guilds may be divided into (1) General: with branches throughout the country, but with a central office, which is usually located in London; (2) Class Guilds, for members of Universities, medical men, members of Theological Colleges; and (3) Local, confined to one parish. There is also a Federation of Guilds of all these classes, known as "The Church Guilds' Union."

The oldest of the existing Guilds is known as *The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Oxford.* It was founded in 1844, and only those who are members of Oxford University are admitted into its ranks. At present it has about 270 members. It is a child of the Oxford Movement, and has ever been worked in its interests, and has always avoided publicity as far as possible. *The Confraternity of the Holy Trinity* was founded in Cambridge in 1857, and is really an off-shoot of the Oxford Brotherhood, working unitedly, but under separate government. As at Oxford, so at Cambridge admission is only accorded to members of the University. At present it has about 400 members, and is worked on distinctly High Church lines. *The Society of the Holy Trinity* was founded in Durham in 1885, for members of the University, and is in union with the similar organisations at Oxford and Cambridge, and is distinctly High Church in its tendencies. Protestant parents sending their sons to either of these Universities should warn them against joining either of these organisations.

The Guild of St. Alban the Martyr was founded in 1851. Laymen and women are admitted as members, and bishops and clergy are admitted as associates. Laymen and women who do not wish to become full members, may join as associates. The section of the Guild open to men is known as "The Brotherhood"; that open to women as "The Sisterhood." One of the objects of the Guild is "To establish communities of men and women devoted to works of charity and mercy." The Guild promotes the Ritualistic Movement, and has branches in various parts of London, and also in Birmingham, Northampton, Liverpool, Knaresborough, Ramsgate, Nottingham, South Australia, and British Columbia.

The Army Guild of the Holy Standard is under the patronage of several bishops. It is intended for soldiers of every rank, being communicants of the Church of England. A few Protestant Church dignitaries have given their patronage to this Guild, but on the whole it is worked on High Church lines, though not of an extreme type. Branches of this Guild have been formed in all the principal garrisons and camps at home and abroad. *The Guild of St. Helena* is for the wives and daughters of soldiers, and is an offshoot from the Guild of the Holy Standard, and worked on similar lines.

The Guild of All Souls was founded in 1873 for the purpose of spreading a belief in the doctrine of Purgatory within the Church of England. It advocates the offering of Prayers and Masses for the Dead. In connection with this Guild about 5000 Masses for the Dead, to deliver them from Purgatory, are offered every year in England and Wales alone. In 1902 it possessed 86 branches in England, Scotland, India, Prince Edward Island, Barbadoes, Montreal, and Port Elizabeth. Its membership included 3665 of the laity and 749 of the clergy. The Guild issues to its members a *Quarterly Intercession Paper*, but it is very rarely that any Protestant is allowed to see a copy. A list of its clerical members has never been seen in print, so far as I am aware. *Manual of the Guild of All Souls. The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, chap. viii.

The Guild of St. Matthew was founded in 1877 for the purpose of influencing Secularists in favour of the Church of England. It was founded, and has been mainly sustained, by a band of Ritualists, most of whom would probably term themselves Broad Churchmen. The Guild takes a special interest in socialistic questions. It had in 1901 about 283 members, of whom 90 were clergymen. The names of the clerical and lay members—excepting a few officials—are unknown to the public.

There are many special Guilds for various professions. Of these the following may be

mentioned here: *The Guild of St. Barnabas*, for nurses. Each member wears a medal which, when she is received into the Guild, is solemnly blessed by a priest, who prays God "to bless ✠ and sanctify this medal." Each nurse is expected to pray for the dead. There is a division of this Guild to which medical students are admitted. *The Guild of St. Luke* has for its object "to promote and defend the Catholic Faith amongst the members of the medical profession." Its Provost in 1902 was a member of the English Church Union, and its Warden a member of the secret Society of the Holy Cross. *St. Martin's League* is for postmen, and is mainly under the control of an ultra-Ritualistic clergyman. *The Railway Guild of the Holy Cross* is for members of the railway service, being members of the Church of England. Clergymen are admitted as associates. The Guild was founded in 1872. In the "Form of Admission of the Brethren" it is provided that: "The crosses, with their cords, being placed upon the altar, or held by one of the Brethren, shall be blessed by the priest."

There are also special Guilds for members of particular colleges, in addition to those already mentioned for the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham. *The Guild of St. Mark* is for members of Keble College, Oxford. In its *Manual* the members are recommended to use "in connection with Private Confession to a Priest, *Hints for a First Confession*." This book is distinctly Romish in its teaching on this subject.

There are, in addition, many hundreds of *Parochial Guilds*, each being independent of all others. They vary greatly in character, some being of a very moderately High Church character, while others are of the most advanced Romanising character. *A Kalendar of the English Church: The Year Book of the Church of England.*

[W. W.]

GUNPOWDER PLOT, THE.—In recent times it has been denied that there ever was a Gunpowder Plot, and Father Gerard has attempted to overthrow the evidence in its favour, while Professor Gardiner has written a satisfactory reply.

The idea that Gerard advocates is, that the plot never had any existence, but was merely a device of the Earl of Salisbury. This contention he seeks to establish by the evidence of Father John Gerard, who, although a contemporary of Salisbury, had no special knowledge or means of acquiring knowledge concerning Salisbury and his motives. According to Father Gerard, Bishop Talbot is reported to have said that Cecil was the contriver of the plot. This is asserted on the authority of one of his household, "who advertised a certain Catholic, by name Master Buck, two months before, of a wicked design his master had against the Catholics." But if Salisbury had decided to invent a plot, he would scarcely have confided the matter to one of his domestic gentlemen. He might have declared in private conversation his determination to keep down the Roman Catholics. Osborne the Puritan, and the Anglican Bishop Goodwin are brought forward as witnesses on behalf of Gerard's contention; Osborne having expressed his opinion that the discovery of the plot was "a neat device of the treasurer's [Salisbury], he being very plentiful in such plots"; and Bishop Goodman writes that Salisbury knew all about the plot, and to "show his service to the State, he would first contrive and then discover a treason." Father Gerard further adduces evidence that Bishop Ussher was heard to say, that "if the Papists knew what he knew, the blame of the Gunpowder Treason would not be with them." Still further, Father Gerard quotes a book of 1673, in which Lord Cobham and others are reputed to have said that King James frequently remarked, when he had time to think the matter over, that the 5th of November was Cecil's holiday.

A moment's reflection, however, shows that all these statements only prove that rumours were current at the time that Salisbury was the author of the plot, but they are not evidence of the fact. Father Gerard brings forward also certain notes of an anonymous correspondent of Anthony Wood, in which it is stated that the plot was without doubt a State one. The second Earl of Salisbury is alleged to have confessed to William Lenthall that it was his father's contrivance—that Lord Monteagle knew all about the letter hinting at the plot, before it arrived. It is also stated that the plot was invented to allow King James to break the promise he had made to the Pope and the King of Spain, that he would be tolerant to the Roman Catholics. All such statements are merely talk. The most important is that about the second Earl of Salisbury, but it is most unlikely that the first earl would reveal such a secret to his son, who was only twenty-one years of age at his father's death.

The traditional story of the plot is as follows. In 1604, three men, Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Thomas Winter, determined to blow up the House of Lords. Later on they joined to them Thomas Percy and Guy Fawkes; still later, Christopher Wright was added, with Robert Winter, Robert Keys, and a few others. All were gentlemen of position except Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant. Percy, who was a cousin of the Earl of Northumberland, hired a

house, or part of a house, adjoining the House of Lords—the design being to make a subterranean passage underneath the House of Lords, and to blow up with gunpowder the king and his family when assembled for the opening of Parliament. They began their work in the cellar of the house on December 11, 1604, until they came to the wall of the House of Lords. After a short interval the work was resumed in January, but at the end of two months they had not got more than half through the wall. They then learned that a cellar was to be let under the House of Lords, which Percy hired as though it were for his own use. They then ceased the excavation, and stowed away in the cellar thirty-six barrels of powder, covering them with heaps of coal and firewood, and placing them under the care of Guy Fawkes. On the night of November 4, 1605—the day before Parliament was opened—Sir T. Knyvet and a party of men were ordered to search the cellar; Fawkes was met emerging from it, and arrested. After a careful search the gunpowder, of which warning had been given in a letter to Lord Monteagle, was discovered. The conspirators fled to Warwickshire, where some of them were arrested, several being shot before they were captured.

The evidence for the plot mainly rests on the disclosures of Guy Fawkes. Fawkes was examined six times, one of these examinations being by torture. His examiners were Chief Justice Popham and Coke. In his first examination he stated (1) that he was the servant of Percy, that Percy hired Wynyard's house at £12 a year, and that at Christmas 1604, he brought gunpowder to the cellar under the House of Lords, and that he covered it up with faggots in order to conceal it, and that the powder was placed there for the purpose of blowing up the king and lords. (2) He admitted that he had fellow-conspirators, though he would not reveal their names. (3) He denied on oath that he had taken the sacrament.

He was subsequently obliged to confess (1) the names of his fellow-conspirators; (2) that he had taken the sacrament on his oath not to divulge their names; (3) that he had falsified the date; (4) the existence of the mine, the earth from which had been carried into the garden of the house; (5) that while the others worked he stood sentinel, and when any man came near he gave warning, and they ceased working till the person had passed; (6) that they heard, as they were working, a noise in the cellar above, which they learned was caused by Bright selling coals there. Seeing the convenience of the cellar for their purpose, it was hired by Percy. Twenty barrels of powder were brought to the house previously hired near the Upper House of Parliament, and subsequently from thence into the cellar. A letter of Salisbury's, written before Fawkes' subsequent confessions, confirms the fact that the Government only knew what was contained in Fawkes' first confession, for they issued a proclamation for the arrest of Percy alone.

Commissioners were appointed to prosecute the investigation, viz., Nottingham, Suffolk, Devonshire, Worcester, Northampton, Salisbury, Popham, and Coke. It would have been impossible to have falsified the evidence of the prisoner without the consent of all these men —a consent which would not have been given, for some of them were Roman Catholics, and others in favour of toleration.

After Fawkes' first confession a pair of brewer's slings were discovered for carrying barrels; which led the Government to infer that some one had aided Fawkes. Evidence was also forthcoming that Fawkes, who posed as Percy's servant, had asked Mrs. Bright to let the vault under the House of Lords to his master. She consented to do so in case Mrs. Wynyard, the owner, would give her permission. Mrs. Wynyard confirmed Mrs. Bright's statement. She also said that Percy had begged her to let him a lodging near the Parliament House, which Percy ultimately secured. The Government do not seem to have distinguished between the house and the vault. Later, the Government got information about the other conspirators, and a proclamation was issued for their arrest. They were charged with assembling in troops in Warwick and Worcester, and with stealing horses.

Father Gerard styles the document containing Fawkes' examination of the 8th, a draft of the examination of the 17th, which is incorrect. He states that in the original of the so-called draft, five paragraphs were ticked off for omission. In Winter's Declaration of Nov. 23, every paragraph was marked off in the same way, and not one of the five paragraphs thus ticked off was omitted in the copy sent to Edmonds.

But the real question is, Does the document contain Fawkes' confession, or was it an invention of Salisbury's? One of the crossed-out passages proves the document was genuine, for (1st) it mentions that the king was guarded carelessly; (2nd) that the conspirators hoped that not only Roman Catholics but Protestants, who disliked the union with Scotland, would join with them in a rising. None of the commissioners could have dreamt of inventing such statements, and they would desire to keep such information from the king. Further, Gerard alleges against the document that the signatures appended are all in the same writing, and that none of the signatures are officially

correct, and further that Fawkes is represented as speaking in the third person. But those points are evidences of its genuineness. Salisbury, if he were the inventor, would not have scrupled to forge Fawkes' name, nor could original signatures be expected in what is merely a copy. The signatures are, as Gardiner shows, according to official usage. The fact that Fawkes is made to speak in the third person causes no difficulty, for he did so in all the three confessions.

Gerard mentions that the questions framed by Coke upon the examination of the 7th for use on the 8th were not founded upon information obtained, but were intended to obtain information. If so, it is evident the Government were in need of information. Father Gerard suggests, however, that Salisbury not only deceived the public, but his fellow-commissioners. According to this hypothesis, Salisbury got an altered copy of a confession drawn up. But the clerk who did it must have known that fact; also the second clerk, who sent the copy to Edmonds, for the handwriting is different, and not only Edmonds received it, but all the other ambassadors. How could Salisbury rely on none of these ambassadors divulging his secret? Moreover, if any of his brother-commissioners had found their names appended to such a document, they would certainly have taken steps to let the king and the nation know, as Salisbury was far from popular with them.

Father Gerard's contention is that the whole information concerning the plot is gathered from two documents, one a Declaration by Thomas Winter on the 23rd, another by Guy Fawkes on the 17th. But as a fact, the whole story of the plot could be made out without these documents, from the five previous confessions of Guy Fawkes. Fawkes' confession of the 17th was probably a continuation of his previous statements. Winter's Declaration of the 23rd raises a more difficult question. There are two sources from which we derive our knowledge of it, namely, the original at Hatfield, and the copy in the Record Office. Those two documents are so similar as to leave no doubt of their identity of origin. The copy is dated November 23, the original November 25. That dating of the original is not a slip, for Winter had written 23, and corrected to the 25th. But though the original document was witnessed by Coke alone, it appears in print witnessed by all those whom Salisbury had chosen for the purpose two days before it was made. Father Gerard insinuates that the copy was drawn up by the Government on the 23rd, and that Winter was forced to sign it on the 25th. This argument rests on the assertion that Winter wrote the figures 23 and corrected them to 25th. There is, however, another alteration or addition on the top of the page, viz., "Voluntary Confession of Thomas Winter, Nov. 26, 1605," which words were evidently added in after the confession had been written—the 5 of the substituted date and the 5 of the added heading are the same, and both are different from the 5 in 1605, written by Winter. The heading was written by Coke, and as the writing of the changed figure is the same, we may infer that the changed figure is his also. Why did he change the date? In the case of Fawkes, on one day he was examined under torture, only Coke, Wood, and Fawcett being present, on the 10th his confession was attested before the commissioners. The same was probably done in the case of Winter. His confession was on the 23rd, which was officially attested by the commissioners on the 25th. Coke changed the date to the 25th, as that was the official date.

The next difficulty Gerard raises is the structural one. The house, he says, which was used by the conspirators, could only be let when Parliament was not sitting — How then, he asks, could Percy have kept possession of it when Parliament was assembled? It is clear, however, that Percy took two houses. The one adjoining the House of Lords, which Father Gerard refers to, was used as a with-drawing-room by the Lords. The second house adjoined the other. Gerard asserts that the second house could not have been the house, because it was too small, for Mrs. Wynyard stated that the house only afforded accommodation for one person. But what Mrs. Wynyard said was, that there was only one bed in the house.

Gerard's next point is that such proceedings could not have escaped notice in such a populous neighbourhood. Gardiner, however, proves by diagrams that the house was extremely secluded, and eminently fitted for such work.

The story of the mine presents some difficulties. How, it is asked, could men like these conspirators, who were all amateurs, have dug through one wall, have made a tunnel through earth and propped it up overhead—operations that require a considerable amount of skill? The reply is simple enough. The wall of Percy's house was probably made of soft brick, and although six of the workers were unskilled labourers, the seventh, Fawkes, had served for eight years in the service of the Archdukes in the Low Countries, and had been instructed in the best school of military engineering in the world, where he must have learnt to make tunnels of much greater length than that required by the conspirators.

The next difficulty raised concerns the earth dug out of the mine. Fawkes says that it was carried into the garden of the house, and most probably a large portion was deposited in the river, as the garden was washed by it. The only entrance to the mine was from Percy's house, and the conspirators were careful to conceal the entrance.

Professor S. R. Gardiner has carefully examined and disposed of other objections raised by Father Gerard, as to the supposed difficulty of the communication between Percy's house and the cellar. Fawkes states that when he took the cellar he caused a new door to be made into it, in order that he might have a nearer way into it from his own house. But how, Mr. Gerard inquires, came he to be allowed to knock a door into a royal palace? Gardiner, however, points out that there was a doorway in the wall, which was closed with an iron grating, which iron grating Fawkes appears to have removed, and substituted a door in its place. Hence there was no need to knock a hole in the royal palace.

As regards the discovery of the plot, Father Gerard has a theory that Salisbury knew of it before the letter to Lord Monteagle was sent, and that Percy was Salisbury's secret agent among the conspirators. This is based on the statement of Goodwin that Percy was frequently seen at Salisbury's house at night, which does not prove that he betrayed the plot to him; as many other reasons may have brought him there, as the trusted servant of Northumberland.

Was Tresham, then, the traitor? for it is agreed that it was he who wrote the letter to Lord Monteagle. It is certain that Lord Monteagle knew of the existence of the plot before he received the letter, and it is clear from the way he acted in regard to it that he wished to put an end to the plot, and at the same time to allow the conspirators to escape. But the more evident this is, the more manifest it is also that Salisbury had no previous knowledge of the plot, otherwise he would not have so arranged it that he had no evidence of its existence except an ambiguous letter, while the conspirators were afforded opportunity to escape. We need not, either, be surprised at the Government not doing anything till November 4th, as they would hope to come on the conspirators preparing their work, and would be careful not to frighten them by premature action.

In fact, the more closely the story is investigated, the more clearly it comes to light that the Gunpowder Plot was no invention of the Government of the day; while the carefully written chapter on the subject in the able work of Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton, himself a Roman Catholic priest, *The History of the Jesuits in England*, 1580–1773 (London, Methuen and Co., 1901) shows distinctly that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the whole conspiracy, which was not a conspiracy which was approved of by the general body of the English Roman Catholics. [E. A. W.]

H

HADES.—See HELL. This word simply means the *invisible world*, and is so employed even in Luke xvi. 23. The fact that the rich man in the world beyond the grave was "in torment" is no proof that the word "Hades" is employed specifically in a bad sense. The place of the punishment of the wicked, where named, is termed *Gehenna*, or the *Gehenna of fire* (see HELL), or in one place, in the Greek original, even by the heathen name *Tartarus* (2 Peter ii. 4; comp. Jude 6). The place of the righteous dead up to the resurrection is spoken of as *Paradise*, which word is used only three times in the New Testament, namely, in Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; and Rev. ii. 7. The abode of the righteous is figuratively spoken of in Luke xvi. 22, as "Abraham's bosom," and the righteous souls are also represented as lying under God's altar (the earth), upon which their blood was shed (Rev. vi. 9–11).

The expression "gates of Hades" is only found in the New Testament in Matt. xvi. 18, but the phrase occurs several times in the Greek version of the Old Testament, and in apocryphal books. "The gates of death" are in Psalm ix. 13, contrasted with "the gates of the daughter of Zion." The phrase is also found in Psalm cvii. (LXX. cvi.) 18, and in Job xxxviii. 17 (first clause). Job is fond of such expressions, for he speaks of the gates of his mother's womb (Job iii. 10), and the gates of the face of leviathan (Job xli. 14, in LXX. Job xli. 6). When the gates of the shadow of death are mentioned in Job xxxviii. 17, in the second clause, the LXX. render "did the door-keepers of Hades quake when they saw thee?" The expression "the door-keepers of darkness" is used in the apocryphal *Test. of Job*, xx. 16, and similar phrases in other apocryphal writers (see Wright, *The Intermediate State*, pp. 291 *ff.*). In Isaiah xxxviii. 10, in the LXX., the phrase "the gates of Hades" is employed as a translation of "the gates of Sheol." It is also found in Wisdom xvi. 13, and in 3 Macc. v. 51, and in the Psalter of Solomon, Psalm xvi. 2. Even Origen (*Comm. on St. Matthew*), who was the first to give a metaphorical meaning to the phrase, explaining it figuratively as "the powers of darkness," does not dispute the fact that the

real meaning of the phrase, as used by our Lord, properly meant "the gates of death." Our Lord referred in Matt. xvi. to His final victory over death and the grave, as described in 1 Cor. xv. 54. Hence Matt. xvi. 18 is no proof whatever that the Church on earth will be preserved from all error. The meaning of the text is gone into with more fulness in the book referred to above. [C. H. H. W.]

HAIL MARY.—See AVE MARIA.

HAIR.—See TONSURE.

HALF COMMUNION.—See ONE KIND.

HEART OF JESUS.—For particulars as to this now popular devotion in the Church of Rome, see article on the SACRED HEART. The devotion owes its origin to a French nun, Sister Margaret Mary Alacoque, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Her Jesuit confessor, Colombière, was one of the chaplains at the court of James II., and he is supposed to have advocated the *cultus* because of the love borne by Englishmen to the person of Christ. In 1765, Clement XIII. permitted a partial celebration of the feast of the Sacred Heart, and this permission was in 1856 extended to the whole Church. Pius VI., in his bull *Auctorem Fidei* in August 1794, attempts to explain the principle on which the devotion rests. The faithful, he says, worship with supreme adoration the physical heart of Christ, considered "not as mere flesh, but as united to the Divinity." They adore it as "the heart of the Person of the Word to which it is inseparably united." And if it be asked why the heart is selected as the special object of adoration, the answer is that the real and physical heart is a natural symbol of Christ's exceeding love and of His interior life. Sister Alacoque, however, always pictures Christ as still suffering and possessing a lacerated heart in heaven. Independently of its late origin, being unheard of till the close of the seventeenth century, the devotion to the Sacred Heart is unscriptural:

1. Because it represents Christ as still suffering in heaven, while Scripture represents Him as glorified there.

2. It represents the material heart of Jesus as a distinct agent, and ascribes to it attributes and powers that pertain to Christ and the Holy Ghost. For example, in the Life of Sister Alacoque (p. 282) the heart of Christ is called the "Mediator between God and man."

3. It involves the adoration of two Christs, for the worship is divided between Christ Himself and a detached member of His body.

4. It teaches the adoration of Christ's, humanity by itself (the bull *Auctorem Fidei* notwithstanding), and the adoration of a mutilated member of a dead Christ.

The feast of the Sacred Heart is kept on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi, except in England, when it is kept on the following Sunday. It is worthy of note that the Congregation of Rites refused to sanction the feast both in 1687 and in 1729. [T. C.]

HEART OF MARY.—The popularity of the devotion to the Heart of Jesus was certain to provoke emulation, so we find John Eudes, founder of a congregation of priests, called Eudists, propagating devotion to the "most pure heart of Mary." Eudes died in 1680. We are assured by Roman Catholic theologians that the principle on which the devotion to the heart of Mary rests is the same (*mutatis mutandis*) with that of the Heart of Jesus. It cannot be asserted here, however, that the material heart of Mary is united to the Divine Word. Hence, in order to try and escape the charge of idolatry, we are assured that Roman Catholics merely worship, or venerate, the heart of Mary with the *cultus* called hyperdulia. That is, the theologians of Rome, like Aquinas, 2^a, 2^{ae}, 103, 4, make a metaphysical distinction between the worship rendered to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Saints. It is unnecessary to say that the common people know nothing of such distinctions, and the same outward marks of adoration are rendered to God, to the Virgin, and to the Saints. Pius IV., in 1799, authorised a mass and office in honour of the "most pure heart of Mary," and the devotion, especially among the females, is even more popular than that to the Heart of Jesus. [T. C.]

HELL.—In the A.V. of the Bible, and in many other writings, the word *hell* (which etymologically means simply *hollow;* Germ. *Hölle*, comp. with *Höhle*, a hollow) is employed in the sense of the *invisible world*, which is the proper meaning of the Greek Hades. In other words it means the place of departed spirits, or the world beyond man's sight. In the Old Testament the word used is *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל, or שְׁאֹל), which properly means the *under-world*. The word is so employed in Job xxvi. 6; Psalm ix. 17; cxxxix. 8; Isaiah xiv. 9; Ezek. xxxi. 17; xxxii. 21. Similar is its use in Matt. xi. 23, when it is said of the city of Capernaum "thou shalt be cast down to hell," or utterly destroyed. So also even in Luke xvi. 23; Rev. i. 18; xx. 13, 14. Hence it is often synonymous with the *grave*, as in Psalm ix. 17; lv. 15; Proverbs xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14. In Numb. xvi. 30–33, *Sheol* is rendered in the A.V. by *the pit*. So in Proverbs v. 5; xxiii. 14; &c. In a comparatively small number of passages, the word *hell* in the English version means the *place of lost souls*. So Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; x. 28; xxiii. 15, 33; Mark ix. 43, 45, 47; Luke xii. 5; James iii. 6. But in these cases the word in the original is not *Hades*, but *Gehenna*, or the

Gehenna of fire. Gehenna was originally the same as Gehinnom, or the Valley of Hinnom, where human sacrifices were offered to Moloch (2 Chron. xxviii. 3). The valley was defiled by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10) to destroy all idea of sanctity connected with the place, and it was afterwards used as a place of burial (Jer. vii. 32). Even in earlier times it was used for burial, for it was in that place that the Assyrian soldiers of Sennacherib's army, who perished before Jerusalem, were buried, and Isaiah refers to that fact in chap. xxx. 31–33. That valley was called Topheth, which meant a *place of burning* (the dead), or perhaps a *place to be spit on, abhorred.* On account of the reference which is made to the Valley of Hinnom in Isaiah lxvi. 24, the word Gehenna was popularly employed by the Jews as the name of the place of the future punishment of the ungodly. See HADES. [C. H. H. W.]

HERESY. — False doctrine held obstinately in place of that which has been revealed. The chief heresies by which the Christian faith was in early times assailed, were condemned by the first four Councils of the Church, and a contradiction of them was stereotyped for later ages in the Nicene, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian Creeds. These heresies were Arianism, which was repudiated by the Council and Creed of Nicæa; Macedonianism and Apollinarianism, by the Council and Creed of Constantinople; Nestorianism, by the Council of Ephesus and the Athanasian Creed; Eutychianism, or Monophysitism, by the Council of Chalcedon and the Athanasian Creed. Besides these, the better known early heresies are, in the first century, Gnosticism; in the second, Docetism and Montanism; in the third, Manichæism and Sabellianism; in the fourth, Photinianism, Priscillianism and Collyridianism; in the fifth, Pelagianism, to which may be added in the seventh, Monothelitism. The heresies rejected by the early Church are also repudiated in the first, second, and fifth of the XXXIX. Articles.

Arianism denied the Godhead of the Son, regarding Him as the creation of the Father, created, indeed, before any other works of God's hands, and His instrument in the subsequent creation of the world, but yet a creature, not sharing the one unique nature of the Godhead, not of the substance of the Father, though like Him—like Him in all things, said some of the Arian school—but there was a time, a long, long way back, when He did not exist; He is not therefore eternal, not in the highest sense God. The controversy on this subject began in the year 318 in Egypt, when Arius charged his bishop with erring on the other side, and confounding the Personality of the Son with that of the Father. Arian doctrine was condemned in 325, at the Council of Nicæa, by the introduction of the words "of the same substance with the Father," the word "substance" meaning essence or nature. For the next forty or fifty years there was a reaction in favour of Arianism, headed by the Imperial Court of Constantinople. In 381 the question was settled by the Council of Constantinople, and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (there is no adequate ground for considering this creed of later composition) was enforced by the orthodox Emperor Theodosius I. Arianism, expelled from the empire, maintained itself for a while among the barbarous nations outside of the empire (Goths, Vandals, Lombards), and it has been adopted as a personal belief by some few English thinkers (Clarke, Whiston, Whitby); but, as a rule, it has in modern times degenerated, almost as soon as adopted, into Socinianism and Unitarianism, the counterpart of the Photinianism of the fourth century. Newman placed St. Mary in the middle position between God and man, which he says was left vacant by the failure of the Arian theory.

Macedonianism was the heresy which denies the divine Personality of the Holy Ghost. It takes its name from Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, who, after his deposition in 360, put himself at the head of a semi-Arian party. With regard to the Son, the semi-Arians accepted the phrase "of like substance," or "of like substance in all things," as their watchword, but they still held Him to be a creature, and the Holy Spirit they affirmed to be also a creature, as Christ was. Hence they were called Pneumatomachi, or fighters against the Spirit. A more extreme party of the Arians, called Eunomians, declared the Holy Spirit to be the creation of the Son, who was Himself created, which made the Holy Ghost doubly a creature. Pope Liberius sided with the semi-Arians, but on the accession of Damasus to the Papal seat, the latter co-operated with Athanasius in restoring the faith in the Holy Ghost, as being uncreated, and of one majesty, substance, and power, with the Father and the Son. In 381 the Council of Constantinople anathematised both the Eunomian and the semi-Arian doctrines, and defined the truth as follows: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets." The Emperor Theodosius enforced the decision of the Council by expelling the Pneumatomachi from all the churches in their possession.

Apollinarianism was the heresy which denied the perfection of the human nature of Christ

by substituting the Divine Logos for the human understanding or rational spirit. Apollinaris was a warm adherent of the Nicene faith during the first period of the Arian controversy, but in 375 he formulated the above theory, which was condemned by the second General Council. Apollinarians became absorbed into either the orthodox or the Eutychian party.

Nestorianism was the heresy which regarded Christ as not only having two natures, but being two Persons, the divine and the human, in such sort that it was only a human being that was born of His mother, to whom a divine being afterwards united itself. It derives its name from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was its most prominent supporter, though not its originator. His chaplain, Anastasius, having created some scandal by denying that St. Mary ought to be entitled Theotokos (one who brought forth Him who was God), Nestorius took up his defence. Cyril of Alexandria hearing this, wrote with characteristic fervour on the opposite side, and the controversy between the two Patriarchs grew so bitter, that it led to the Council of Ephesus, the third Œcumenical Council, being called in 431, at which Nestorianism was condemned. The Emperor thereupon deposed Nestorius, and Nestorianism passed away from the West into the further East. There it made Edessa its headquarters till the flourishing school there existing was dissolved by the Emperor Zeno in 489. After that, Bagdad and Mosul became the centres of Nestorian activity, which spread the Gospel, says Gibbon, "to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, the Elamites; the pepper coast of Malabar and the Isles of the Ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians; the missionaries of Balkh and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camp of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga" (ch. xlvii.). "The power of the Nestorian Patriarch," adds Neale, "culminated in the beginning of the eleventh century. He had twenty-five Metropolitans, who ruled from China to the Tigris, from the Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin. It may be doubted whether Innocent III. possessed more spiritual power than the Patriarch in the city of the Caliphs" (*Holy Eastern Church*, i. 142, 3). This flourishing Church was overthrown, and its members massacred by Tamerlane and other Eastern ravagers. Its remains still exist, and have attracted the sympathies of the English Church. Owing to the early date at which they separated from their co-religionists, they know nothing of many of the mediæval tenets, and have hence been called the Protestants of the East. See article on NESTORIANS.

Eutychianism was the heresy which taught that Christ had but one nature, compounded of the divine and human; hence called also Monophysitism. It arose as a reaction from Nestorianism. Not content with denying that Christ was two persons, Eutyches, archimandrite, or head of a monastery near Constantinople, denied that He had two natures, the divine and the human. On the accusation of Eusebius of Dorylaeum, he was summoned by Bishop Flavian of Constantinople before a synod in 448, which deposed and excommunicated him. Theodosius II., who had a favour towards Eutyches, summoned what was intended to be an Œcumenical Council at Ephesus in 449, at which Eusebius and Flavian were in turn deposed. So great violence was displayed at this Council that it came to be known as the Latrocinium, or Robbers' Meeting. In 450 Theodosius died, and the aspect of things was changed by the accession of Marcian. The Council of Chalcedon was summoned in 451, the acts of the Latrocinium were cancelled, and Eutychianism was condemned. Imperial edicts followed, prohibiting all meetings of Monophysites, and banishing Eutyches. Monophysitism, however, still exists, or is alleged to exist (for Nestorian and Monophysite traditions can hardly now be said to involve a living heresy) among the Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians. See Archbishop Mouradiantz's *History of the Armenian Church*. See *Armenian* under EASTERN CHURCHES.

Gnosticism, the multiform heresy which taught in its main forms that from a supreme deity there issued a series of emanations, one of which was the creator of the universe, and attempted thus to account for the existence of evil in the world. In the Epistle to the Colossians we find it in its earliest form united with a Judaical heresy.

Docetism, the heresy common to some forms of Gnosticism, which taught that the Lord's Body was not a real human body, but only the appearance of it. Marcion explained Luke xxiv. 39 as meaning "A spirit hath not flesh and bone, and you see that I have them only in such wise as a spirit hath them"—a description of the present body of our Lord adopted by some moderns for controversial reasons other than those of Marcion.

Montanism, the heresy which perverted Christianity into an asceticism, which Montanus declared himself authorised to insist upon as he was himself the Paraclete (which he distinguished from the Holy Ghost), whose

office it was to perfect the Gospel. But see article MONTANISM.

Manichæism, the heresy combining Zoroastrism and Christianity, which taught that there are two rival powers, good and bad, ever striving for the mastery. See FATHERS.

Sabellianism, the heresy which refused to distinguish the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, representing them as manifestations of one Person. Sabellius lived at the beginning of the third century, and passed most of his life at Rome in the episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus. His theory, which had led by a revulsion to Arianism, was condemned by name in the Council of Constantinople. In the West the Sabellians were called Patripassians, because their hypothesis required the Father to have suffered at Calvary, the Father and the Son being the same Person.

Photinianism, the heresy which regarded Christ as a mere man, actuated by the Logos. Photinus was a pupil of Marcellus of Ancyra, who in the fourth century revived Sabellian doctrine in respect to the relation of the Father and the Logos, while he looked on Christ as a man in whom the Logos specially energised. Photinus learnt his doctrine from him, but laid stress on one side of it—the humanity of Christ, who, he bluntly taught, had no existence before His birth on earth. See Pearson, *Exp. of the Creed*, note f. to art. ii., for the judgment passed on him by early Christian writers. Vincentius Lirinensis, A.D. 400, states his heresy as follows: "He affirms that God is singular and solitary, and to be acknowledged by the Jews, denying the fulness of the Trinity, not believing that there is any Person of the Word of God or of the Holy Ghost; he affirms also that Christ was only a mere man, who had His beginning from the Virgin Mary, teaching very strongly that we ought to worship the Person of God the Father alone, and to honour Christ as man alone" (*Comm. on* xii.).

Priscillianism, was a Spanish heresy compounded out of Gnosticism, Manichæism, and Docetism, holding the characteristic tenet of each. Priscillian was the first teacher of error who was put to death for his doctrine.

Collyridianism, the heresy of some women who had come from Thrace into Arabia, which regarded St. Mary as an object of worship. Her devotees offered her a cake (κολλυρίς), whence their name. Epiphanius, referring to the sect, says, "The whole thing is foolish and strange, and is a device and deceit of the devil. Let Mary be in honour; let the Lord be worshipped. Let no one worship Mary" (*Hær.*, lxxxix.).

Pelagianism, the chief Western heresy of the fifth century, which denied the doctrine of original sin, and maintained the freedom and uprightness of man's will unbiassed by or toward evil. Pelagius was of British or Irish blood, and his heresy spreading in his native country, Bishops Germanus and Lupus were invited from Gaul to resist it. Its chief opponent was Augustine of Hippo, who formulated, in contravention of it, an exaggerated doctrine of Grace, which led to the Augustinian view of Predestination.

Monothelitism, the heresy which taught that Christ had but one will. This was an attempt at a compromise between the Monophysite and the orthodox doctrines, and was condemned at the sixth General Council at Constantinople in 681. Its condemnation was virtually involved in the condemnation of Monophysitism in the fourth Council. A similar dogma, not yet condemned by the Church, is Monognosticism, which teaches that Christ had on earth but one knowledge, and that the fallible human knowledge.

We conclude with the memorable words of Hooker: "There are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: His Deity, His Manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to His human nature; Nestorians by rending Christ asunder and dividing Him into two Persons; the followers of Eutyches by confounding in His Person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these, there have been four most famous ancient General Councils: the Council of Nice to define against Arians; against Apollinaris the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians; against Eutychians the Chalcedonian Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελείως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly;* the first applied to His being God, and the second to His being Man, the third to His being of both One, and the fourth to His still continuing in that One both, we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm that all heresies which touch but the Person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these later days or in any age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themselves" (*Eccl. Pol.*, v. liv. 10).

[F. M.]

HERMAS.—See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

HERMIT.—See MONKS.

HIPPO, COUNCIL OF.—A local Council of the Church of Africa was held at Hippo in A.D. 393, which, until the third Council of Carthage, passed decrees relating to the canonical books of the Old Testament, and included among them the books ordinarily known as the *Apocrypha*. The Alexandrian or Egyptian Canon was followed. This was done, because the Jewish Canon was practically unknown. St. Augustine, as bishop, took part in this Council. But it must be remembered that however widespread its influence, it was not a *General Council*. See COUNCILS.

HOLINESS.—The state of being holy, *i.e.* separated from sin and dedicated to God. That such a state is not brought about by attention to external ceremonial observances, appears from the following passages of Holy Scripture, viz., 1 Sam. xv. 22; Ps. li. 16, 17; Micah vi. 6–8; Matt. xxiii. 23–26; Rom. ii. 28, 29. Holiness implies conformity to the divine standard, or likeness of Christ (Rom. vi. 4; vii. 22; 1 John i. 6), and while impossible of accomplishment, or even of comprehension, to the natural man (1 Cor. ii. 14; Gal. ii. 20), is the gradual (not sudden) result of the working of the Holy Ghost upon the heart of man (John xiv. 8–13; Phil. i. 6; 1 Pet. i. 2).

Holiness is claimed, however, by the Roman Church as one of the four notes of the Church belonging to it *as a corporate society*, "because she teaches a holy doctrine, and is distinguished by the eminent holiness of so many thousands of her children." The presence, however, of holy people within a Church at times during the centuries of that Church's existence, does not necessarily make the Church holy at any and every time, any more than the existence of holy people in Israel of old prevented that Church from being as a whole apostate in the days of Ahab (1 Kings xix. 17; Rom. xi. 3). So many of the lives of Rome's Popes and clergy have been unholy, that this consideration alone should operate to prevent Rome's claim of holiness as a corporation. The Roman Catholic historian Baronius himself shows plainly the awful state of things existing in the Roman Church in the tenth century, and is quoted at length by Dr. Salmon in his *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 103. As to her doctrines being holy, this Protestants deny; for she teaches not the doctrines of the Apostles, but many erroneous doctrines which have been added from time to time to the pure apostolic teaching. The evil resulting from such a claim as this of Rome is at once apparent, for inviting people to become members of a body itself holy, tends to make many imagine themselves holy by simple connection with an external Church. See SANCTIFICATION.

HOLY COMMUNION.—See LORD'S SUPPER.

HOLY WATER.—The *Catholic Dictionary* (Addis and Arnold) derives the use of Holy Water (*aqua benedicta*) from the practice of the Jews. It quotes Ezekiel xxvi. 25: "I will pour out upon you clean water, and you shall be clean," and refers to the laver, placed between the altar and the door of the tabernacle for the priests to wash their hands and feet. Roman Catholic women keep bottles of Holy Water blessed on Whit Sunday, in their bedrooms, and consider it a remedy against all evils, a cure for all diseases. The use of Holy Water in the Roman Church owes its origin to the False Decretals (see DECRETALS). St. Paul (Heb. ix. 13, 14) says: "If the ashes of an heifer being sprinkled, sanctify such as are defiled to the cleansing of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Ghost offered Himself unspotted unto God, cleanse our conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (Douai).

The following passage from a forged letter of Alexander I. is the original institution of Holy Water: "We bless water, mixed with salt, sprinkled on the people, that all sprinkled with it may be sanctified and purified, which also we command to be done by all priests. For if the ashes of an heifer, sprinkled with blood, sanctified and purified the people, much more water, mixed with salt, and consecrated with divine prayers, sanctifies and purifies the people." Holy Water is thus put into the place assigned by St. Paul to the blood of Christ. Martène, the learned Benedictine, in his famous work, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, says at page 58: "Concerning the solemn benediction of salt and water to be made on every Lord's Day, I do not remember that I have read anything before the ninth century."

Goar, in his *Rituale Græcorum*, tells us, speaking of the institution of Holy Water: "It acknowledges as its author Pope Alexander, who presided over the Church in the time of Trajan" (p. 451).

Even Popes have been compelled to admit the letter of Alexander a forgery, therefore we have the institution of Holy Water traced to a spurious letter of the ninth century. As a matter of fact, the sprinkling of water was common among the pagans. Ovid speaks of the Aqua Lustralis in his *Metamorphoses*, and so does Virgil, both in his *Georgics* and in the *Æneid*. The very brush used by the Romans for sprinkling was called Asperges, and is so called by the Church of Rome.

The blessing of Holy Water by the priest is a curious ceremony. With lighted candles

and ritual in hand, he forms the sign of the cross three several times over the salt and over the water in the name of the true God, the living God, and the holy God, praying that He may banish all demons, all unclean and malignant spirits from these elements of salt and water. He then mixes the salt and water together, and afterwards uses this mixture to banish all fairies, demons, and evil spirits that may be lurking in houses, in dairies, or other places. Although the *Catholic Dictionary* (Addis and Arnold), with the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Vaughan, quotes Ezekiel in support of Holy Water, the editors are obliged to agree with Martène, and admit that: "There does not seem to be any evidence that it was customary for the priest to sprinkle the people with Holy Water before the ninth century."

[T. C.]

HOLY WEEK.—The week immediately preceding Easter, in which our Lord's Passion is commemorated. In the Church of Rome various ceremonies occur during this week, such as (1) the Blessing of Palms, in which palms or olive branches are blessed by the priest and distributed among the people; (2) the Tenebrae, in which fifteen lighted candles are placed on a triangular candelabrum, and at the end of each psalm one is put out, till only a single candle is left lighted at the top of the triangle; (3) the Adoration of the Cross, in which a cross is uncovered and kissed by priests and people; (4) the Blessing of the Paschal candle, in which a candle is blessed by the deacon, who fixes in it five grains of blessed incense in memory of the wounds of Christ, and of the spices used at His burial. See ADORATION OF THE CROSS.

HOMILIES, THE.—The Homilies of the Church of England are two books of sermons, numbering in all thirty-three, which set forth in popular style the leading truths of Holy Scripture and its teaching on various practical subjects. They are thus described in the XXXVth Article of Religion: "The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people."

History. Book I.—The first Book was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer before the Convocation of 1542, when "there were produced the Homilies composed by certain prelates of divers matters." That was towards the close of the reign of King Henry VIII., after the reactionary religious policy was adopted which gave rise to the barbarous Six Articles. The work was resumed by the Archbishop on the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, when the first book was published, with a preface in which it was stated that the Homilies were to be read "every Sunday in the year at High Mass." The mediæval corruption of divine worship had not yet been abolished, and this is how we are to explain the language of the advertisement at the end of the book, promising a Homily "of the due receiving of (Christ's) blessed body and blood under the form of bread and wine." This advertisement was only a royal declaration, and had no ecclesiastical sanction, and the Homily which was subsequently published rejected the error of the Real Presence as contrary to Holy Scripture. Even the preface of 1547 declared "the way to avoid corrupt and ungodly living and erroneous doctrine, and to put away all contention, is the true setting forth and pure declaring of God's Word, which is the principal guide and leader unto all godliness and virtue." And two years later, after the publication of the First Prayer Book, the name "High Mass" was changed for "the Celebration of the Communion" in the preface to the Homilies, an incidental but a conclusive indication that the idolatrous Mass had been abolished in the Church of England. The first Book of Homilies was reprinted from time to time in a separate form, and it was not till the year 1623 that the two books were incorporated in one volume.

Book II. The second Book of Homilies was published in the year 1563. The last of these Homilies was occasioned by a rebellion in the north of England in 1569, and was not incorporated with the second Book of Homilies till the year 1571, when the XXXIX Articles, including the XXXVth, "were deliberately read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the archbishop and bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation." It is not commonly known that certain changes were made in the Homilies by Queen Elizabeth herself, one of them being the extension of the meaning of the word "sacrament" in the Homily of Common Prayer to include Absolution and Ordination, and another the omission of a declaration similar to that in Article XXIX, denying that the unbeliever is a partaker of Christ in the Sacrament. These reactionary changes were not, however, sanctioned by Convocation, for the XXXVth Article on the Homilies was subscribed by Convocation in January 1563, but the Homilies as altered were not published till the following July. This subscription of Convocation did, however, give sanction to certain omissions in a Protestant direction made by Bishop Jewel. Thus, in

the Homily for Easter Day, in a reference to the Holy Communion—"Call to thy mind," it said, "that therefore thou hast received into thy possession that everlasting verity, our Saviour Christ, *in form of bread and wine* to confirm thy conscience." The words in italics were struck out. And in the same sermon the following passage occurs: "How dare we be so bold as to renounce the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost *now received in this Holy Sacrament?*" Here again the words in italics were omitted.

Titles and Authors. BOOK I.

1. A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture (Archbishop Cranmer).
2. A Sermon of the Misery of all Mankind (Archdeacon Harpsfield).
3. A Sermon of the Salvation of Mankind by only Christ our Saviour (Archbishop Cranmer).
4. A short Declaration of the True, Lively, and Christian Faith (Archbishop Cranmer).
5. A Sermon of Good Works annexed unto Faith (Archbishop Cranmer).
6. A Sermon of Christian Love and Charity (Archdeacon Harpsfield).
7. A Sermon against Swearing and Perjury (Thomas Becon).
8. A Sermon how dangerous a Thing it is to fall from God (unknown).
9. An Exhortation against the Fear of Death (Archbishop Cranmer).
10. An Exhortation concerning Good Order and obedience to Rulers and Magistrates (unknown).
11. A Sermon against Whoredom and Uncleanness (Thomas Becon).
12. A Sermon against Contention and Brawling (Bishop Latimer, see Heylin, i. 68.)

BOOK II.

1. A Homily of the Right Use of the Church (Bishop Jewel, or Pilkington).
2. A Homily against Peril of Idolatry (Bishop Jewel, or Ridley and Bullinger).
3. A Homily for Repairing and Keeping Clean of Churches (Bishop Jewel, or Pilkington).
4. A Homily of Fasting (Archbishop Grindal).
5. A Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness (Bishop Pilkington and Peter Martyr).
6. A Homily against Excess of Apparel (Bishop Pilkington and Peter Martyr).
7. A Homily concerning Prayer (Bishop Jewel).
8. A Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer (Bishop Jewel).
9. A Homily wherein is declared that Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a Tongue that is understanded of the Hearers (Bishop Jewel).
10. An Information for them which take Offence at certain Places of the Holy Scripture (partly from Erasmus).
11. A Homily of Alms-deeds (unknown).
12. A Homily or Sermon concerning the Nativity and Birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ (unknown).
13. A Homily for Good Friday concerning the Death and Passion of our Saviour Christ (Taverner's Postils).
14. A Homily of the Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For Easter Day (Taverner's Postils).
15. A Homily of the worthy Receiving and reverent Esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (Bishop Jewel).
16. A Homily concerning the Coming Down of the Holy Ghost and the Manifold Gifts of the same. For Whit Sunday (Bishop Jewel).
17. A Homily for the Days of Rogation Week (Archbishop Parker).
18. A Homily of the State of Matrimony (partly from Chrysostom; partly from Veit Deitrick, a Lutheran).
19. A Homily against idleness (Bishop Jewel).
20. A Homily of Repentance (partly from Rodolph Gualter).
21. A Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion (Archbishop Parker).

Speaking generally, we may say that Archbishop Cranmer was the principal author of the first Book of Homilies, and Bishop Jewel of the second.

Purpose and Authority.—The 80th Canon, which is still in force, orders that a copy of the Homilies shall be provided for every parish church. The second rubric after the Nicene Creed says, "Then shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth, by authority." The Homilies were evidently intended to supply the lack of preaching power in ministers, many, if not most of whom were, to use the canonical phrase, "no preachers."

How the Homilies are to be regarded is illustrated by Article XI., which says, "Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification." This Homily, by being thus particularly referred to, seems of higher doctrinal authority than the others. In 1553 the Article's wording was *in eo sensu quo*, but this was changed in 1603 to *ut fusius explicatur*. The Homilies amplify and apply the teaching of the Church, and, as even Dr. Newman admitted in Tract 90, "they are of authority so far as they bring out the sense of the Articles, and are not of authority when they do not." Clearly, therefore, they cannot teach such doctrines

as the "Real" Presence, the propitiatory value of good works, and justification by a righteousness within us, as Newman alleges in that Tract, seeing that all these doctrines are condemned in the XXXIX. Articles.

The least that can be said of the Homilies is that they are of more authority than any sermons preached by particular clergymen, seeing that they are the Church's own sermons, showing how the facts and doctrines of the Word of God are to be brought home to the consciences of men. But even their statements are to be brought to the test of God's Word, seeing that "ignorance of God's Word is the cause of all error" (Hom. I.). It is true that the Homilies cite the practice of the early Christian Church and the opinions of the ancient Christian Fathers, but, faithful to the vital principle of the Reformation, they regard the Holy Scriptures as the supreme authority in all matters of doctrine. And in this sense it is true, however much denied, that "the Homilies direct us to the Bible only."[1]

Bishop Burnet, that sound and sober Churchman, correctly sets forth and illustrates the authority of the Homilies in the following words, in which he is commenting on Article XXXV.: "Upon the whole matter every one who subscribes the Articles ought to read them (*i.e.* the Homilies), otherwise he subscribes a blank; he approves a book implicitly, and binds himself to read it, as he may be required, without knowing anything concerning it. This approbation is not to be stretched so far as to carry in it a special assent to every particular in that whole volume; but a man must be persuaded of the main of the doctrine that is taught in them.

"To instance this in one particular, since there are so many of the Homilies that charge the Church of Rome with idolatry, and that from so many different topics, no man who thinks that Church is not guilty of idolatry, can with a good conscience subscribe this Article, that the Homilies contain a good and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times; for, according to his sense, they contain a false and an uncharitable charge of idolatry against a Church that they think is not guilty of it, and he will be apt to think that this was done to heighten the aversion of the nation to it; therefore any who have such favourable thoughts of the Church of Rome, are bound, by the force of that persuasion of theirs, not to sign this Article, but to declare against it, as the authorising of an accusation against a Church, which they think is ill grounded, and is by consequence both unjust and uncharitable."

In the catalogue of the British Museum, four pages of which are devoted to editions of the Homilies, and various works upon them, will be found "The Judgment of the Church of England concerning Images and Pictures in Churches. Being a Vindication of the Lord Bishop of London's Court for removing a scandalous picture lately set up over the Communion Table in White-Chappel Church." This was published in the year 1714, and is a striking example of the practical use of the Homilies in the suppression of Popish worship in our churches. But *Philpotts* v. *Boyd* fixes the legal status of the Homilies as standards of doctrine.

A Protestant Dialogue, published by the Protestant Reformation Society, gives a summary of the "wholesome doctrine" of the Homilies in their own words, on Justification, Good Works, the Word of God, Public Worship, the Sacraments, Prayer, Confession, and the Church of Rome, and is believed to be the first attempt to popularise the teaching of the Homilies. It contains also a valuable appendix by the Rev. Dr. C. H. H. Wright, exposing the misrepresentations of the teaching of the Homilies by Cardinal Newman and the Ritualists. See also *The Witness of the Homilies* (Church Hist. Society), and *The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies*, by J. T. Tomlinson, chaps. ix. x. pp. 229–253. [J. S.]

HOMOOUSIOS, was the term used during the disputes concerning the Person of Christ, before and after the Council of Nice, to indicate *consubstantial*, or *of the same substance* (ὁμοούσιος). The term itself was not quite satisfactory, but, as explained in the course of the controversy, came to be understood as asserting the full divinity of the Lord Jesus. The term used by the Arian party was *homoiousios* (ὁμοιούσιος), *of like* or *similar essence*, which indicated that Christ was not of the same essence as the Father, but of a somewhat similar. The great point of the controversy was on the point whether there was a time in which the Son was not in existence, or whether He existed from eternity as real and true God.

HONORIUS I.—Honorius I. (there were four in all of that name), who was Pope from A.D. 625 to 638, was one of the Popes who fell into heresy. However leniently we may be inclined to judge of Monothelism or Monothelitism (see HERESY), it was a distinct contradiction of Catholic doctrine. Honorius, in *official* letters addressed to Sergius and others (therefore *ex cathedra*) teaches the heresy of only one will: "Whence even we confess one will of our Lord

[1] *The Witness of the Homilies*, p. 26.

Jesus Christ" (Mansi, xi. 538 *ff.*; Hefele, *Concil. Gesch.* iii. 146 *ff.*). He rejected the orthodox view of two wills (human and divine) in the same person. The letters quoted have been denounced by some Roman Catholic writers as forged; others have had recourse to forced interpretations to extract a Catholic sense from the papal words. Honorius was solemnly condemned by the Sixth General Council held at Constantinople in A.D. 680-1, and the anathema on him was repeated at the Seventh Council held at Nicæa in A.D. 787. The Romish authorities vainly attempt to get over this by regarding the anathema as a condemnation not of the personal heresy of the Pope, but of his negligence in suppressing heresy. So Garnier in the Appendix to his *Liber Diurnus Rom. Pontif.*, quoted and refuted by Hefele (iii. 175). The same view is put forth by Di Brunoin *Catholic Belief*, in his "List of Sovereign Pontiffs." Dr. Di Bruno says, "he was greatly censured for having been remiss in condemning heretics." But Leo II. distinctly condemned Honorius, and his condemnation was embodied in the *Liber Diurnus* (cap. ii. tit. 9, professio 2), the official book of formulas of the Roman Church. Full facts and documents are set forth in Schaff's *History of the Church* (Mediæval Christ.), vol. ii. The matter was fiercely discussed at the Vatican Council. Bishop Hefele, who had, as above mentioned, written as a historian against the orthodoxy of Pope Honorius, was forced against his convictions with others to accept the ruling of the Council.

[C. H. H. W.]

HOOD.—A kind of cape originally intended for out-door wear. Hanging over the back, it could be drawn forward as a covering for the head. It was thus worn by the monks of the Middle Ages. In a modified form hoods of various colours are worn over the surplice, to indicate the academical rank of the wearer.

HOST.—The name of a wheaten cake supposed to be changed into the Person of Christ by a form of words used by a priest. (See TRANSUBSTANTIATION, WAFER.)

The history of the word Host is singular and instructive. It is used in the Vulgate (Latin) Version of the Old Testament for the animal offered as a sin offering, or a burnt offering, or a peace offering. Each of them was a *Hostia*, or Host. The *sin offering* symbolised the reconciliation of man to God, and its meaning was exhausted in the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, by which that reconciliation was effected. Christians can have no *Hostia pro peccato* or *Hostia pro delicto*—no Host for sin or trespass, except the one offering of the Cross, the virtue of which is continuous. The *burnt offering* symbolised Christ's surrender of His own life for the life of man. Its meaning likewise was exhausted in the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. Christians can have no other *Hostia in holocaustum*—no Host or victim for burnt offering. The *peace offering* followed upon a consciousness of a state of gracious acceptance, by virtue of which man could feast joyously with his reconciled Father. A Jew having this consciousness, gratefully and humbly offered his *Hostia gratiarum*—Host of thanks (Lev. vii. 13); his *Hostia pro gratiarum actione*—Host for giving of thanks (Lev. xxii. 29); his *Hostia laudis*—Host of praise (Psalm cxvi. 17) to Jehovah. Christians, too, bless God for the consciousness of their filial relation to Him as they eat and drink at their Father's Table. They therefore have their Host of praise and thanksgiving. But what is it? The Jews' Host of thanksgiving, or peace offering, consisted of an animal sacrificed and eaten with giving of thanks. For Christians it consists of the offering, not of an animal *accompanied by praise* and thanksgiving, but of the praise and thanksgiving *themselves*. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who enlightens us as to the spiritual meaning of so much of the Jewish ceremonial, says, "By Him let us offer the *sacrifice of praise* to God continually," and as though to prevent any misunderstanding or materialising misconstruction of his words, he adds, "that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name (Heb. xiii. 15). Therefore the "spiritual sacrifice" (1 Peter ii. 5) of prayer and praise and thanksgiving is the Christian's Host—the only Host that he has to offer except the surrender of himself, which is a personal and private act. And this was the emphatic teaching of the earliest Fathers.

Tertullian writes: "I offer Him a rich and greater Host, which He has commanded: that is, prayer from a chaste body, an innocent mind, and a sanctified spirit; not pennyworths of frankincense, tears of the Arabian tree," &c. (*Apol.* xxx.). "Prayer (with Psalmody) is the spiritual Host which has done away with the ancient sacrifices. We (Christians) are the true worshippers, the true priests who, praying in the Spirit, in the Spirit offer God's proper and acceptable sacrifice of prayer, which He has demanded and appointed for Himself; this we must bring to the altar of God," &c. (*De Orat.*, xxvii.). "We do sacrifice, but in the way which God has commanded—that is, by prayer alone; for God, the Creator of the universe, does not need any incense or blood" (*Ad. Scap.*, ii.). "God is to be served not with earthly but with spiritual sacrifices, as it is written, 'A broken and a contrite heart is the Host which should be offered to God.' And elsewhere, 'Offer the sacrifice of praise to God, and render thy vows

to the Most Highest.' This shows that spiritual sacrifices of praise are demanded, and a broken heart is the sacrifice acceptable to God" (*Adv. Jud.*, v.). Origen says: "To praise God and to offer our vows of prayer to Him, is to sacrifice to God" (*In Num.*, Hom. xi.). Athenagoras says: "As to our not sacrificing, the Creator and Father of all does not want blood, or fat, or sweet savour from flowers or incense, being Himself the perfection of sweet savour, wanting nothing, requiring nothing. But the greatest sacrifice we can offer to Him is to know who stretched out the vault of heaven and fixed the central earth; who gathered the waters into the seas; who covered the sky with the stars and made the earth produce seed; who made the animals and created man. When we apprehend the creative God as sustaining and watching over the universe with that wisdom and skill with which He ever works, and raise up holy hands to Him, what hecatomb is then wanted?" (*Leg.*, xiii.). Lactantius writes: "There are two things that must be offered, sacrifice and offering, both incorporeal. . . . Offering is uprightness of soul; sacrifice is praise and hymn" (*Instit.*, vi. 24.). Augustine writes: "Certainly offer; you have within you what you may offer. Do not look outside you for frankincense, but say, 'Within me, O Lord, are the offerings of praise for me to render to Thee.' Do not seek outside you for a sheep to slay. You have something within you to slay. The sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit" (*In Psalm.*, li.).

It was not till the Middle Ages, and more particularly the thirteenth century when Innocent III. in so many ways changed the character of the Christian Faith, that the idea of a Host in the modern sense arose. It could not have arisen earlier, and it could not but arise then. For when men were taught, and came to believe that the bread and the wine, which are the figures of the body and blood of Christ offered on the Cross, were His living Person (each of them), and that the priest sacrificed this living Person to God the Father, the Eucharistic or Thanksgiving offering passed across from the class of peace offerings (made by those who felt themselves accepted and in peace with God) to that of sin offerings (to make reconciliation), and the Christian Host became not a humble presentation of man's prayer and praise and thanksgiving and penitence, but, like the Jewish offering, a material object, not indeed now an animal, but a transmuted piece of bread which Bishop Andrewes calls *Christum vestrum ex pane factum* (*Resp. ad Bellarm.*). [F. M.]

HOURS.—See CANONICAL HOURS.

HOUSELLING CLOTH.—It was a long napkin held before the communicant, or spread over the Communion rails, in order to prevent any crumbs of bread from falling to the ground. See HOST, TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

HUGUENOTS, THE.—The history of the Huguenots is the history of the Protestant movement in France, and of its followers scattered abroad in many countries, owing to numerous and terrible persecutions during a period of three centuries, extending from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the beginning of the reign of Francis I., down to the passing of "The Law of the Eighteenth of Germinal," in the tenth year of the Republic. This law was passed on 7th April 1802, and was confirmed by Napoleon I., when he was crowned Emperor a few months later. Manifestly, only an outline of the history can be attempted in this article. In fact, to decide what to omit and what to insert has been a difficult task.

The origin of the Reformation movement in France can be traced to two prime causes: the widespread circulation of French versions of Luther's books, thanks to the recent discovery how to print rapidly, by using movable type and improved presses: and the translation, between 1522 and 1528, of the entire Bible into French, by Jacques Lefèvre, better known, perhaps, as Faber Stapulensis, a native of Étaples in Picardy, a distinguished Professor in the University of Paris, and tutor to Charles, Duke of Orleans, third son of Francis I. This version was printed in Antwerp, whose printers at the time were issuing thousands of copies of Holy Scripture in various languages, as well as books and pamphlets written by the leading Reformers. It became the basis of all subsequent editions of the French Bible.

About the year 1521, Jacques Lefèvre and his favourite pupil, Guillaume Farel, then a young man thirty-four years of age, were invited by Guillaume Briçonnet, Count of Montbrun, and Bishop of Lodève and Meaux, to occupy the pulpits of non-resident clergy belonging to the diocese. The two scholars made the town of Meaux their head-quarters. Here Lefèvre completed most of his translation of the Scriptures; here his printed version was first circulated among the French populace, with the bishop's help; and here, we need scarcely add, appeared the first signs of the Reformation in France. Meaux was an important town, situated some fifty miles north-east of Paris, and inhabited chiefly by mechanics, wool-carders, cloth-makers, and artisans.

A word, now, as to the derivation of the name "Huguenot." There is much disputing on this point. Some derive the name from "Huguon," a term applied in Touraine to persons who walk about the streets at night; others, from the name of one "Hugues," a Genevese

Calvinist; others, again, from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word "Eidgenossen," meaning "confederates," a term applied to those citizens of Geneva who allied themselves with the Swiss cantons to resist Charles III., Duke of Savoy. Mahn, quoted by Samuel Smiles in his book *The Huguenots in England*, gives no fewer than fifteen supposed derivations of the word "Huguenot." This much is generally accepted. "Huguenots" was a nickname first applied to French Protestants about March 1560, and was derived directly or indirectly from Geneva:[1] it was soon held in high honour by its recipients. Their foes also called the French Protestants, "Lutherans," "Gospellers" "Christaudins," "Religionaires," and in 1621 coined the opprobrious epithet "Parpaillots." The name "Protestants" was not applied to them till the end of the seventeenth century.

The first signs of the Reformation in France appeared in the town of Meaux. In 1546 the members of the Huguenot community there adopted the Church organisation planned by John Calvin for the regulation of the Protestant Church in Strasbourg. Pierre Leclerc was appointed to be the first chief pastor of Meaux. In September 1555 John le Maçon, surnamed La Rivière, was set apart as the first Reformed Minister in Paris, and a consistory of elders and deacons was appointed to administer church affairs for the Huguenots in Paris. The form of Church government adopted by Meaux and Paris became the prototype for many other Huguenot communities in all parts of France.

Within the brief period of thirty years, the number of adherents to the Protestant cause in France increased very rapidly. So early as 1534, the publication and wide dissemination of controversial pamphlets, known as the *Placards*, had roused Francis I. to try to crush the new movement by systematic persecution. Political apprehension inspired the king's hostility. Francis dreaded lest a celebrated saying of Pope Clement VII. should come true: "A new religion established in the midst of a people involves nothing short of a change of prince." In fact, most of the hostility and persecution directed against the Huguenots during the three centuries of their existence as an organised body, was inspired by political considerations.

The determined opposition of Francis I. forced the Reformation movement to become a movement of the populace rather than of the ruling classes; it prevented Paris from becoming a Reformation centre, and caused the leaders of the movement to look to Geneva, and to John Calvin, and Theodore Beza for spiritual instruction, for counsel, and for encouragement. Henceforth the theology and Church discipline of Geneva were predominant among the Huguenots.

During a period of thirty years, dating from the accession of Francis II. in 1559, to the close of the reign of Henry III. in 1589, Catherine de Medicis and the Guises exercised a paramount influence at the French Court. Catherine was an Italian, a niece of Pope Clement VII., and wife of Henry II. of France. Three of her sons, Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., in succession occupied the throne of France. The two Guises, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, were uncles of Francis II. Catherine and the two Guises were ardent Roman Catholics and bitter enemies to the Reformation faith. Thus the period is marked by almost continuous and bitter persecution of the Huguenots, who at length were driven in self-defence to appeal to the sword, and for years France was harassed with civil war. The abortive Colloquy at Poissy, August to October 1561, was arranged, mainly in order to give the Roman Catholic party more time to collect forces wherewith to crush the Huguenots, should their military development ever mature into open warfare against galling oppression. The sudden attack on a Huguenot congregation while at worship in a "temple" at Vassy, in Champagne, by Francis, Duke of Guise, and 200 of his retainers, on Sunday, 1st March 1562, was the torch that set ablaze a prolonged warfare. The favourable "Edict of January," 1562, was granted too late to avert war.

During the earlier stages of the war, Louis, Prince of Condé (killed at the Battle of Jarnac, March 1569), Henry, Prince of Condé, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, Henry of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.), François de la Noue (called Bras de Fer), and D'Andelot were the principal Huguenot generals; and Francis, Duke of Guise (assassinated, February 1563), Henry, Duke of Guise, Antoine of Navarre (died from wounds, November 1562), Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France (died from wounds, 1567), the Marshal Saint André, and the Duke of Anjou—the principal Roman Catholic generals. At the Battle of Dreux, December 1562 (the first engagement), the Huguenot forces met with defeat. The Battle of St. Denis, November 1567 (the second engagement), was indecisive. The Battle of Jarnac, 1st March 1569, resulted in a severe defeat of the Huguenots, with heavy losses. The Roman Catholics achieved another decisive victory at the Battle of Moncontour, October 1569. Not until Henry of Navarre

[1] Spelled Huguenot, Hugenot, Haguenot, Huguenot, Hugonet, Hugonot. The meaning of Parpaillots is uncertain.

was old enough to take supreme command during the Wars of the League, did the Huguenots gain a decisive victory in an important battle. The brilliant and successful defence of La Rochelle by La Noue, from December 1572 to June 1573, during the first siege against that Huguenot stronghold, partly atoned for the reverses met with in the open field.

A date ever memorable in Protestant annals is that of 24th August to 27th August 1572, the date of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The most celebrated among the victims was Gaspard de Coligny. The massacre in Paris was followed at once by massacres in Lyons (1500 victims), Rouen (600 victims), Dieppe, Havre. The massacres in the provinces lasted more than six weeks. In all France from 70,000 to 100,000 Huguenots are said to have been slain. It is generally held that Catherine de Medicis, Henry, Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, supported by other representatives of the Roman hierarchy, planned this general massacre of French Protestants.

The Holy League, at first established by a body of extreme Roman Catholics for the protection of the interests of their religion, developed into a powerful military and political organisation about the year 1576. The King of Spain was a leading supporter of the League. Its military power was specially prominent during the Wars of the League, which were waged between the years 1576 to 1593. Henry of Navarre was the brilliant leader of the Huguenots; Henry of Guise, the Duke of Mayenne, and the Duke of Joyeuse commanded the forces of the League. At the Battle of Coutras, October 1587, the Huguenots won their first victory in a big engagement; and at the Battle of Ivry, March 1590, they achieved a splendid triumph, and routed the forces of the League.

Henry III. caused Henry of Guise to be assassinated in December 1588; but he was assassinated himself, August 1589, and Henry of Navarre succeeded to the crown of France as Henry IV. Catherine had died, January 1588. Despite the remonstrances of Duplessis Mornay, the great Huguenot statesman, and the entreaties of the aged Theodore Beza, Henry abjured the Reformed faith, and at St. Denis was publicly received into the Roman Catholic Church by the Archbishop of Bourges, 25th July 1593. Consequently, it was not until April 1598 that persistent, though respectful, agitation by the Huguenots in numerous political assemblies of their adherents, accomplished the passing of the Edict of Nantes, the great charter of Huguenot liberties.

Henry IV. was assassinated in 1610 by a fanatic named François Ravaillac, and was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII., then only nine years old. Marie de Medicis, mother of the young king, was appointed Queen Regent during the king's minority; but the control of state affairs really was in the hands of Duplessis Mornay, now Governor of the city of Saumur.

The political Assembly of Saumur, May 1611, revealed the existence of certain grievances, and of a certain amount of friction, among the Huguenots. Under the presidency of Duplessis Mornay, the assembly matured a scheme for a more complete organisation of the Huguenots, so as to secure better facilities for mutual protection and intercourse. Another form of deliberative body, known as "The Assemblies of the Circle," was established. The National Synod of Privas, held from May to July 1612, completed the good work by enacting a solemn oath, binding each community to loyalty and Christian fellowship, and also by appointing a "Committee of Reconciliation," who were bidden to adjust the differences that threatened to estrange the Huguenot nobility.

Ever since the abjuration by Henry IV. in 1593, the leaders of Roman Catholicism in France had been agitating for the re-establishment of the Papacy within the little province of Béarn, situated at the foot of the Pyrenees. The Reformation there had made rapid progress under the fostering care of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and mother of Henry IV. Wearied with the pertinacity of the bishops, Louis XIII. set about re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Béarn. To overcome the Protestant faith after fifty years free course in the province, proved to be a formidable task. The reduction occupied three years, 1617–1620, and involved considerable persecution.

The fate of Béarn precipitated a renewal of hostilities. From November 1620 to May 1621 a political assembly of the Huguenots met in the city of La Rochelle, to determine the policy to be adopted; but the king's descent upon the Huguenot country in the south, while the conference was sitting, clearly showed that a military campaign was inevitable. Nevertheless the step was deplored by the Duke of Rohan, by his younger brother, the Duke of Soubise, by Duplessis Mornay, and by a large number of Huguenots. The assembly thoroughly reorganised the Huguenot military system. The territories occupied by them were divided into eight military districts. A Huguenot nobleman was appointed general in command of each district. The Duke of Bouillon, first marshal of France, was chosen commander-in-chief, as well as general of a district. The Duke of Rohan and the Duke of Soubise, sad to say, alone proved themselves worthy of the trust committed to them. At the same time, a new seal was

adopted, bearing the motto "Pro Christo et Rege."

Louis, meanwhile, by seizing Saumur and ejecting Duplessis Mornay (died 1623) from his governorship, had opened the first of the three campaigns of a war that lasted practically from 1621 to 1629. The most prominent leaders were Rohan, Soubise, and Jean Guiton, Mayor of La Rochelle, on the Huguenot side; and Louis XIII., the Prince of Condé, (grandson of the great Huguenot leader) and Cardinal Richelieu, on the Roman Catholic side. The southern provinces, Guyenne and Languedoc, and the city of La Rochelle, were the battle ground.

Two or three prolonged sieges, a conspicuous feature of this war, demand a brief notice. The city of Montauban gallantly withstood a three months' siege, combined with several determined assaults. Louis was bitterly chagrined at his failure. The next year, 1622, the town of Montpellier successfully beat off the royal forces. But the reduction of La Rochelle was the cherished desire of the Roman Catholic party. This had been indicated to the king by the Bishop of Rennes at the Assembly of Roman Catholic Clergy, June to October 1621. A distinguished deputation of the hierarchy offered Louis a million livres for the purpose.

Although the king's army did not formally begin the investment of the city till August 1627, offensive operations were begun so early as 1622. The skill of the engineer, Pompée Targon, and the industry of Arnauld du Fort, accomplished during five years the stealthy yet steady completion of formidable works to aid the blockade. While these preparations were being made, Soubise was defeated (1625), in a bold attempt to seize the royal fleet anchored in the harbour of Blavet, now called Port Louis; and Rohan was waging a successful guerilla warfare against the Prince of Condé, who had been commissioned to stamp out the "southern revolt."

The capture of La Rochelle was due mainly to the strategical ability and indomitable energy displayed by Cardinal Richelieu. From August 1627 to the capitulation on 29th October 1628, a rigorous siege was maintained. Charles I. three times sent powerful fleets from England to succour the citizens. The respective commanders, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Earl of Lindsey, in turn utterly failed in their mission, and materially weakened, rather than strengthened, the stubborn resistance maintained by the Rochellese. Public feeling in England and Scotland, for many years past favourable to the Huguenots, had been deeply stirred by tidings of their sufferings. In 1621 the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered a collection to be made for the refugees. In 1622 a collection was made throughout Scotland. On the other hand, the consort of Charles I. was Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of Louis XIII. Appearances suggest, therefore, that the policy which directed the despatch of the three expeditions, directed also their discreditable failures. La Rochelle capitulated 29th October 1628. More than 15,000 persons perished during the fourteen months' siege. The city was deprived of its defences and of all its rights and privileges. The fall of La Rochelle sealed the fate of the Huguenots as a political and military power in France. Thus ended a period of almost ceaseless civil warfare, extending from the attack on the worshippers at Vassy, by Francis of Guise, March 1562, down to the Peace of Alais, a Royal Edict, signed June 1629. This Edict is known as the "Edict of Grace" or "Pardon."

Cardinal Richelieu persuaded Louis XIII. to grant generous terms to the Huguenots. This great prelate, statesman, and military commander proved to be as magnanimous in peace as he had been formidable in war. The pastor of Montauban acknowledged his "clean reputation of incorruptible good faith," a tribute which was confirmed in even stronger terms by Zorzo Zorzi, the contemporary Venetian ambassador to the French court. The cardinal's tolerant policy secured about thirty years (1629-1660) welcome freedom from religious persecution. He died in December 1642.

Less than six months later, May 1643, Louis XIII. died, and was succeeded by his son, Louis XIV., who was only five years old. The queen mother, Anne of Austria, held the regency. Cardinal Giulio Mazarin was appointed prime minister, and remained in power till his death in March 1661, when Louis assumed supreme power. The loyalty of the Huguenots, and several important services that they rendered to the crown during the "War of the Fronde," or Sling, and in other disturbances which took place within the first ten years of the king's reign, were warmly acknowledged by Louis and by Cardinal Mazarin.

By the death of Oliver Cromwell in September 1658, the great statesman whose genius had made England's hostility an event to be dreaded, the probability of English intervention was removed. The archbishops and bishops perpetually were soliciting Louis to stamp out the "Pretended Reformed Religion." The close of 1659, and the first few months of 1660, saw the convocation at Loudun of the twenty-ninth and last National Synod permitted to the Huguenots. The succeeding twenty-five years were marked by a steady development of persecution, culminating in the famous Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 17th

Struck by Charles IX. of France, 1572. The king is represented as Hercules in battle with the Lernæan hydra, which represents the Huguenots. The legend on the reverse means: "*Lest it may despise the sword I will oppose it also with flames.*"

Medailles Françaises, 1892: Règne de Charles IX., No. 35.

Coin of the same king, 1572. The reverse represents the king in robes with drawn sword, and bodies of Huguenots under his feet. The legend means: "*Valour against rebels.*"

Medailles Françaises: Charles IX., No. 36.

Medal of Louis XIV., struck in commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. The reverse shows Religion tramping on Heresy, whose torch is extinguished. The legend is: "*Heresy extinguished.*" The background depicts a Roman Catholic Church.

Medailles Françaises: Louis XIV., No. 169.

October 1685. At first certain civil and social disabilities were enforced, and fresh disabilities were created; then Huguenot "temples" here and there were demolished. The expostulations and warnings of Jean Baptist Colbert, the famous minister of finance, were unheeded by the king.

From 1681 more violent measures were adopted. The "Terrible Law," passed in that year, authorised children only seven years of age to renounce the religion of their Protestant parents, and to embrace Roman Catholicism. In many cases the clergy found, herein, a pretext forcibly to separate young children from their parents, who were compelled to pay for their education in Roman Catholic Schools. In the same year also, Michel de Marillac, a crown official, converted the oppressive custom of billeting soldiers on private residents, into a new way of molesting the Huguenots of Poitou. He directed that an extra number of dragoons should be quartered in each Huguenot house, and gave them full licence to maltreat the household in every possible way. This ingenious form of oppression, notorious under the name of the Dragonnades—derived from the word dragoon—in 1685 was extended by François, Marquis de Louvois, the celebrated war minister, to the provinces of Béarn, Guyenne, and Upper Languedoc. About the time of the Revocation, Louvois developed the Dragonnades into a systematised and widespread military persecution of the Huguenots. Thus the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was really the outcome of a long course of progressive persecution. Huguenot "temples" everywhere without loss of time were razed to the ground. The celebrated "temple" at Charenton was among the first to be destroyed. The Revocation with its attendant persecutions shattered the Protestant movement in France. Thousands fled into other countries; thousands more perished amid sufferings too varied and too painful to detail.

The fate of the scattered communities now demands a brief notice. The Huguenots of the Cévennes near Languedoc revolted against their Roman Catholic persecutors in July 1702, when a body of them under Pierre Séguier, one of the preaching prophets, slew the Abbé du Chayla, a notorious persecutor, in his house at Pont de Montvert, and released his tortured prisoners. From this date till January 1705, when Jean Cavalier arranged terms with Marshal de Villars, a sanguinary guerilla warfare was waged, known as the "Insurrection of the Camisards."[1]

[1] Camisards, a nickname of uncertain origin, but said to have been derived from the word "camisade," a name applied to soldiers engaged in night attack, who wore a shirt, or "camise" over their armour for purposes of identification.

The most prominent leaders of the Camisard bands were Pierre Esprit, otherwise known as Séguier, Laporte, his nephew Roland Laporte, better known as Roland, Abdias Morel, surnamed Catinat, the commander of the Camisard troop of horse, Ravanel, and Jean Cavalier, by far the most brilliant Huguenot leader since the days of Henry of Navarre. The careers of these men illustrate, once more, how formidable as a military force may become mobile bands of hardy and determined men, even though matched against superior numbers of disciplined troops led by trained officers like the Count de Broglie, Captain Poul, and others. In the spring of 1704 Cavalier gained at the affray of Devois de Mortinargues, the most decisive victory won by the Camisards. With a handful of men he ambushed a considerable force of the enemy. The royal army lost in this fight 25 officers and from 300 to 600 men. Despite his youth and lack of previous military training, Cavalier gained many successes against some of the most distinguished generals in France. Great superiority in numbers and resources, however, proved at length too strong for the Camisards. They met with heavy reverses near Montpellier, at Brenoux, near Euzet, at Magistavols, where Cavalier's stores were discovered hidden in caverns, and also near Pont de Montvert. To quell the Camisard revolt required the services of more than 60,000 troops, commanded by three Marshals of France in succession, the Marquis de Montrevel, the Duke de Villars, the latter fresh from laurels won in the War of the Spanish Succession, and the Duke of Berwick. Cavalier afterwards became a major-general in the British army, and died in 1740, as Governor of Jersey.

The wave of spiritual fervour that sustained the Huguenots through this disastrous struggle can be traced to a *gentilhomme* of Dieu-le-Fit, in Dauphiny, named Du Serre. Impressed by having read Pierre Jurieu's book, entitled *The Fulfilment] of the Prophecies, or The Approaching Deliverance of the Church*, he founded in 1689 a sect of enthusiasts, who claimed to possess the gift of prophecy. He may have erred in detail; but he and his followers certainly rekindled a spirit of earnest prayer among the Huguenots. The battle-cry of the Camisards was Marot's metrical version of the sixty-eighth Psalm. Their special enemy during this period was Lamoignon de Basville, Intendant of Languedoc, who had been armed with unusual powers by the Crown in order to put down the revolt, and who made strenuous use of them in persecuting the Camisards.

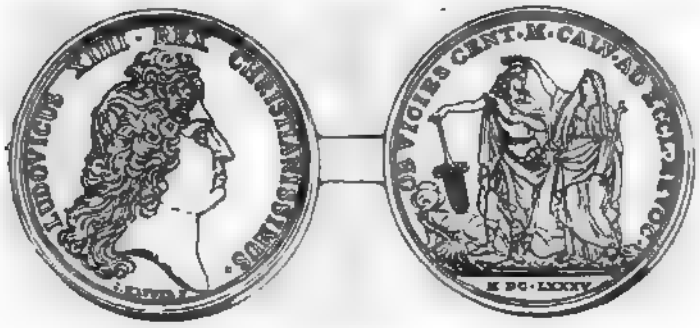
The great organiser of the "Churches of the Desert," or the scattered Huguenot communi-

ties in Languedoc and in other parts of Southern France, was Antoine Court. The phrase, "in the Desert," used originally in a metaphorical sense, soon became a popular name employed by both friends and foes. The Protestants found it to be a convenient designation for places of meeting which could not be specified with safety. Antoine Court was born in the district of Vivarais, in 1696. At the early age of seventeen he was already an acceptable preacher. He was ordained a pastor, in November 1718, by Pierre Corteiz, a brother preacher who had just been ordained by the pastors in Zürich, since oppression had made this rite impossible in France. In August 1715, Antoine Court convened the Synod of Monoblet, the first Huguenot Synod held since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Only nine people were qualified or able to attend the synod, but it is memorable as having corrected sundry abuses that had resulted from spiritual fervour unrestrained by church discipline, and as having restored sound organisation to the Protestant communities that still survived. In 1730 Antoine Court founded at Lausanne, in Switzerland, a college for training pastors for the "Churches of the Desert." M. Duplan was appointed the first principal, and George II. of England subscribed 500 guineas annually towards its maintenance. The college continued to do good work till 1809, when Napoleon I. established the Theological Faculty of Montauban, which superseded the college. Having organised the "Churches of the Desert," and having provided them with an efficient ministry, of which he had been both the educator and the inspirer, Antoine Court concluded that he could best watch over their interests by retiring to a safer place, where he could work without being harassed by continual peril. He and his family retired, therefore, in 1729 to Geneva, from which city he continued to be the life and soul of the Huguenot cause till his death in 1760. The extent of the revival awakened by Antoine Court may be estimated from the fact that whereas in 1715 there was no settled congregation of Huguenots in Southern France, by 1729 there were no less than 112 organised, though secretly governed, communities; and Languedoc alone could claim more than 200,000 recognised Protestants.

The task of consolidating and extending the movement was nobly continued by Paul Rabaut, a native of Languedoc. He began to preach in public in 1738, when only twenty years old, and during more than fifty years he devoted himself to furthering the Huguenot cause. From his numerous hiding-places, in caverns, in clefts of rocks, &c., he directed and inspired their communities year after year, till his death in 1794. Exposed to dangers innumerable, he seemed to bear a charmed life. By means of his pamphlets he did much to open the eyes of those powerful French writers who were soon to arouse public disapproval of this incessant persecution, and he lived to see the reaction set in. Paul Rabaut more than earned the honoured title, "The Apostle of the Desert," by which his name is still revered in Southern France.

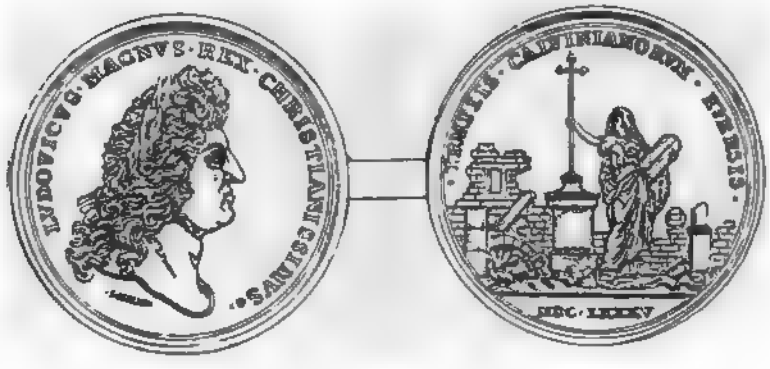
At last brighter days began to dawn. In 1762 Voltaire, then residing at Ferney, near Geneva, happened to hear about the execution that year of a Protestant merchant, named Jean Calas, by the Parliament of Toulouse, on the charge of having murdered his son, in order to prevent the son's contemplated secession to Rome. Having interviewed the exiled family, Voltaire took up the case with all his characteristic energy and ability. By 1765–66 he had secured the withdrawal of the charge, the vindication of the family, and 36,000 francs compensation to the widow. Soon afterwards a strong reaction set in. It became impolitic to seize and kill, or to condemn to the galleys, law-abiding Protestants. Jean Calas was probably the last Huguenot to suffer death for his religious belief. A contemporary dramatic piece, entitled *L'Honnête Criminel*, having for its theme the sufferings endured by Jean Fabre, a young Huguenot who from 1756–62 had served in the galleys as a self-surrendered substitute for his aged father—the sole offence having been attendance at a Protestant conventicle—performed a great service, in that it roused popular outcry against this form of persecution. The last Huguenot galley-slaves were liberated in 1775, about the time when Huguenot women ceased to be imprisoned for life in the grim castle, "La Tour de Constance," situated at Aigues Mortes. Further remissions followed the discontinuance of capital punishment, or of committal to the galleys, simply for being a Protestant.

In November 1787, the persevering efforts of the Marquis de Lafayette, seconded by the Petition presented by the Assembly of Notables, and supported by frequent representations made by the crown ministers, Anne Robert Turgot and Chrétien de Malesherbes—induced Louis XVI. to grant the "Edict of Toleration." This edict promised Protestants a safe abode in France, and the enjoyment of the essential rights of citizenship. In July 1789 the "Declaration of Rights," passed by the National Assembly at the beginning of the Revolution, declared all citizens, irrespective of religious persuasion, to be eligible for public offices. In June of the same year, a Protestant



The reverse depicts Religion crowning Louis XIV., who is attired as a Roman general. The king holds in his right hand a rudder resting on the carcase of a heretic. The inscription is: "*On account of two million Calvinists brought back to the Church.*" Struck 1685.

Medailles Françaises: Louis XIV., No. 270 B.



The reverse shows Religion with Gospels and cross planted upon the base of a shattered column of a Protestant Church. The inscription is: "*The temples of the Calvinists overthrown,*" 1685. Struck to commemorate the destruction of Huguenot Churches.

Medailles Françaises: Louis XIV., No. 271.

Medal of the same date. The inscription on the reverse is: "*The temples of the Calvinists overthrown.*"

Medailles Françaises: Louis XIV., No. 271 B.

minister was permitted to address a congregation in public in the heart of Paris. In 1791 Parisian Protestants were granted the old church of Saint Louis in which to worship. Another important concession was granted in 1790. The National Assembly decreed that, where possible, the confiscated property of the Huguenot fugitives should be restored to the families of the former possessors, or their heirs, if they returned to France.

The "Reign of Terror" (1793–94) cost the Huguenots the life of a distinguished pastor, in the person of Rabaut Saint Étienne, elder son of the revered Paul Rabaut. By his writings and his personal services rendered to Lafayette and the crown ministers, he had borne no small part in securing the Edict of Toleration of 1787.

The constitution of 1795 provided that all forms of worship should be free, although not to be recognised by the State, nor supported at public expense. Soon places for public worship were rebuilt or secured by the Huguenots, and the expression "Churches of the Desert" ceased to possess its former significance, and sank into disuse. Finally, by the "Law of the Eighteenth of Germinal," enacted in 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, reconstituted the Reformed Churches in France. This law still remains in force.

It would be unfitting to conclude this outline of the history of the Huguenots without some notice, however brief, of their distribution, numbers, "temples," &c. As will have been observed already, the provinces of Languedoc, Guyenne, Poitou, and Dauphiny never ceased to be Huguenot strongholds. Therein were situated the most famous of their cities, viz. La Rochelle, Montauban, Nismes, Montpellier, &c. At one time Normandy, Orleans, Burgundy, and Béarn contained many Huguenots; but Paris and its immediate neighbourhood never became one of their strongholds.

When the first National Synod met secretly in Paris, in 1559, the Huguenots were estimated to number about 400,000. John Correro. Venetian envoy in 1569, stated that they comprised one-third of the nobility, and one-thirtieth of the populace. About 1629, the period of their greatest prosperity, the Huguenots are said to have numbered a little over 1,500,000 souls, in other words, from one-fifteenth to one-tenth of the population of France. They owned between 800 and 900 "temples," wherein ministered a little less number of pastors, one pastor being assigned to more than one "temple" in small districts. The largest "temples," *e.g.* those at Charenton and at Quevilly, near Rouen, were very fine buildings, which could accommodate more than 7000 worshippers; but usually they were unpretentious both in size and in appearance.

The Huguenot church government was non-episcopal. The affairs of each community were administered by a consistory composed of the pastor or pastors, aided by elders and deacons, who were elected to hold office, and who were concerned chiefly with temporal matters. The great National Synod met periodically, but the details connected with Huguenot administration were controlled chiefly by minor synods, called "Colloquies." The General Assembly of the Circles protected their political interests. The Huguenots, we have seen already, followed Calvin's theological teaching. For education they made careful provision. They maintained a good school in every town and village where the number of Huguenots was sufficient; they founded thirty colleges, and several well-known Protestant universities both in France and in Switzerland.

It is impossible to enumerate here the many Huguenot emigrations, through stress of persecution, into the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, England, the United States. Readers are referred to works such as, *The Huguenots in England and Ireland*, by Samuel Smiles, and *The History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D. Respecting England, it is difficult to name a place of any size wherein Huguenot fugitives have not settled at some time or other. London, Canterbury, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Southampton, Norwich, Yarmouth, &c., are rich in Huguenot associations. Ever since the days of Archbishop Parker, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Huguenots have been permitted to conduct their own form of service in the Under Croft, or Crypt, of Canterbury Cathedral. To this very day they support their own pastor, who ministers to Huguenots in Canterbury. In olden days they also set up looms, and carried on the weaving industry in another part of the Crypt. Wherever the fugitives settled they brought a knowledge of some skilled trade. England, indeed, may be said to owe mainly to successive Huguenot refugees her present skill in the industrial arts. The Huguenots have more than held their own in pure scholarship, in pursuit of the arts, and in scientific investigation. In the industrial arts they have been pre-eminent. Adversity protected them from insidious luxury. Years of persecution developed a resolute character. The most recent National Synod of French Protestants was held in 1872. Official returns state that they number in France at the present time about half a million. Those who wish to obtain information respecting the large number of families in England who can trace their descent to Huguenot ancestry should com-

municate with the Hon. Secretary to the Huguenot Society of London, 90 Regent's Park Road, N.W. This society was founded in 1885, "to form a bond of fellowship among some of those who desire to perpetuate the memory of their Huguenot ancestors."

Authorities.—Prof. Henry Martyn Baird, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1880; *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1886; *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1895. The Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1885. Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots in England and Ireland*, post 8vo, 1867; *The Huguenots in France*, post 8vo, 1873. Eugène Bersier, D.D., *Coligny* (English Translation), post 8vo, 1884. François Guizot, *Histoire de France*, 1872. Merle D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*. English Translation of abridged edition, published by Messrs. Jarrold & Sons, 1899. R. L. Poole, *History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion*, 8vo, 1880. Élie Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, 5 vols. 4vo, 1693–95. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Translated by H. Beveridge, Edinburgh, 2 vols., 8vo, 1863. [H. F. G.]

See also articles in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under names of different Huguenot leaders.

HUS, JOHN, AND THE HUSSITES.—John Hus was born at Hussinetz, a little town of South Bohemia, in 1369. He entered the University of Prague, which then, with Paris and Oxford, was the third seat of learning in Europe. He became Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity; and in 1401 was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts. About two years later he became rector of the University. Meantime he had taken Holy Orders. He thus united in himself the two principles destined ultimately to signalise the Reformation, a love of learning and a practical zeal for souls. He was appointed a little later to preach in the Bethlehem chapel, on the foundation made by Kritz, a pious merchant of Prague, who desired the religious welfare of the townspeople through preaching in the native tongue. The earnest eloquence of Hus, and his denunciation of abuses, soon attracted crowds of eager hearers who longed for better things.

Sbynek, then Archbishop of Prague, an illiterate but good-natured prelate, was at first tolerant and even favourable to the zealous young preacher, and granted him a commission to report the misdoings of the clergy. This commission evoked resentment, which was exasperated by the popularity of Hus's declamations with the common people. Accusations began to be circulated against him, which have been repeated ever since—that he was seditious, that he was a heretic, and that he was a Wycliffite. The last charge, though for a long time disputed vigorously by Neander, who drew his information from the work of Professor Palaky, a learned and impartial Bohemian, has been proved to be correct. It is admitted freely by Lechler, the historian of Wycliffe, as well as by G. Macaulay Trevelyan in his work on *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (Longmans, 1900), and by Doctor Johann Loserth, Professor of History in the University of Czernowitz, in his book *Wiclif and Hus*, translated by Rev. M. J. Evans, B.A. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1884). Dr. Loserth has conclusively shown that large passages in Hus's work, *De Ecclesia*, are almost copied *verbatim* from the works of Wycliffe, and the same is true in the case of many other works of Hus. So far from being a seditious personage, Hus was of a mild character, and he was by no means so far advanced in Evangelical opinions as the great Englishman from whom he drew a great deal of his inspiration.

Notwithstanding the latest effort by Dr. Barry to save the reputation of Rome in the fifteenth century, the Church of Rome in the days of Hus was filled with corruption and ignorance, torn with schisms, and urgently in need of reform. Hus had grown up during the schism of the anti-Popes, when, to quote Janus, "All that any one knew of his Pope's legitimacy was that half Christendom denied it." Simony had long been the daily bread of the Roman curia. Nepotism was chronic. Infamy seemed incarnate in Pope John XXIII. Bibles were scarce and seldom read. So great was the disorder caused by the papal schisms, that for thirty years no clergyman could be sure that he was validly ordained, no woman could be sure that she was validly married, no parent could be sure that his child was validly baptized. The vigour with which Hus denounced these abuses was the main cause of his martyrdom, and, in addition, his enemies accused him of being a Wycliffite. The Council of Constance had condemned the doctrines of Wycliffe early in its sessions, and Wycliffe was denounced as the leader of heresy in that age. Wycliffe's books were ordered to be burned, and his body taken out of consecrated ground. The charge of Wycliffism was made against Hus with the object of arousing against Hus the jealousy of race as well as the suspicion of heresy, and it succeeded only too well.

Wratislaw, in his *Life of Hus*, writes as follows: "Well might Neander, fresh from perusing the writings of Matthias of Janov (Canon of Prague from 1381 to his death in 1394), make the unexpected statement before

the Academy of Sciences, that a student who passes directly from the writings of Matthias to those of Hus must feel that, quite independently of Wycliffe, a reaction formed itself in Bohemia, proceeding immediately from a religious interest, and from the religious wants of the people; and that this movement, though outwardly attached to the Church system, was really based on the principle of the German Reformation, namely, on reference to Christ alone, and to His Word in Holy Scripture." The later examination, however, of Hus's works in the light of the numerous volumes which have been lately published of Wycliffe's Latin works, shows clearly that while Hus founded his whole teaching on the Holy Scriptures, he was led by the English Reformer's writings to a real comprehension of their meaning, even though he did not embrace all Wycliffe's opinions.

The agitation respecting Hus still continued and was important enough to receive the notice of the Emperor Sigismund; and when the famous Council was to meet at Constance, on All Saints' Day 1414, the state of Bohemia was included in the agenda. Sigismund promised Hus a fair hearing and a safe return, if he would submit his cause to the judgment of the Council. Hus, well knowing the things that might befall him there, assented to the Emperor's wish, and journeyed to Constance amid the acclamations of multitudes who came to meet him at various places on the road. Notwithstanding the promised protection of the Emperor, Hus, on arriving at Constance, was arrested and imprisoned in a Dominican convent. A judicial committee was appointed to investigate the charges made against him, and while Hus himself was furnished with most meagre means for defence, his adversaries, both numerous and powerful, used every effort to inflame the Council against him.

On June 5, 1415, he first appeared before the Council. Next, his writings were laid before it. On June 7, he appeared in the Council again. The first accusation was that he denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The second, that he had taught the heresies of Wycliffe. The third, that in order to commend Wycliffe to simple folk, he had circulated a garbled account of the "Earthquake Council." The fourth, that he had invited the people to take up arms for religion The fifth, that he had tried to set the civil power against the spiritual in Bohemia. The first charge Hus disposed of by confessing his belief in Transubstantiation. The remaining four, which were really one, he denied. He avowed, indeed, his admiration for Wycliffe, but repudiated what he conceived to be his errors. He had sufficient witnesses to prove, that in charging him with sedition his enemies were guilty of malignant misrepresentation. So convincing was his defence, that a Paris deputy to the Council said if Hus had been allowed an advocate, the charge of heresy could not have been proved. The Council finally condemned Hus as a heretic, and, in the wicked euphemism of the Middle Ages, handed him over to the secular arm to be burned. Seven bishops performed the mockery of degrading him from the priesthood. His clerical garments were taken from him; the cup of the Eucharist, for the restoration of which to the laity he had striven, was plucked from his hands with the cruel gibe, "We take from the condemned Judas the cup of salvation;" a cap painted with devils, and inscribed with the title "Arch-heretic," was placed on his head, and, dressed for death, he was handed over to the executioner. At the place of burning he took a tender farewell of his keepers. Amid the flames his voice was audible in singing and prayer, as he passed from the world not worthy of him with the words, "Jesu, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me."

Hussites.—The followers of Hus can be divided into two sections: (1) The Calixtines, which means men of the Cup. The name is derived from *Calix*, or the Chalice. They were also called Utraquists, as insisting on receiving the Lord's Supper in both kinds (the bread and the wine). (2) The Taborites: this name was derived from Tabor, a title given to a certain hill-sanctuary in Bohemia by the disciples of Hus.

The Calixtines were moderate in the reforms which they desired. The first of these was that the cup should be restored to the people. The second, that the Word of God should be expounded by the clergy, who ought not to give themselves up to covetousness and ambition.

The Taborites were religious enthusiasts who longed for a completely new order of things in the Church, and who expected a personal descent of Christ to extirpate the wicked with fire and sword. The Hussite wars lasted for many years, and were conducted by both sides with great cruelty. The most distinguished general of the Hussites was Ziska, who showed marvellous military genius, and repeatedly defeated enormous hosts with comparatively small numbers of men on his side. Procopius the greater, and Procopius the less were also remarkable commanders; the former was also a man of learning. Their most remarkable theologian was John Rokyazana. The partisans of Hus appear to have begun the war upon his death, inflamed to warlike enthusiasm by the perfidy of the Emperor and the cruelty of the Council, and

resolved to atone for his murder by the bloodshed of a generation.

Authorities.—Besides the works already mentioned in the above article may be noted, *Council of Constance to the Death of Hus*, by J. H. Wylie (Longmans, pp. 192 *ff.*). *The Ford Lectures* delivered at Oxford in 1900. A *Stanhope Essay*, by H. Rashdall. *History of Hus*, by Bercke. A *Biographical Sketch of Hus*, in German, by Everlin (1788). *Fabri v. Heilbronn* (1528), published at Leipzig; comparison between doctrines of Hus and those of Luther. Prebendary Gilpin (1765) included Hus in *Biographies of some Reformers*. In 1865 Albert Lœscher, University of France, published a work, *Doctrine de Jean Hus sur l'Eglise*. In 1857 Winkelman wrote on Hus. E. de Bonnechose, a Swiss scholar, edited the *Letters of Hus* with Luther's preface. This work was translated into English by Mr. Mackenzie, 1846. There are two series of Letters. The first series contains fifteen; the second series contains fifty-six by Hus and others. Luther's preface is a generous vindication of Hus as a saint and martyr. About forty of Hus's Sermons survive. Neander devotes a large part of his last volume of his Church History to Hus. [H. J. R. M.]

HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN (complete edition).—Lack of space forbids anything like an exhaustive examination of this well-known hymnal. Its general features, musical and poetical, cannot be criticised here. All that is possible in this article is to set forth some of the serious objections which may be brought against it from the Protestant standpoint. The necessity for doing this is especially laid upon us when we remember that it has attained a wide circulation and extensive use; that many who would not take into their churches and schools such Romanising productions as the *People's Hymnal* and the *Hymnal Noted*, scarcely seem to feel any qualms about its adoption; that it is frequently bound up with our Book of Common Prayer, as if that honourable association were, in some sense, its right; and that the false and the true are in it so skilfully blended, hymns containing the grossest error being carefully interspersed with many of the soundest and most beautiful gems of sacred poetry.

The principal charges, which may here be brought against it, are that it insinuates or inculcates Romish views concerning the Sacraments, the Virgin Mary and Saints, Prayers for the Dead, Apostolical Succession, and human merits. It will be sufficient to subjoin extracts in proof of these charges, as refutations of the several errors can be found in other articles.

The *ex opere operato* theory of baptism a pears in the following verses:

" We love the sacred Font;
For there the Holy Dove
To pour is ever wont
His blessing from above" (242, ver. 3).

" 'Tis done! that new and heavenly birth,
Which re-creates the sons of earth,
Has cleansed from guilt of Adam's sin
A soul which Jesus died to win" (327, ver.

" The pure and bright baptismal flood
Entombs our nature's stain:
New creatures from the cleansing wave
With Christ we rise again" (561, ver. 2)

Reference may also be made to hymns 1 326, and 395.

Again, in hymns on the Holy Communi the Real Presence in the consecrated eleme and the offering of Christ to the Father a plainly expressed: *e.g.*

" 'One offering, single and complete,'
With lips and heart we say;
But what He never can repeat
He shows forth day by day.

His Manhood pleads where now it lives
On heaven's eternal Throne,
And where in mystic rite He gives
Its Presence to His own.

And so we show Thy death, O Lord,
Till Thou again appear;
And feel, when we approach Thy Board,
We have an Altar here" (315, vers. 2, 4,

" Alleluia! King Eternal,
Thee the Lord of lords we own;
Alleluia! born of Mary,
Earth Thy footstool, Heaven Thy Thron
Thou within the veil hast enter'd,
Robed in flesh, our great High Priest;
Thou on earth both Priest and Victim
In the Eucharistic Feast" (316, ver. 4).

" Still art Thou here amidst us, Lord,
Unchangeably the same,
When at Thy Board, with one accord,
Thy promises we claim;
But lo! the way thou com'st to-day
Is one where bread and wine
Conceal the Presence they convey,
Both human and divine.

How glorious is that Body now,
Throned on the Throne of Heaven!
The angels bow, and marvel how
To us on earth 'tis given;
Oh, to discern what splendours burn
Within these veils of His,—
That faith could into vision turn,
And see Him as He is!" (557, vers. 3,

"And now, O Father, mindful of the love
That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's Tree,
And having with us Him that pleads above,
We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
That only Offering perfect in Thine eyes,
The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice"
(322, ver. 1).

Hymns 309 and 311 contain the strange statement that Christ, at the Last Supper, gave Himself in *either* kind, His precious flesh, His precious blood, to His disciples; and 472 is entitled "Litany of the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ."

Again, the title "Son of Mary," which is never applied to our Lord in the New Testament, is found here frequently. Attention, unwarranted by Holy Scripture, is directed to the Virgin Mary. Full quotations would take us beyond our limits, but two extracts must be given.

"At the Cross her station keeping,
Stood the mournful Mother weeping,
Where He hung, the dying Lord;
For her soul of joy bereavèd,
Bow'd with anguish, deeply grievèd,
Felt the sharp and piercing sword.

Who, on Christ's dear Mother gazing
Pierced by anguish so amazing,
Born of woman, would not weep?
Who, on Christ's dear Mother thinking
Such a cup of sorrow drinking,
Would not share her sorrows deep?

Jesu, may her deep devotion
Stir in me the same emotion,
Fount of love, Redeemer kind,
That my heart fresh ardour gaining,
And a purer love attaining,
May with Thee acceptance find" (117, vers. 1, 3, 5).

"Shall we not love thee, Mother dear,
Whom Jesus loves so well?
And to His glory, year by year,
Thy joy and honour tell?" (450 ver. 1).

Again, in the hymn for the Burial of the Dead, No. 398, the refrain occurs:

"Lord, all pitying, Jesu Blest,
Grant them Thine eternal rest."

And yet again, some, especially the hymns for Lent, teach the doctrine of human merit, which is so strongly condemned in the New Testament; as, for example:

"Christian, dost thou feel them,
How they work within,
Striving, tempting, luring,
Goading into sin?
Christian, never tremble;
Never be downcast;
Smite them by the merit
Of the Lenten fast" (91, ver. 2).

Besides all this, the mechanical theory of Apostolical Succession is presented in crude form in hymn 352:

"Christ is gone up; yet ere He pass'd
From earth, in heaven to reign,
He formed one Holy Church to last
Till He should come again.

His twelve Apostles first He made
His ministers of grace;
And they their hands on others laid,
To fill in turn their place.

So age by age, and year by year,
His grace was handed on;
And still the holy Church is here,
Although her Lord is gone."

Among the hymns for "Festivals of Martyrs and other Holy days," that for a virgin, 456, insinuates some of Rome's worst errors concerning nuns. In hymn 97 there is an idolatrous address to the material cross:

"Faithful Cross, above all other
One and only noble Tree,
None in foliage, none in blossom,
None in fruit thy peer may be;
Sweetest wood, and sweetest iron,
Sweetest weight is hung on thee."

A longing for reunion with the apostate Roman and Greek Churches may be found in 216, ver. 3:

"O Christ, who for Thy flock didst pray
That all might be as one,
Unite us all ere fades the day,
Thou Sole-begotten Son;
The East, the West, together bind
In love's unbroken chain;
Give each one hope, one heart, one mind,
One glory, and one gain."

And finally, in the hymn for the "Restoration of a Church," the following verse occurs, 602, ver. 6:

"Make, O Royal Priest, Thine Altar here
henceforth a Throne of Light,
Ever held in highest honour, and with many
a gift made bright
Ever blessed, ever peaceful, ever precious in
Thy sight."

It may be well to add in conclusion, that an Archbishop of York, Dr. Thompson, said of Hymns Ancient and Modern, "I am no admirer of that work, nor should I select it for a church where the choice lay with me;" that one Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Philpott, condemned it as out of harmony with the true principles of the Church of England; and another of the same diocese, Dr. Perowne, as having "done more than almost anything else

to foster Ritualism and Romish tendencies in our own Church;" and that a Bishop of Huron (Dr. Hellmuth) criticised it severely as "a masterpiece of the Anglican Romanisers to administer the poison in small doses, not to be perceived immediately, but to effect, nevertheless, their purpose of undermining the spiritual constitution of our Reformed Church."

For fuller information on this subject reference may be made to Church Association Tracts, No. 21, on *Hymns Ancient and Modern, and their Romanising Teaching*, by the Rev. James Ormiston; and to a valuable pamphlet by Mr. W. H. Tucker, entitled, *Hymns Ancient and Modern, tested by Holy Scripture and the Articles, &c., of the Church of England* (London, Kensit, 18 Paternoster Row, E.C.)

[F. J. H.]

HYPERDULIA.—See LATRIA.

HYPOSTATIC UNION.—The union of Christ's human nature with the hypostasis, or divine essence, or person of the Divine Word. This union was denied by many heretics. It is dealt with at length in the Athanasian Creed.

I

ICONOCLAST.—"A breaker of images." The name was first given to a powerful party, which, in the eighth and ninth centuries, set itself against the religious use of images. The same spirit was revived and carried to extreme lengths by some Puritans in England in the seventeenth century. The zeal of Cromwell's Ironsides led them unfortunately to deface many interesting monuments in the parish churches, though such effigies were in no way in danger of being worshipped. The Roman Church holds that images are useful because they raise the minds of the spectators to the objects which the images represent. But all experience shows that such lead on the worshippers to worship the images themselves. See IDOLATRY, IMAGE WORSHIP.

ICONOSTASIS is the name given in the Greek and Russian Churches to the partition or screen which separates "the altar" or "sanctuary" from the part of the church set apart for the laity. It is so called because *icons* or *holy pictures* are represented on that screen.

IDOLATRY.—Idolatry etymologically is the *latria* or worship of an idol, *i.e.* the religious worshipping of any *image* or *likeness* of God, or anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath. The word is often used in a looser sense, as when St. Paul speaks of eating things offered to idols as connected with idolatry. Idolatry has many and widely different forms, but the thing is ever the same. The object before which the devotee kneels may be a monstrous idol of heathendom, or a statue or picture of some saint, or even some reputed relic of a saint; or it may be anything supposed to represent, or to be actually transformed into, or to contain God. All worship of any such things or persons is idolatry. In fact, idolatry may be defined as any direct or indirect violation of the opening Commandments of the Law given from Mount Sinai. By the Commandment as laid down in Exod. xx. 4, 5; Deut. v. 8, 9, not only the *making* of a graven image or any likeness whatever of anything for the purpose of worship was forbidden. The act of prostration or bodily reverence, which might be employed harmlessly towards superiors, is expressly and distinctly forbidden. The Hebrew word translated *bow down* is employed in many places of such a lawful prostration or reverence, like that of Abraham to the Hittites when seeking for a burial-place for Sarah (Gen. xxiii. 12). The same word is employed of reverence done to both God and King David in 1 Chron. xxix. 20.

Roman Catholic writers constantly press the fact that images of the cherubim formed part of the ark of the covenant into an argument in favour of the lawfulness of images in religious worship. They omit to call attention to the fact that those images were in the Holy of holies, never seen by the people, and therefore not intended to help their devotions. They were only seen even by the High Priest once in the year. The Holy of holies had on that occasion first to be filled with the smoke of the incense which was to cover the mercy seat, of which the cherubim formed part, "that he die not" (Lev. xvi. 13). The Holy of holies had no windows, all its light came from the candlestick (or candlesticks, when the temple took the part of the tabernacle) in the Holy Place. The cherubim are never once alluded to as having been worshipped. The brazen serpent made by Moses (Num. xxi. 8, 9) is also frequently referred to by Roman Catholic writers. But the veneration paid to that relic in later days was contrary to the law, and to prevent its being worshipped even that venerable relic was broken in pieces by good King Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4).

Idolatrous practices manifested themselves early in the history of even the Christian Church. The epistles in the New Testament contain many apostolic injunctions against that sin. Note the warnings of St. Paul in 1 Cor. v. 11; x. 7, 14; Col. ii. 18; probably also 1 Tim. iv. 1; and of St. John in 1 John v. 21; Rev. ii. 14; ix. 20. Such warnings would be unmeaning unless the inspired Apostles were aware that idolatry had still to be guarded against, and was even then a real danger, and likely to be so in the future. It is quite true that the idolatry referred to was, no doubt, outside the

Christian Church, or, in other words, was that common among the heathen around, whose practices the Christian converts from the Gentiles were often in danger of relapsing into. The writings of the Early Fathers show clearly that the sin of idolatry was also common in their days.

The Church of England Homily on Peril of Idolatry sketches succinctly the early rise and progress of this evil in later days. The Homily states that in the fourth century Jerome complained "that the errors of images have come in and have passed to the Christians from the Gentiles; that Pontius Paulinus in the fifth century caused the walls of the temples to be painted with stories taken out of the Old Testament, . . . but from learning from painted stories it came by little and little to idolatry; that in the beginning of the seventh century Gregory I., Bishop of Rome, allowed the free having of images in churches; that in the eighth century Irene, mother of Constantine VI., assembled a Council at Nicæa and procured a decree that 'images should be put up in all the Churches of Greece, and that honour and worship should be given to the said images.'"

The Roman Catholic definition of idolatry given in *A Simple Dictionary for Catholics* (C.T.S.) is "Setting up anything directly in the place of God." But the prohibition to "bow down" to images, which occurs in the Second Commandment, ought to be remembered as well as the "setting up of them." It should be noted that the Romish division of the Decalogue (see note at end of TEN COMMANDMENTS), though not originally devised for this purpose, has, as a matter of fact, concealed, and has been perhaps purposely used to conceal from Rome's people the strictness of God's law in this matter. Few, if any, popular Roman Catholic Catechisms give what they term the first Commandment in full.

Scripture regards any breach of the Second Commandment as idolatry (see Deut. iv. 15, *ff.*; xvi. 22; xxvii. 15; Isa. xl. 18, *ff.*; Acts xvii. 29; Rom. i. 21–23; Rev. ix. 20). Idolatry was involved both in the worship of Aaron's golden calf, and in Jeroboam's calf-worship at Bethel and Dan (see Exod. xxxii. 4, 5.; 1 Kings xii. 28). But in neither of these cases was the idol set up as a *rival* to God, but as a professed help to His worship. Aaron inaugurated the calf-worship in Horeb with the solemn announcement "To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah" (Ex. xxxii. 5). The calf was declared to be the God who had worked so wonderfully for Israel, and had brought them up out of the land of Egypt. Jeroboam did likewise (1 Kings xii. 28). The Israelites who belonged to the Northern Kingdom professed to be still worshippers of Jehovah though they upheld the calf-worship. This is abundantly clear from the Book of Hosea. But in both those instances the Second Commandment was broken.

The Church of Rome cannot be absolved from the charge of idolatry. The charge is justified by the following practices of that Church. (1) She sets up images and pictures in her churches, which pictures and images are honoured with a reverence forbidden in Holy Scripture. (2) The Virgin Mary and the saints are addressed by Roman Catholics in prayer in language never employed in Holy Scripture towards any one except the Persons of the Godhead. Prayers of the kind referred to abound in "St." Alphonso Liguori's *Glories of Mary* (London, 1868). (3) The reverence done to material objects and objects made by the hands of men, and the attribution to these things of a power and sanctity contrary to the word of God. Of this kind are the relics of saints, supposed pieces of the "true cross," the holy coat of Trèves, &c. (4) The worship of the "host," or consecrated wafer, comes under this head. For Rome herself admits that if, through some want of "intention," the wafer happens to be unconsecrated, the people who worship it are, though unwittingly, guilty of idolatry. Hence, if the dogma of Transubstantiation be false, the Roman Church is guilty of *idolatry*. On the other hand we fully admit, if that doctrine be true, Protestants are guilty of *blasphemy*. For Roman Catholics maintain the host to be Jesus Christ born of the Virgin Mary, very God and very man, *i.e.* they worship the host as God, while Protestants deny that it ought to be worshipped at all.

The arguments advanced by Romanists in defence of their idolatrous practices are mainly as follows, viz. (1) They maintain that there is a wide distinction between *latria*, the worship due to God, and *dulia* (servitude), the "worship" accorded to the saints. The Second Council of Nicæa (reckoned by Rome as the Seventh General Council) in A.D. 787, decreed "to give them (images) the salutation and honorary worship, not indeed the true *latria*, which according to our faith belongs to the divine nature only." In opposition to this, "St." Thomas Aquinas, a great authority in the Roman Church, says "The same reverence should be paid to the image of Christ as to Christ himself. Since, therefore, Christ is adored with the worship of *latria*, it follows that the image is to be adored with *latria*" (Thos. Aquin. lib. iii., *Summ. Theol.*, dist. ix. tom. ix. p. 136, Venice, 1780). Moreover, practically there is no doubt that the great bulk of Roman Catholics regard no such distinction. (2) Roman theologians assert that

their Church is not guilty of idolatry because images and pictures are designed to be merely helps to devotion, and that the worshippers in reality look far beyond these. They further maintain that since Christ has become incarnate, it is lawful and helpful to make pictures and images of Him as a man. But if it be argued that the fact of the Incarnation of Christ in the form and likeness of a man did away with the injunctions of the Second Commandment, it should be remembered that if the Old Testament Scriptures be true, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, long prior to the birth of Jesus Christ, was manifested in the likeness of a man to the Patriarchs (see ANGELS), and yet ages after such appearances had taken place, the Second Commandment was given, and all attempts to make even a human representation of the Deity were forbidden. Moreover, the heathen in former days, and also to-day, employ the same argument to excuse their idolatry.

Some maintain that the charge of idolatry is founded merely on an abuse of the true doctrine by ignorant members of the Church of Rome, and that a Church containing so many wise and learned men could not be guilty of such a sin. Unfortunately, the language of Roman Catholic books of devotion, used by the most cultivated minds of Roman Catholicism, is unmistakably clear upon the other side. In Liguori's *Glories of Mary* above referred to, and in the notorious publication, *The Garden of the Soul*, language is addressed to the Virgin Mary, which is nothing less than idolatrous. See IMAGE WORSHIP.

IMAGE WORSHIP.—The adoration of representations of God, or Christ, or saints. There was nothing that so moved the scorn of the early Church, as shown by the writings of the Apologists, as the heathen practice of image worship. When the hatred and contempt of heathen idolatry began to die out, the Church was very earnest in taking precautions that so debased and debasing a form of worship should not creep in unawares. The first Council held after the Diocletian persecution, the Council of Elvira, A.D. 305, prohibited all frescoes and all paintings of any kind in a church, "lest the object of our worship and adoration be painted on the walls." In the next century, Bishop Epiphanius (who has been canonised) was so indignant at finding the figure of Christ, or of some saint, depicted or embroidered on a curtain hanging in a church in Palestine, that he tore it down with his own hands, though the church was not in his diocese, and when he sent another plain curtain to replace the one that had so offended him, he wrote to the Bishop of Jerusalem begging him to see that no such transgression of the canons and customs of the Church was again permitted in his diocese.

Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century took the first step towards the toleration of images (as he led the way also to the tenet of Purgatory). He condemned with the utmost severity the worship of images, but he permitted them to be set up as historical memorials, provided there was no danger of their becoming objects of adoration. This was a compromise very difficult to maintain, which in the hands of his successors Gregory II. and Gregory III. led to something further.

It was the second Council of Nicæa, falsely called the Seventh Œcumenical Council, which, as the mouthpiece of the wicked Empress Irene and her nominee Tarasius, first sanctioned a modified form of image or picture worship, A.D. 787. The decrees of the Council on the subject were at once impugned and repudiated by the Council of Frankfort, and by Charlemagne in his Caroline Books. But while the rest of the West rejected the Eastern lapse from ancient doctrine and practice, the Popes were in favour of it, and the result was that their steady pressure pushed the West after a time into still greater excesses of idolatry than anything that had been allowed at the Second Council of Nicæa. The Nicene superstitions did not go further than an approval of veneration, worship, and adoration of icons, that is, of pictures; and to bestow upon them the highest form of worship, called latria, was distinctly forbidden. But when we reach the thirteenth century we find Thomas Aquinas declaring that "the Cross and image of the Cross and of Christ must be worshipped with the selfsame supreme worship, latria, with which Christ Himself is worshipped;" and it is the authorised teaching of the Romish Church now that images or representations of God and of Christ are to be worshipped with latria, because God and Christ are so to be worshipped; that the images or representations of St. Mary are to be worshipped with the next highest degree of worship, called hyperdulia, because St. Mary is to be worshipped with hyperdulia; that the images or representations of other saints are to be worshipped with dulia, because the various saints are to be worshipped with dulia. And what becomes of the Second Commandment and its prohibition of "the likeness of anything" being "bowed down to or worshipped"? Where possible, that Commandment is omitted; when it cannot be omitted, it is interpreted in a non-natural sense. And what becomes of the principle of the Second Commandment, which is sprituality of worship? It is lost. "To take away all images," says Bishop Andrewes,

"God made sure work by forbidding all manner of *likeness* in heaven, earth, waters" (*Catech. Doctrine*, part iii.). And again he says, "The word 'worship' is taken from the Second Commandment, and Christ Himself has taught us that God alone may be worshipped. Images become idols if they are worshipped, and the worship of idols is idolatry. The law says nothing about an 'idol,' but forbids any 'likeness,' which covers both images and idols. Religious worship is due to God only. 'Thou shalt not worship them,' is prohibition, and there is no restriction or distinction about this or that manner. 'Worship' is declared proper to God alone. 'Thou shalt not worship any likeness" (*Resp. ad Bell.*, p. 274). See *Roman Catholicism*, by Dr. C. H. H. Wright (Religious Tract Society). [F. M.]

Note.—Numerous passages from the Fathers may be cited against the use of images. Augustine says, "It is utterly unlawful to erect any such image of God in a Christian Church" (*Ep. de Fide Sym.*, c. 7). Lactantius affirms, "There is no doubt there is no religion where there is an image" (*Divin. Inst.*, c. 18, lib. ii.) Ambrose avers, "Our Church knows no vain shapes or figures of images" (*De Fuga Seculi*, c. 3). But the Creed of Pope Pius IV. declares that "the images of Christ and of the Mother of God, as well as of the other saints, ought to be had and retained, and due honour and veneration are to be given to them," and the Council of Trent (Sess. xxxiv.) says, "By the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and bend the knee, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose image they bear." From the Douay Version it is argued that Jacob adored the top of his rod, a figure or type of the sceptre or royal power of Christ (Gen. xlvii. 31; *cf.* Heb. xi. 21); and Roman controversialists maintain that in Psalm xcix. 5, the Israelites were bidden to adore the ark (God's footstool) as a type of our Lord's humanity. But there is no doubt that the LXX. translation of Gen. xlvii. 31 (which is followed by the Vulgate and so got into the Douay translation), gives a wrong sense; the A.V. and R.V. both there and in Heb. xi. 21, give the true translation. The assertion that the footstool of God means the ark cannot be upheld. Our Lord calls the earth itself God's footstool (Matt. v. 35). In *Catholic Belief*, pp. 208, 209, Dr. Di Bruno says "The meaning" (in Ex. xx. 4, 5, and Deut. v. 9) "clearly is: Thou shalt not make unto thyself a graven thing, or idol, for the sake of adoring it as a false god or idol. The words *bow down* in the Protestant version, instead of *adore*, are calculated unhappily to mislead unreflecting persons. This commandment cannot be taken to condemn the use of images intended to promote the honour and worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, the true living God, or the inferior honour due to the holy angels and the saints, as this is not worship of strange gods, and therefore not idolatry." Unfortunately for Dr. Di Bruno's interpretation, the Hebrew word used for *adore* is frequently employed of a man's harmlessly *bowing himself down* to another man (see Gen. xxiii. 7, 12; xxxiii. 3; xlii. 6, &c.), while even such respect is forbidden in the case of an image. Again, in the Roman Service for Good Friday, at the words "Come, let us adore," the clergy and laity kneel and kiss and adore the cross which the priest has just uncovered. How, too, can the adoration of the Pope by the cardinals in the *Roman Pontifical* be got over? See LATRIA. Actual proof of idolatry is afforded when a particular image or picture is also regarded as endowed with miraculous powers, and reverenced accordingly, which is idolatry in the strictest sense. See IDOLATRY.

The teaching of the Church of England against the use of images is clear and distinct. The Homily *On Peril of Idolatry*, Part iii., states, "I am sure that the New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, containing the word of life, is a more lively, express, and true image of our Saviour, than all carved, graven, molten, and painted images in the world be." Article XXII. mentions "worshipping and adoration of images" as "a fond (or foolish) thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.—See CONCEPTION, IMMACULATE.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS.—This form was often used in connection with blessing in the Old Testament. Jacob when blessing Joseph's two sons, laid hands on them (Gen. xlviii. 15–20), and Moses laid hands on Joshua, at God's command (Num. xxvii. 18, 23; Deut. xxxiv. 9). The man who offered a sacrifice laid his hand upon the head of the animal which he brought for a burnt offering (Lev. i. 4; iv. 15; viii. 14), and Aaron laid both his hands upon the head of the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 21), probably indicating a transfer or substitution. In the New Testament the laying on of hands is connected (1) with the blessing of little children by Christ (Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 16); (2) with the healing of the sick and afflicted by our Lord and His Apostles (Mark vi. 5; Acts v. 12; xxviii. 8); and (3) with the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts vi. 6; viii. 17; xiii. 3). It has been often assumed that the last-named imposition of hands was identical with the ordinance which is termed Confirmation. But the apostolic

imposition of hands may well have been connected only with special gifts of the Holy Ghost, such as the gift of tongues, which were bestowed at that period of the Church's history. While in the Church of England the laying on of hands is a part of the ceremonials of Ordination and of Confirmation, in the Church of Rome it is held to have a sacramental efficacy. There is no imposition of hands in the Greek Church at Confirmation. In some Nonconformist Churches the laying on of hands is an accompaniment of the Ordering of ministers.

INCENSE.—A mixture of aromatic gums for burning. Under the Old Testament dispensation the use of incense in divine worship was prescribed by God, and controlled by the most stringent regulations. The necessary ingredients for its composition, and the method of its use were expressly specified by God Himself to Moses (Exod. xxx. 34–38). Incense could be offered only by the priests, and had to be lighted by fire from heaven. If any one compounded incense of other substances or in other proportions, or if any one except a priest burned it, or if any other fire than that from heaven were employed to light it, the penalty in each and every case was death (Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. xvi. 35, 40; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16–21). The burning of incense was one of those ceremonies which belonged to the highly ceremonial and ornate ritual of Judaism. It should, however, be borne in mind that the burning of incense in the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple took place within the Holy Place, and was never beheld by the ordinary worshippers, but only by the priests. As an accompaniment of the Jewish religion, the burning of incense, like other parts of the Jewish system, has vanished away. Secondly, even if that were not admitted, incense cannot be compounded now according to the Divine direction, because not even the Jews themselves know the actual spices to which the names in Exod. xxx. 34 refer. Thirdly, if incense be manufactured, it cannot now be lighted by fire from heaven. Fourthly, that there being now no Jewish priest since the line of Aaron is extinct, no one is entitled to offer incense.

Nevertheless, the Church of Rome blesses a mixture of spices, pitch, burnt sugar, &c., which she calls incense, "that all spirits of diseases, and all spirits of infirmity, and the ensnaring emissaries of the enemy, smelling its odour (may) flee away" (*Pontif. Rom.*, Second Part). In the ritual of Rome, books and persons and "altars" are smoked or "censed" with the burning incense. "It signifies (*i.e.* typifies) the zeal with which the faithful should be consumed, the good odour of Christian virtue, the ascent of prayer to God" (*A Simple Dictionary for Catholics*, London, 1878). But since we have reached the days of antitypes, what have we to do any longer with *typifying* zeal, virtue, and prayer? The Ritualists in the Church of England copy the Romish practices in this respect. The *Catholic Dictionary*, fifth edition, London, 1897, says under INCENSE: "It is certain from Tertullian, *Apol.* 42, and from many other early writers down to St. Augustine, that the religious use of incense was unknown in the primitive Church."

A passage which is sometimes quoted in support of the use of incense is Mal. i. 11. "In every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen." That verse refers to the Messianic dispensation. The "pure" or unpolluted "offering" is to be presented not at Jerusalem only, but "in every place," and the offerings (including that of incense) are Gentile offerings, not merely Jewish. Must it not therefore be inferred that the "incense" ought to be *spiritually* interpreted? (See Psalm cxli. 2.) To the Jew, the smoke of the incense rising towards heaven seemed to embody and carry with it the prayers which were being addressed to the Lord of Hosts, and appeared to assure the human worshippers of the divine acceptance of those prayers. But the New Testament assurance of acceptance is *the name of the Lord Jesus* (John xiv. 13; xvi. 24, &c.). Therefore there can be no further need of incense. It is, however, argued that in the Revelation (ch. viii. 3, 4, 5), incense is offered with the prayers of saints. That, however, was in heaven, not on earth; by an angel, and not by a man; and the incense is no earthly incense, but obtained from the treasury of heaven. It can, therefore, form no precedent or example for the offering of incense upon earth.

In the Church of England since the time of the Reformation, the burning of incense has been abandoned until its comparatively recent re-introduction by the Ritualists. Archbishop Grindal directs in his injunctions to the laity that "all censers . . . and all other relics and monuments of idolatry, be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed" (*Par. Soc. Ed.*, p. 134). In the Prayer Book the burning of incense is not for a moment contemplated. The Homily on the Peril of Idolatry says, "Let us honour and worship, for religion's sake, none but Him; not in lighting of candles, burning of incense, &c., for all these be abominations before God." The ceremonial use of incense at a service of the Church of England was held to be unlawful by the Ecclesiastical Courts before the recent pronouncement on this subject by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Archbishop also affirmed that,

while incense may be burned for fumigatory purposes, when no service is proceeding, the ceremonial use of incense is opposed to the intentions of the formularies of the Church of England. A few of the clergy still oppose the opinion of the archbishops and directions of the bishops, and continue to use incense ceremonially. See Dimock's *Light from History on Christian Ritual;* Winter's *Incense Viewed from Scripture* (Mal. i. 11); Tomlinson's Tracts on Ritual, No. 213. [M. E. W. J.]

INDEPENDENTS or CONGREGATIONALISTS.

I. *Congregationalists.* — Congregationalism, like the Established Church of England and Presbyterianism, was a direct outcome of the English Reformation. The three systems stand to one another in the relation of sisters rather than of mother and daughters; and they were so nearly simultaneous in origin that they are more like children of one birth than elder and younger daughters.[1]

The Church of the later Roman Empire had gradually become, in the Middle Ages, the greatest political power in Europe. It was also the dominant intellectual force, and education was entirely in its hands. Moreover, a definite type of spiritual and moral character had come to be recognised as distinctively Christian; and this type of character, preserved and fostered by spiritual fellowships, was, to many members of the Christian commonalty, as dear and as firm a bond of union as was the Roman Primacy to the hierarchy, or the Romish dogma to the Universities and schools.

The corruption of the Church appeared in each of these spheres of the life of Christendom. As an institution it was tyrannical, unjust, self-seeking; its teaching was superstitious, out of harmony with the human mind, especially it had lost touch with the simple truths of the Gospel; its morals were artificial and debasing. The task of the Reformation was to rid the Christian religion of all these corruptions; to purify the national Church, and give religious freedom to the people; to construct a sound theology and enforce it by the pulpit and the order of public worship; to establish a true spiritual fellowship on personal faith and Christian character. These three ends were not incompatible; in days to come we may hope that all Churches will work for them all with an equal devotion. But zeal is commonly one-sided; history compels most of us to be partial in judgment and endeavour. The Reformers in England broke up into three parties: the Nationalist—bent on purifying the institution; the Puritan—bent on purifying the teaching; the Separatist—bent on purifying the fellowship.

It is not meant that any one of these parties had a monopoly of the particular truth on which the ecclesiastical system was founded. Richard Hooker and Thomas Cartwright were as zealous for personal godliness in the congregations as was John Robinson. Robinson and Hooker were as strenuous teachers as was Cartwright. Cartwright and Robinson were as anxious for national religion as was Hooker. It was the question how the Reformation was to be secured and developed which brought out their characteristic differences. "Give a better form to the State Institution," said the Nationalist, "and govern the people religiously through the Crown and the Courts of Law." "Safeguard the ministry," said the Puritan, "and govern the people religiously through the clerical consistories." "Gather the converted into holy fellowships," said the Separatist, "the influence of pure Churches will act as a leaven on the faith and life of the nation." These normative conceptions appear in all their controversial writings, and in every great crisis of the national religious life they have come again into view. The sense of their importance is as pronounced to-day as it was in the times when each of the parties in turn suffered for its doctrine.

The root idea of Congregationalism is that every congregation of faithful men is a Church; that all Christ's promises of presence and guidance are made to such a congregation, individually and directly; and that its internal government is committed to its members under the direction of the Holy Spirit. The literature of Congregationalism begins with Robert Browne; but there were self-governing congregations before him. Glimpses of permanent societies of worshippers outside the parish Church are given us in English History from the days of Wyclif to those of Henry VIII.[2] If these seemed likely to dissolve when Henry undertook the work of Reformation, they re-assembled and were consolidated during the persecution under Mary. There was such a gathering, for example, in London, and some of its members are subsequently found in fellowship with the martyr

[1] Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (1559) at once produced Nonconformists. Travers's *Full and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline* was published in 1574; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (first four books) in 1594; Robert Browne's *Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians*, in 1582.

[2] See Beckett's *English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, R.T.S. 1890; and Mr. Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1899.

Church of Elizabeth's days, the Church which sent "the brethren of the first separation" to Holland in 1593. Through Henry Jacob this community is associated with the Congregational Church constituted in 1616, whose lineal descendant still exists in Southwark. Before this, however, the "troubled" Church in Frankfort, which English historians have regarded as the origin of English Puritanism,[1] exercised the right of self-government, and prepared an elaborate constitution, providing for the exercise of authority and discipline in the Church Meeting.[2] These societies were, like the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Churches in the Roman Empire, simple gatherings of believers. They were not conscious of making an experiment in ecclesiastical constitution; they regulated their own assemblies, and decided points as they arose. But they gave the starting-point to English Congregationalism. The actual experience of Christ's presence and mutual edification came first; when they perceived that, perhaps unwittingly, they were primitive and apostolic in their practice, some of them went on to declare that this was the true order and constitution of Christ's Churches.

A further point was reached when, in the later years of Elizabeth, the duty of separation from the national Church was set forth. The Puritan assemblies, in her reign, resembled the early Methodist Societies more than the Protestant assemblies in Catholic England; they existed nominally within the parish congregation. They met under the protection of Puritan nobles and gentry; sometimes with the connivance of the incumbent; often there was an ordained minister, the Puritan Lecturer or the Chaplain of the Lord of the Manor, for their director. Two impulses favoured the development of the practice of gathered fellowships into a doctrine of Separatism; the belief that separated communities could best advance the reformation of religion in England, and the experience that these were the choicest "means of grace."

The first motive is forcibly expressed in the title of one of the sections of Robert Browne's "Booke which sheweth, &c."—"A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for anie, and of the wickednesse of those Preachers, which will not reforme themselves and their charge, because they will tarie till the Magistrate commaunde and compell them." This was the most prominent motive avowed in their controversial writings and their defence before the Courts; but the second often touchingly appears in their pleadings and in their petitions to the crown and to the magistrates. It is forcibly set out by William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth, in his story of the origin of the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers.[3] "When, as by the travell and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labours, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became inlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by his grace to reform their lives, and make conscience of their wayes, the worke of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the prophane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoak of subscription, or els must be silenced, and the poore people were so vexed with apparators and pursuants, and the comissarie courts, as truly their affliction was not smale; till they were occasioned to see further into things by the light of the word of God." . . . "So many therfore of these proffessors as saw the evill of these things, in these parts, and whose harts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeale for his trueth, they shooke of this yoake of anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lords free people, joyned themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the felowship of the gospell, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them."

This extract from Bradford is at once the simplest and the most complete account we have of a Congregational Church three hundred years ago, and the three items enumerated are the essentials of Congregationalism—(*a*) the Church as a permanent fellowship of persons "enlightened by the Word of God," men "whose hearts God hath touched;" (*b*) the basis of the fellowship consisting not in the performance of any rite, the fact of nationality, or the acceptance of any tradition, either of creed or worship, but in the mutual covenant of the members to walk in the Lord's ways; (*c*) the recognition that no experience of grace nor confession of faith is final.

Closely connected with the doctrine of Congregationalists as to the individual Church, is their contention as to the responsibilities and rights of the Church members. Discipline, with them, is not under the regulation of Canon Law or public enactment; neither is it the sole charge of the Pastor and Ruling Elders;

[1] "Petty as this strife at Frankfort may seem, it marks the first open appearance of English Puritanism." Green, *History of the English People*, ii. 282. See also Southey's *Book of the Church*.

[2] *Evolution of English Congregationalism* (Jas. Nisbet & Co.), p. 50.

[3] Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation* (Boston, 1898), p. 12.

it is the obligation each member is under to care for the purity of the Church, the obligation of the Church to watch over the spiritual integrity of each of its members. "That there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another." The ministry is subordinate to the Church, chosen by the members, and appointed by them to office. An ordination might, under special circumstances, be conducted by the Church without the presence of any minister; and where, as is almost always the case, other ministers are present, the declaration by some representative of the Church, that the minister has been duly elected, is of the essence of the ordination service. The influence of the Pastor is nowhere greater than among Congregationalists, but he has no more authority over the Church than the Speaker over the House of Commons. Liberty of prayer and prophesying was a contention of all Puritans; hence their objection to a Liturgy and to the use of the Homilies. But, whereas the Presbyterians made this demand on behalf of the ministers, the Congregationalists asserted it on behalf of any member of the Church who has "the gift," and is moved by the Holy Spirit to exercise it.

The Congregational doctrine of the Church Catholic is consistent with that of the individual Churches. The Catholic Church is an ideal congregation of all true believers in Christ on earth and in heaven; it is not an aggregate of existing Churches. All faithful members of Churches are, equally and in the same sense, members of the Universal Church, which also includes men and women whom Christ would acknowledge as His own, although they are members of no Church on earth. The invisible Church is not the body of true believers within any visible Church composed of Christians by profession only, it is the body of Christ *sub specie eternitatis;* and the earthly evidence of its reality is the identity of the Christian consciousness everywhere and in all time.

Their loyalty to the Catholic ideal is one reason why Congregationalists object to apply the name Church to any organisation of Churches, whether national or denominational. They are not easy in using the name in any other application than simply to a permanent fellowship of Christians. It is a modern habit to speak even of a Congregational Church: the primitive title is: "The Church of Christ of the Congregational order in such or such a place." They are, indeed, casting aside this strictness, and now speak freely of the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Methodist Church, as well as of Independent Churches and Baptist Churches. The reason is that they have ceased to believe that the New Testament prescribes any order of government, or method of administration, as essential to a Church.

Of the two titles, Congregational and Independent, it is commonly asserted that Independent is the older, and Congregational a word of modern introduction. That is not so. Both words are of the same age, but they are used with a slight difference. Henry Jacob, in whose writings both occur, uses the term independent with a small "i"; it is to him a mere predicative, he does not employ it as an appellative. On one occasion, at least, he uses Congregational with a large "C," in contradistinction to Catholic. He lays down two conceptions of Church government, which, he says, must be "eyther Catholike, or Congregational independent." Some of the fathers of Independency did not like the word as a name. The five "dissenting brethren" in the Westminister Assembly protested against it as a "proud and insolent title." It came into use indeed, as a nickname; and then, not to be continually disputing about a word, and because the word did represent one aspect of their polity, they let it pass, and finally adopted it. The prevalence of one or the other name in their own usage marks a difference in the special aspect of their testimony, which seemed for the time to be the more important. Against any attempt to impose on their Churches either doctrine or government from without, they protest under the title Independent. When their immediate work is constructive mainly, when they dwell upon the spiritual obligations of membership, or endeavour to organise their Churches for religious work, they prefer to use the word Congregational. The name Independent, moreover, distinguishes them from the other great branch of the Congregational family, the Baptists.

The "Brethren of the Congregational way" were an influential, though not a numerous body, in the time of the Commonwealth. The Act of Uniformity (1662), by driving out the Presbyterians from the Established Church, greatly increased their numbers. So did the Evangelical Revival, and the development of the Methodist Societies. In both these cases it was the Independency, rather than the internal discipline of Congregationalism which was the attraction. But the leavening influence of the spiritual doctrine has been uniformly felt; throughout the nineteenth century the continuous tendency of Churches which became Independent was to lose their Presbyterian or Methodist tradition, and become, in Church doctrine as well as in practice, Congregational.

Note.—For a detailed account of English Congregationalism, the County Congregational

Histories, of which there are several, ought to be studied. Hanbury's *Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents or Congregationalists*, in three volumes, are an admirable collection of quotations from the "sources," well arranged, well indexed, and well reported. Dr. Waddington's *Congregational History* in five volumes, is a quarry of valuable materials, not always correctly given, and mostly without references. Fletcher's *History of Independency*, in four volumes, is clear and trustworthy. Dr. Stoughton's nine volumes of the *Ecclesiastical History of England* contain much information on the subject of this article. Dr. Leonard Bacon's *Genesis of the New England Churches*, and Dr. Dexter's *Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature*, may be consulted for Congregationalism in America. Dr. Davidson's Congregational Lecture on the *Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament* is an able treatment of the claims of Congregationalism as the Apostolical polity. Dr. Dale's *Manual of Congregational Principles* is a more modern exposition of the system. [A. M.]

II. *Baptists.*— The distinctive tenet of the Baptist denomination is that baptism can be rightly administered only to those who ask for it and profess repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. They regard the mode of administration as of secondary importance, but maintain that we have no warrant for making any change, and therefore adhere to the ancient practice of immersion, which they also value as a symbol of the believer's death to sin, and burial and resurrection with Christ. As an organised denomination, Baptists do not claim any great antiquity, but they regard themselves as the true representatives of the Apostolic Church, and also of the Catholic Church as it existed in the post-Apostolic Age. They think it demonstrable from patristic literature that pædobaptism was slowly introduced into the Church, and was not generally practised until the age of Augustine. From the fifth century, when Pope Boniface wrote to Augustine objecting to the baptismal service then in vogue, no indisputable record of opposition can be quoted until the eleventh century, when Bruno, Bishop of Angers, and his associate, Archdeacon Berengarius, were reported to the King of France as doing everything in their power to "overthrow the baptism of infants." A little later, numerous bodies withdrew from the Roman Communion. In the twelfth century many party names disappear, but under the loosely applied name of Waldenses these Puritans multiplied, and became influential on the Continent and in England. Some of these people, but not all, were Baptists. In 1140 Enervinus wrote an account of certain Baptists in the diocese of Cologne. In 1139 Peter de Brueys and A Brescia were condemned by the Lateran for opposing infant baptism. De Bru Henry converted many to their view south of France, particularly in the Toulouse, where they gathered many into an organised Baptist Church. Bo men suffered martyrdom as did many followers. The most severe measur taken to extirpate these people, wl called Petrobrusians or Henricians. of Clairvaux was sent by Pope Eugen the district most affected by the teac Brius, and reported that the church forsaken by the people.

Continental Anabaptists.—The outbrea Protestant Reformation early in the s century brought to light great nun Evangelical Christians who had been for deliverance from the Roman yoke, s early in his career Luther encounter who thought his teaching defective, a to convince him that no reformation complete which did not reject the ba infants, which they insisted was incor with his doctrine of Justification b From this time, and throughout the s of the century, these people were k the misleading name of Anabaptists. speaking, the Church of Rome deser title, because she rebaptizes conver other Churches, whose baptism she a be valid, but even she only repeats the ditionally, and as a precaution agair possible irregularity. The impropriet name is now generally recognised notorious that the Anabaptists were a persecuted by Protestants as by Ro It is frequently assumed that they these sufferings upon themselves by tionary turbulence and by wild social cesses, but this view is unhistorica many of them took part in revolutiona ments is indisputable, and that some were guilty of deplorable acts is equal but they were persecuted long bel seizure of Münster brought odium name, and they neither started, nor disproportionate share in the Peasa Revolutionary movements were sta Roman Catholics in the fifteenth cent for many years were carried on with religious aims. They were indeed an ir consequence of the miserable cond which the common people were reduc the feudal system. Beginning in Bs 1486, revolt was intermittent until 15 the whole of Upper Germany was in tion. Men of all creeds were partic this great uprising, and large numbe poorer parish priests, as well as mon

prominent as leaders. Luther denounced the Peasant War in its later stages, but indirectly he had done much to liberate insurrectionary forces. He had taught men to think for themselves, and mental freedom once asserted inevitably led to an independent trial of all institutions in Church and State. The peasants were surprised and aggrieved by Luther's alliance with the princes and nobles against themselves, and after their suppression large numbers ceased to follow him, and became Anabaptists. These facts leave the earlier persecution of Baptists unexplained, but it is not difficult to find a reason for their treatment. The most fundamental reason lay in the fact that their refusal of infant baptism brought them into an unavoidable collision with the authorities. The history of the Anabaptists in Zurich supplies a proof and illustration of this statement, for their struggle with Pædobaptist Reformers first took definite form in this city. Under the leadership of Zwingli the constitution of Zurich was built up on a religious basis, which made infant baptism the seal of citizenship, and those who withheld it from their children were declared to be guilty of "revolt, heresy, and schism." On the ground that disobedience was at once a civil and ecclesiastical offence, the Council of Zurich issued a decree in 1525 giving eight days' grace to Anabaptists, and condemning all who failed to comply with the law within that period to be imprisoned or banished. In the following year the punishment was made capital, and not a few Baptists were drowned in the lake. In 1527 Zwingli published his *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas*, in which he preserved the seven Articles of the persecuted Church. Article I. states their view of baptism in ordinary terms, but adds that the baptism of infants is "the great abomination of the Roman pontiff"; II. provides for the excommunication of those who lapse into sin; III. declares that the Lord's Supper should be given only to members of the Church; IV. enjoins separation from the world and its evil customs; V. defines the duties of pastors; VI. justifies the magisterial use of the sword; VII. forbids the use of oaths. As Articles of religion there is little or nothing to account for the hatred and scorn which their authors had to endure, though Zwingli branded them as "fanatical, stolid, and audacious." The secret of their offensiveness to the Protestant Council of Zurich can be discovered only in the fact that a general rejection of infant baptism would have been fatal to the constitution of the State. The misfortune was that fidelity to a purely religious conviction was by that constitution rendered absolutely incompatible with civil obedience. These Zurich Articles fairly represent the views of a majority of Anabaptists, but in the course of time the cruelty and injustice with which they were everywhere treated had the natural effect of driving some into more extreme opinions. It was inevitable that men who were unwillingly forced into civil disobedience for conscience' sake should become more closely mixed up in reality, and still more in appearance, with the masses whose disaffection was primarily social and political. The general opinion of Anabaptists was against the use of physical force for the redress of wrongs, but men like Hoffman, Munzer, and Matthysz found a passionate response when they broached visionary communistic schemes, and justified the use of the sword. Through them the name of Anabaptist was associated with excesses which have no more to do with Baptist than with Pædobaptist principles. The story of Münster has been told with many vindictive exaggerations by Roman Catholic writers, but the worst excesses of the Anabaptists were mistaken methods of promoting righteousness, whereas Münster before the rebellion was a hotbed of flagrant vice. The struggle was at first between the laity and the Romanist ecclesiastical party, headed by the bishop, who was also the sovereign prince. The chief cause of quarrel was the carrying on of trades by priests and monks. By degrees this became a struggle for supremacy between Lutherans and Romanists, which issued in the handing over of all the churches to the Lutherans, and their retention in spite of an armed attack by the bishop. Rothmann, a distinguished preacher, was deputed to organise a new Lutheran establishment, but about this time he became a Baptist, and was deposed by the Council because he, followed by many other ministers, refused to baptize infants. In 1534 Anabaptists of the more martial type came from Holland. In eight days 1400 persons were baptized, and in a short time Anabaptists became so strong that they were able to control the election of the City Council, and the government passed into their hands. They at once used stringent measures to put down profligacy, and thereby caused great numbers to forsake the city. At this point many Lutherans passed over to the camp of their old Romanist enemies, and assisted the bishop to besiege Münster. During this siege, the more extreme and visionary section gained an ascendancy. Their idea was to transform Münster into a New Jerusalem. A king was elected, and laws of more than Draconian severity were passed. Houses were opened for common meals. Gold and silver were gathered into a common store. Strong drinks were prohibited except for the sick. But these efforts

to reform society were discredited by an attempt to restore the ancient Hebrew customs of marriage. This grave error gave their enemies the opportunity to hold them up to execration as licentious profligates. They also incurred odium by destroying every work of art in the churches which they considered superstitious, and many books and documents which they considered hostile to human liberty. In June, 1535, Münster fell, after prolonged sufferings through famine, and the city was turned into a shambles.

Baptists in Great Britain.—Ancient Welsh traditions state that the British Church practised believers' baptism, but all we know with certainty is that she did not baptize according to the Roman custom, and that her bishops refused Augustine's demand for conformity. Bede does not state the nature of their disagreement, and Fabyan's Chronicle, which favours the Welsh tradition, is not an authority. Baptists were branded for heresy at Oxford in 1166, and from that time forward we hear of them at intervals, but solely in connection with their persecution. Some writers have called Wicliffe an Anabaptist, but this is a mistake. His doctrine of the Sacraments would logically forbid baptism to any but believers, but there is no evidence that he departed from the general usage of the Church in his day. It is practically impossible to determine the opinions of the many English Christians who dissented from the Romish Church between the death of Wicliffe and the reign of Henry VIII. Their object was to escape observation, and the traces they have left are very slight. It is known that they were very numerous, and that they were intimately connected with continental bodies; and there is good reason to believe that many, probably a majority of them, repudiated infant baptism. It is very significant that when Henry VIII. revolted from Rome, he found vast numbers of people eager to go much farther than he wished to go as a reformer, and that his royal proclamation of 1536 was directed chiefly against Anabaptists. In 1537 several Baptists were burned in London, and Hooper and Latimer wrote of them as exceedingly numerous. Throughout all the ecclesiastical changes of the sixteenth century Bapists continually suffered. The last Englishman who was put to death for heresy was Edward Wightman, a Baptist, who was burned at Lichfield in 1612. There is good, though not indisputable evidence, that there was a Baptist Church at Highcliffe in the fourteenth century, and one at Eyethorne in the reign of Henry VIII., but the earliest authentic record proves that such a church existed at Crowle in Lincolnshire in 1598. Here John Smyth, Vicar of Gainsborough, was baptized in 1606. In 1609, he and nearly all his fellow-members fled to Holland to escape persecution. In 1611 a Baptist Church was formed in London, and from this time the continuity of the denomination has been unbroken. About this time the Puritan element in the English Church tended to become Separatist, and Churches were established, variously known as Brownists, Independents, and Baptists. They were alike in maintaining that each company of Christians meeting together for worship and fellowship at the Lord's Table was a true Church, and possessed the right of self-government.

As a political force opposed to Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the Baptists were Independents, and many deprecated the formation of a separate denomination, but others held that according to the New Testament model, a church should contain none but baptized believers. In 1644 seven London churches of this order published a Confession of Faith, in which they described themselves as "commonly though falsely called Anabaptist." Since then until the present day Baptists have taken different views on the lawfulness of communion with those whom they regard as unbaptized, and churches of corresponding order have been founded. Many Baptists are satisfied to remain members of Congregational churches. There are a few "Union churches," in which the minister may be either Baptist or Pædobaptist, and neither view is collectively professed. There are "Open Baptist" churches, in which the minister must be a Baptist, and Pædobaptism may neither be taught nor practised, but in which membership is free to all Christians who seek it. There are others in which membership is restricted to Baptists, but all Christians are welcomed to partake of the Lord's Supper. There are also many, though an ever diminishing number of churches, in which both membership and communion are closed to all but Baptists. While thus differing on the communion question, in the seventeenth century Baptists were more sharply divided by the Arminian controversy, and two denominations were formed: the "Particular Baptists," who held the Calvinistic doctrine of a limited or "Particular" Atonement, and the "General Baptists," who held that the Atonement is universal in its value and aim. These bodies remained apart with separate organisations and institutions until the end of the nineteenth century, when they were amalgamated and the titles "Particular" and "General" were abolished.

Soon after the Toleration Act was passed the Particular Baptists convened a General Assembly in London. Representatives of 130 churches attended, and a Confession of Faith

wn up mainly on the lines of the inster Confession," but with altera- regard to Church government and

In 1691 the General Baptists met r up a similar manifesto. These con- were not imposed as tests or conditions ership, but were designed to exhibit al beliefs and practices of the two nd so dissipate prejudices and mis- ndings. In the eighteenth century Uni- ews were adopted by not a few General and in 1770 a "New General Baptist ion" was formed on a basis of six which embodied the original views of omination. During the same period icular Baptists had become more pro- in their Calvinism, and evinced no for extension until Andrew Fuller and successfully vindicated more iews of the Gospel, and inaugurated poch of evangelical activity. Fuller's convinced William Carey that it was of the Church to preach the Gospel eathen. This thought took effect in ation of the Baptist Missionary Society

This was the first effort of the Church to carry out the great Com- on a world-wide scale, and from it rung marvellous activities by which ld is being religiously transformed. is awakening of zeal for the diffusion Gospel the Baptist Denomination has increased in Great Britain and the

In the United States of America larger membership than any other body except the Wesleyans. There y Baptist Churches in Germany. In nd Sweden they have had to endure ardships which have driven many e, large numbers of them settling in

ptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland ntary union of churches, but does not to be itself a church. It reports the e of 2803 churches in these islands. a large proportion, but not all, are he Union. The Constitution, as re- 1894, states that "In this Union it is cognised that every separate church rty to interpret and administer the Christ." Its chief objects are to brotherly love; "To spread the of Christ;" "To afford opportunities ference, for the public declaration of and for joint action on questions the welfare of the churches;" "To nd co-operate with other Christian ities as occasion may require;" and intain the right of all men everywhere om from disadvantage, restraint, and in matters purely religious." The operations of the Union are conducted by a council of sixty elected members, together with representatives of various Associations, Colleges, &c. Its officers are a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary, all elected annually. In connection with the Union are several important funds, viz., an Annuity Fund for the benefit of retired ministers; an Augmentation Fund which supplements the inadequate incomes of ministers of poor churches; and an Education Fund for the benefit of ministers' children. Assemblies of the Union are held twice in each year, once in London and once in a provincial town. Outside the Baptist Union there are numerous churches which maintain Calvinistic doctrines in their most extreme form, and are rigorous in declining fellowship with open communion churches. There are also a few churches which retired from the Union a few years ago, because it refused to adopt a secondary standard of belief as a basis of membership. In close connection with the Baptist Union there are also County Associations, and within these again, District or City Councils, which meet for consultation, and for the direction of all common work within their respective areas.

Ministerial Education.—Baptists have had to overcome great difficulties in providing for the education of their ministers. Until quite recently they were excluded from the English Universities, and until far on in the eighteenth century no one could lawfully engage in the work of teaching without a bishop's licence. As soon as the way became clear they established Theological Colleges, viz., Bristol, 1770; London, 1797 (now at Nottingham); Bradford, 1804 (now at Rawdon near Leeds); Stepney, 1810 (now at Regent's Park); Abergavenny, 1807 (now at Cardiff); the Pastors' College, London, 1856; Bury, 1866 (now at Manchester); Bangor, 1862. Many students in these colleges graduate at London, or in one of the Scotch Universities.

From a long list of memorable Baptists, a few outstanding names may be mentioned, viz., John Milton, who wrote a Latin treatise on Christian Doctrine, in which he fully discussed the subject of baptism, which he described as the immersion of believers in "running water." This book had a curious history, and was first published in 1825 in an English translation by Bishop (then Prebendary) Sumner of Winchester. John Bunyan, whose works and sufferings under Charles II. are known to all the world, founded an open communion or "Union" Church in Bedford which still flourishes. We may also mention John Foster the Essayist, William Carey, the founder of modern Missions, and Robert Hall and C. H.

Spurgeon, who stand foremost among the preachers of the nineteenth century.

[T. V. T.]

INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.—The Roman Church claims the strictest supervision over the books which her votaries may read, and for their guidance has drawn up a list of works, the use of which is absolutely forbidden under canonical penalties, or which it is only permissible to use after official expurgation. This list (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum*) was, as will be shown, mainly the work of the Council of Trent, and has since, continually enlarged, gone through about forty editions. The first known list of prohibited (heretical) books is that ascribed to Pope Gelasius (494). Later it became common to condemn heretical works to the flames, and to prohibit the possession and reading of them. The Council of Constance in this way burned the books of John Hus (1415), and caused diligent search to be made for copies of them. Leo X. did the same with the writings of Luther. The invention of printing, followed by the Reformation, gave a great impetus to the exercise of prohibitory authority, and vastly enlarged its scope. The University Press of Louvain issued in 1546, and again in 1550, a catalogue of prohibited books. Similar lists appeared by authority at Venice, Paris, and Cologne. But if the need for prohibition was greater, the new conditions made the task more difficult. It became necessary to *anticipate*, and if possible prevent, the publication of books inimical to Rome: a censorship, therefore, was established, and approval of the censors was necessary before a book could be lawfully published. Booksellers also were put under the strictest rules as to the books they were permitted to possess or sell (see below). With the modern development of the press, and the freer conditions of society, the work of the censor, expurgator, and prohibitor, has become wholly impracticable. It is only in the most arbitrary and occasional fashion that particular books can be now put upon the Index.

The first authoritative Roman Index was that of Paul IV. in 1557 and 1559. This was speedily superseded by the Tridentine Index, of the origin of which Liguori gives the following account. After telling how "Paul IV., in the year 1557, committed to the inquisitors that they should form this (the above-named) Index, which then was finished and published in the year 1559 by order of the same Paul," he goes on: "But because in that Index a better method, and other declarations, and the names of many other authors and books were wanting, hence Pius IV. committed the framing of a new Index to the Fathers of the Council of Trent, which was then being held. For this purpose the Council chose eighteen Fathers, who (so far) completed and presented the work; and because the Fathers, overcome with fatigue, were solicitous about returning, and even now some had departed, they left the matter to be finished according to the judgment of the Pope, together with the rules made. Consequently Pius IV. (many learned Fathers being applied to) completed the Index, and commanded that it should be observed by all the faithful everywhere, with his own rules; and decreed, that if any one afterwards should read any book condemned on account of the suspicion of false doctrine, or should have it in his possession, he should fall *ipso jure* into excommunication; and against him, or if suspected of heresy, proceedings should be taken. . . . So in the bull of the above-mentioned Pius IV., 'of the Lord's flock,' given on the 24th of March 1564" (*Mor. Theol.*, Appendix on Index). A few years later (1571) the Sacred Congregation of the Index was set up by Pius V. The Congregation consists of a number of Cardinals, aided by a body of learned men called Consulters, the chief of whom is known as the Master of the Apostolic Palace. The first secretary was chosen from the Dominicans. (The Master of the Apostolic Palace in 1607 was F. J. M. Brassichelli, who published an Index of Expurgated Works, 1608; Eng. reprint, 1837.)[1] The rules for the procedure of the Congregation are laid down most fully by Benedict XIV. in a Constitution of date July 10, 1753.

The Index distinguishes three principal classes of prohibited books. The *first* class contains all the works of heretics containing heresy, or professedly treating of religion. These are forbidden absolutely under pain of excommunication. Under this head, of course, are included the works of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, &c. The *second* class comprises books of Catholics contrary to faith and good morals. The *third* class embraces books issued without the name of the author, which contain bad doctrine. Censure is incurred for the second and third classes only when the books are specially designated, or fall under certain general heads (*cf.* Liguori and Gury). But besides those classes of books which are entirely prohibited, there are many others the use of which is forbidden only on account of particular passages, and which are restored

[1] The English reprint is by the late Rev. Richard Gibbings, D.D., Prof. of Eccl. Hist. in the University of Dublin. The preface to it contains several notices of earlier attempts of the Popes at the expurgation of the Index. The work was published by Milliken, Dublin.

to use when "expurgated." Portions of the writings of the Fathers are in this way taken exception to; even portions of the holy Augustine. From the Rules of Clement VIII. (prefixed to Brassichelli) we learn that bishops and inquisitors together, or, where there were no inquisitors, bishops alone, might execute this work of expurgation, provided their piety and erudition were adequate to the task. It does not follow that books not prohibited by the Index are free to be read by all Catholics. By no means. The faithful are directed to consult their respective confessors as to the journals and books they may read, and confessors are instructed to follow the advice laid down by St. Liguori: "In this matter it is generally expedient to follow the more rigid opinion" (Maurel's *Cat.*, p. 254).

The spirit which pervades the Index can perhaps best be gathered from the ten rules laid down by the Council of Trent regarding prohibited books. Only the chief points can be mentioned. Rule I. renews the condemnation of all books condemned by Popes or General Councils before the year 1513. Rule II. condemns all books of heresiarchs (Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, &c.), and the books of other heretics treating professedly of religion. Rule III. allows translations of ecclesiastical writers, and also translations of the Old Testament, "but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop." But translations of the New Testament, made by heretical writers, are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. Rule IV. prohibits the possession, sale or reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue without permission (this rule is referred to below). Rules V. to IX. forbid books of which heretics are editors; books of controversy between Catholics and heretics; books treating of obscene subjects (the classics are excepted because of "the elegance and propriety of the language"); books in which are things tending to heresy and impiety, or having prefaces, summaries, notes, &c., of condemned authors—these are not allowed till "after they have been corrected by Catholic divines, by authority of the general inquisition;" books of necromancy, magic, and the like. Rule X. ordains that before a book is printed in Rome, it must be "examined by the Pope's vicar, and the Master of the Sacred Palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose;" in other places, "the examination of any book or manuscript intended to be printed, shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person whom he shall nominate, and the Inquisitor of heretical pravity of the city or diocese in which the impression is executed." "Moreover," this rule proceeds, "in every city or diocese, the house or places where the art of printing is exercised, and also the shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed for that purpose by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the Inquisitor of heretical pravity, so that nothing that is prohibited may be printed, kept, or sold. Booksellers of every description shall keep in their libraries a catalogue of the books which they have on sale, signed by the said deputies; nor shall they keep, sell, nor in any way dispose of any other books without permission from the deputies, under pain of forfeiting the books, and being liable to such other penalties as shall be judged proper by the bishop or inquisitor, who shall also punish the buyers, readers, and printers of such works." It need not be pointed out that the enforcement of these rules amounts to an intellectual enslavement of the most abject kind. The system is as fatal to knowledge and intellectual advancement, as it is crushing to the moral and spiritual freedom of mankind. Whenever Romanism has power, it is an incubus on the intellectual progress of nations. These rules in part furnish the explanation.

It should not be overlooked that the third and fourth of the Rules of the Index have reference to the reading and possession of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. As this sets in a clear light the policy of Rome in regard to the Holy Scriptures, Rule IV. had better be quoted entire. It reads thus: "Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to any one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured by it, and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any persons not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use, and be subjected to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles without a special licence from their superior." Translations of the Bible by *other* than Catholic

authors are, of course, absolutely prohibited. This fourth Rule of the Index has been confirmed by many subsequent decrees of Popes.

[J. O.]

INDUCTION and INSTITUTION.—To put a clergyman into full possession of a benefice, three things are required: (1) Admission, which takes place when the bishop, upon examination, approves of the person presented by the patron as a fit person to serve in the cure of souls for the parish to which he has been presented. (2) Institution, which is the name for the act whereby the bishop commits to the presentee of the benefice the *cure of souls*. Until Richard I.'s and John's time this was not necessary, but was done by the lay patron. Then by means of clerical and papal aggressions it became the rule that the spiritual superior should institute. The Canonists insisted upon its being done by the bishop of the diocese, or sometimes by the archdeacon of the place. Decretals of Alexander III. show that the contrary had been the old custom up to then, and this is also clear from some of the canons made at the Council of Westminster, held under Anselm in the third year of Henry I., and at the National Synod held in the twenty-fifth year of the same king. (See *Selden on Tythes*, ch. xii.)

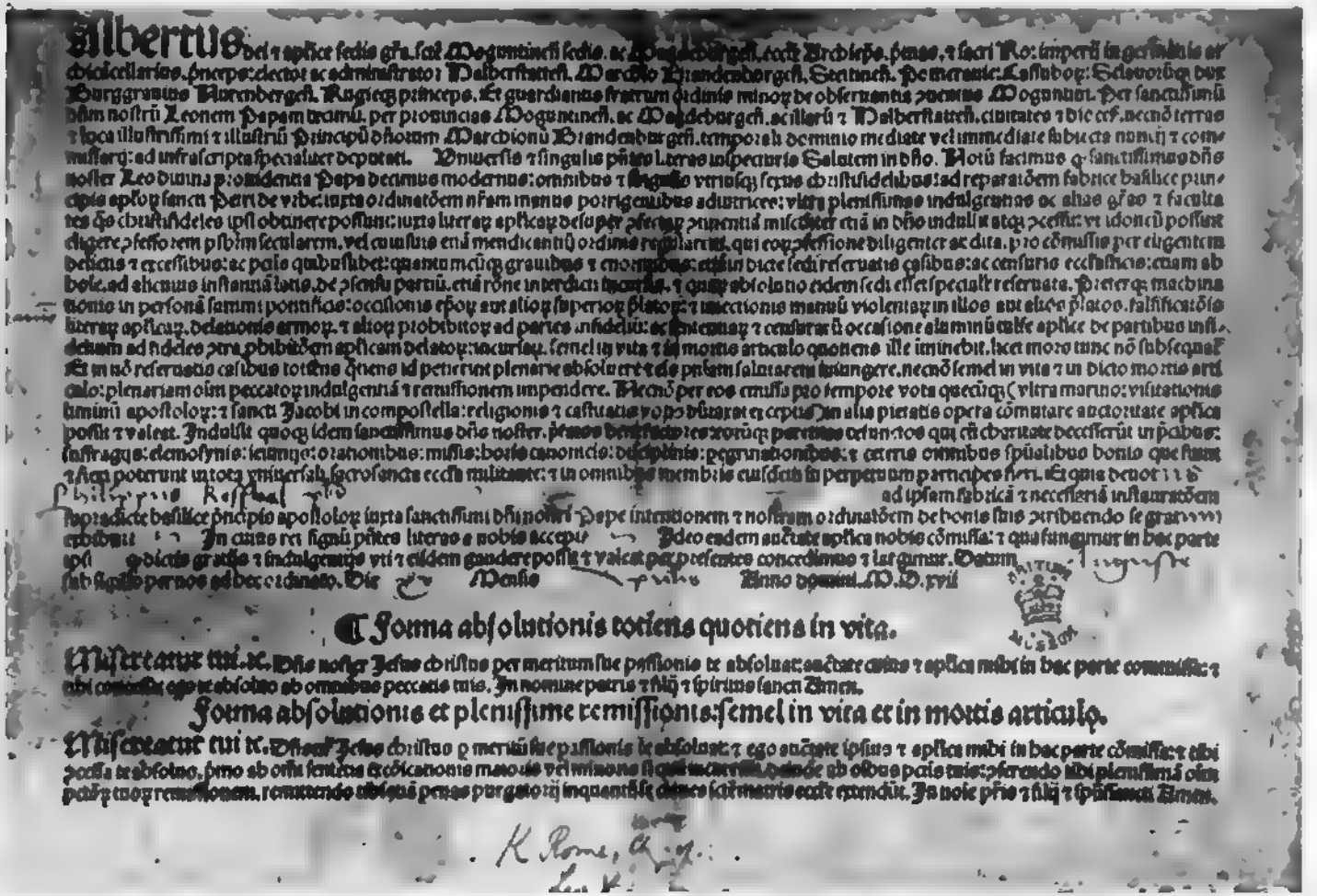
In institution, the presentee kneels before the bishop, and the document instituting him is read, something like a feudal enfeofment by a feudal superior. (3) Induction was the act whereby the presentee of a benefice was put in corporal possession of its temporalities, and corresponds to the instalment of a bishop. In induction, which is done by the archdeacon, or a person acting under his mandate, the archdeacon says, "I induct you into the real and corporeal possession of the church of —— with all its fruits, members, and appurtenances," and taking his hand, lays it on the ring, key, or latch of the church door, or delivers a clod turf, or turf of the glebe. If the church is exempt from archdiaconal visitation, then the mandate is issued to the Chancellor of the diocese for induction; if a peculiar, to the dean or judge. [E. B. W.]

INDULGENCE.—A word used in two senses. (1) A Primitive Indulgence; (2) A Mediæval Indulgence.

(1) By a Primitive Indulgence, a man who had been excommunicated by the chief officer of the Church, after confession of a scandalous sin, made publicly in the congregation, for any length of time, say twenty years, was excused a certain part of the time, say five years, on proof of real penitence on his part. In this case the punishment was inflicted by the Church, and the authority which had inflicted it might and did refrain from exacting the full penalty which she had herself imposed. In this there is nothing objectionable. A schoolmaster often acts so in the case of a boy whom he is punishing, and St. Paul ordered that that course should be followed with the incestuous Corinthian who had been excommunicated.

(2) By the Mediæval Indulgence, the superabundant merits and satisfactions that some very righteous persons had earned and performed, which they were so pious as not to require for themselves, were supposed to be distributed to other people, who were in want of them, by the Bishop of Rome, in return for money or money's worth. The effect to the recipient was supposed to be that the penance or suffering, which he ought to have undergone and had not undergone, and had still to undergo, either on earth or in an imaginary place called Purgatory, was regarded as accomplished by the satisfaction made by the over-pious men and women whose merits were transferred to him.

The Pope may either transfer merit enough to deliver his protégé altogether, both on earth and in Purgatory, in which case he is said to grant a plenary Indulgence, or he may transfer only so much as to cover a certain number of days' or years' sufferings on earth, or their equivalent in Purgatory, and then he is said to grant a partial Indulgence. Bishops are allowed to draw on the Pope's treasury of other people's merits only to the extent of forty days (they were thus limited by Innocent III. in 1215), except on the occasion of the consecration of a church, when they may grant a hundred days. The Pope keeps to himself the right of bestowing exemptions of hundreds of thousands of years (for a single Mass in San Francisco in Mexico, an Indulgence of 32,310 years, 10 days, and 6 hours is granted), or of giving an entire exemption and wiping the slate clean by a plenary Indulgence. So unlimited is his power that he can grant not only a "plenary," but a "most plenary" Indulgence, which is gained by the "pilgrims" to Rome in the year of the Jubilee. We have seen accounts of English and Irish episcopally conducted "pilgrimages" in 1900, undertaken to gain this "most plenary" Indulgence. But how a "plenary" or entire Indulgence, which clears you altogether, differs from a "most plenary" or most entire Indulgence (which, however, cannot do more than *all*), no one has been able to explain. Dr. Döllinger, at the Bonn Conference of 1875, said, "The so-named Jubilee Indulgence occasions the Roman Theologians much solicitude. However much trouble they may give themselves to show its precedence of any other plenary Indulgence, it is fundamentally no more a complete Indulgence than the common perfect



Albertus dei ⁊ aplice sedis gra. sal. Moguntinen. sedis. ac Magdeburgen. ecclē Archiepūs. princ, ⁊ sacri Ro: imperij in germania ar
chicancellarius. princeps: elector ac administrator ⁊ Halberstatēn. Marchio Brandenburgen. Stettinen. Pomeranie: Cassubor: Sclauorūq; dux
Burggrauius Norenbergen. Rugiaq; princeps. Et guardianus fratrum ordinis minor de obseruantia ꝓuincie Moguntin. Per sanctissimū
dñm nostrū Leonem Papam decimū. per prouincias Moguntinen. ac Magdeburgen. ac illarū ⁊ Halberstatēn. ciuitates ⁊ dioc. necnō terras
⁊ loca illustrissimi ⁊ illustriū Principū dñorum Marchionū Brandenburgen. temporali dominio mediate vel immediate subiecta nuncij ⁊ com
missarij: ad infrascripta specialiter deputati. Vniuersis ⁊ singulis pñtes Literas inspecturis Salutem in dño. Notū facimus q̄ sanctissimus dñs
noster Leo diuina p̄uidentia Papa decimus modernus: omnibus ⁊ singulis veris atq; legis christifidelibus: ad reparatiōem fabrice basilice prin
cipis apl̄oꝝ sancti Petri de vrbe iuxta ordinatōem nr̄am manus porrigentibus adiutrices: vtq; plenissimo indulgentiarum ac alias gr̄as ⁊ facilita
tes ꝯ christifideles ipsi obtinere possint: iuxta literaꝝ aplicaꝝ desup̄ per nos ꝓpterea ꝓuentū misceliter etiā in dño indulti atq; ꝓcessit: vt idoneū possint
eligere ꝓfessorem pl̄bum secularem. vel cuiuslibet etiā mendicantiū ordinis regularem. qui eoꝝ confessione diligenter ac deuota. p̄ro cōmissis per eligentem
delictis ⁊ excessibus: ac pro quibuslibet: quantumcūq; grauibus ⁊ enormibus: etiā in dictā sedi reseruatis casibus: ac censuris ecclasticis: etiam ab
hac. ad effectum infrascriptū latis. de p̄sentiq; partiū. etiā rōne interdicti incursis. ⁊ quoq; absolutio eidem sedi esset specialiter reseruata. Preterea machina
tionis in personā summi pontificis: occasione cuiusq; sui alioq; superioꝝ p̄latoꝝ: ⁊ iniectionis manuū violentaꝝ in illos aut alios p̄latos. falsificatiōis
literaꝝ aplicaꝝ. delationis armoꝝ. ⁊ aliaꝝ p̄hibitoꝝ ad partes infidelium: ac excommunicationis ⁊ censuraꝝ occasione etiam nō tulle aplice de partibus infi
delium ad fideles ꝓ tp̄e obtinēdam aplicam delatoꝝ: incursiq;. semel in vita ⁊ in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminebit. licet mox tunc nō subsequat
Et in nō reseruatis casibus totiens quotiens id petierint plenarie absoluere ⁊ de penam salutarem iniungere. necnō semel in vita ⁊ in dicto mortis arti
culo: plenariam oīm peccatoꝝ indulgentiā ⁊ remissionem impendere. Necnō per eos emissa ꝓ tempore vota quecūq; (vltra marino: visitationis
limiñ apostoloꝝ: ⁊ sancti Jacobi in compostella: religionis ⁊ castitatis vouꝑ dūtaxat exceptis) in alia pietatis opera cōmutare auctoritate aplica
possit ⁊ valeat. Indulsit quoq; idem sanctissimus dñs noster. p̄fatos benefactores eorūq; parentes defunctos qui cū charitate decesserūt in pāce:
suffragijs: elemosynis: ieiunijs: orationibus: missis: horis canonicis: disciplinis: peregrinationibus: ⁊ ceteris oībus spūalibus bonis que fiunt
⁊ fieri poterunt in tota vniuersali sacrosancte ecclē militante: ⁊ in oībus membris eiusdē in perpetuum participes fieri. Et quis deuot⁹ ⁊ ꝯ
ad ipsam fabricā ⁊ necessariā instauratiōem
ꝓdicte basilice ꝓncipis apostoloꝝ iuxta sanctissimi dñi nostri Pape intentionem ⁊ nostrum ordinatōem de bonis suis ꝓpriis donando se gratum
exhibuit ⁊ In cuius rei signū pñtes literas a nobis accepit ⁊ Datū eadem auctate aplica nobis cōmissa: ⁊ qua fungimur in hac parte
ipsi ꝑdicte gratie ⁊ indulgentiis vti ⁊ eisdem gaudere possit ⁊ valeat per ꝓsentes concedimus ⁊ largimur. Datum
sub sigillo pernos ad hec deputato. Die Mensis Anno dñi. M.D.xvii

Forma absolutionis totiens quotiens in vita.

Misereatur tui. ⁊c. Dñs noster Jesus christus per meritum sue passionis ⁊c absoluat te auctate eius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte commissa: ⁊
ubi contrita es ego te absoluo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine patris ⁊ filij ⁊ spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma absolutionis et plenissime remissionis: semel in vita et in mortis articulo.

Misereatur tui ⁊c. Dñs noster Jesus christus q̄ meritū sue passionis ⁊c absoluat te ego auctate ipsius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte cōmissa: ⁊ ubi
pcessa ⁊c absoluo. primo ab oīa sentētia excōicationis maioris vel minoris si quā incurristi. deinde ab oībus peccatis tuis: ꝓferendo tibi plenissimā oīm
peccatoꝝ tuoꝝ remissionem. remittendo tibi etiā penas purgatorij inquantūcūq; debes sit mentis ecclē exemplū. In nole pñe ⁊ filij ⁊ spūs sancti Amen.

Indulgence, which one can obtain much more easily and conveniently."

The most usual way of gaining an Indulgence is to help build a Roman Catholic church or monastery. The number of Indulgences, plenary and partial, gained in the erection of St. Peter's, Rome, or in our own day of the church of Montmartre in Paris, might risk the exhaustion of the treasury, but from time to time the Popes remind their followers that they need not be afraid, as they have an unfailing stock to draw on, for from fear of any danger of this kind, Christ's merits have been added to those of St. Mary and the saints, and stored away with them in the treasury.

The next commonest way is saying an indulgenced prayer. One Paternoster said before the Cross of Caravaca, or a representation of it, earns 3600 days' exemption. The recital of a hymn to St. Mary, consisting of 187 letters, has 200 days of Indulgence attached to each letter. It may be seen how easily by these means the Pope can direct the prayers of his subjects. To pray for the intentions of the Holy Father is a condition of most Indulgences.

Another way is to fight the Pope's enemies. Originally this Indulgence was granted to the Crusaders, who were supposed to fight the enemies of Christ, but the Pope being Christ's vicar, the enemies of the Pope took the place of Christ's enemies when there were no more Saracens to fight. The men who marched to massacre the Albigenses and Provençals were all indulgenced. Nay, a Crusaders' Bull is published to this day every year, and to enjoy the benefit of any Indulgences every Spaniard *must* buy it every year for 5d. (it is calculated that till of late, the Pope and the Spanish Church made £200,000 by its sale annually), and this Bull of the Crusade enables its possessors to earn by very little trouble 89 plenary Indulgences in the year, and to get 10 souls out of Purgatory. If a man buys two copies of the Bull, price 10d., he may earn 178 plenary Indulgences, and get 20 souls out of Purgatory.

But the easiest way of all is wearing a scapular (a little piece of woollen cloth) under your clothes. By wearing the Carmelite scapular a man is saved from hell, and from more than six days of Purgatory; by wearing the scapular of the Immaculate Conception and saying a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Gloria six times, he earns "433 plenary or entire Indulgences and an innumerable number of Indulgences for certain lengths of time." So says S. Alfonso de' Liguori, the appointed doctor or teacher of the Roman Church, in his *Glories of Mary*, p. 661 (Ed. Dunighan).

There is nothing that an apologist of the Roman Church so shrinks from handling, as the doctrine of Indulgences. But there is nothing that the hierarchy and priesthood of that Church is less willing to give up than Indulgences and Masses for the sufferers in Purgatory. If they are not godliness, they are gain.

Mediæval Indulgences originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the rest of the new religion then introduced. Dr. Döllinger, speaking for the Old Catholic reformers at Bonn, twice repudiated the doctrine in their behalf. "Not merely Indulgences for the departed, but the whole papal system of Indulgence, we Old Catholics must clear away." "We Old Catholics can have nothing whatsoever to do with the entire matter of Papal Indulgence." "We can mention with entire exactness the time, I might almost say the day, when the doctrine of the Church on this point was changed." Hooker is stirred out of his usual composure to denounce "the mart of Papal Indulgences, a gain inestimable to the priest, to others a spoil; a scorn both to God and man" (*Eccl. Pol.*, vi. 9). See Dr. Wright's *Roman Catholicism*, (Religious Tract Society). [F. M.]

Tetzel's Indulgence.—Copy of the Indulgence issued by Pope Leo X. for the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Rome. It was sold by Tetzel as sub-commissary under Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and led to the remonstrances of Luther. It is printed on vellum, and bears the name of the recipient, "Philippus Kessel, Presbyter," in manuscript, together with the date of issue, 15th April 1517, likewise in manuscript. The name inserted was originally "Keschel," altered to "Kessel."

Words abbreviated in the original are here printed in full.

Albertus dei et apostolice sedis gratia . sancte Moguntinensis sedis . ac Magdeburgensis ecclesie Archiepiscopus, primas . et sacri Romani imperii in germania ar | chicancellarius . princeps : elector ac administrator Halberstattensis, Marchio Brandenburgensis. Stettinensis, Pomeranie: Cassuborum Sclavorumque dux | Burggrauius Nurenbergensis, Rugieque princeps . Et guardianus fratrum ordinis minorum de obseruantia conuentus Moguntini . Per sanctissimum | dominum nostrum Leonem Papam decimum . per prouincias Moguntinensem et Magdeburgensem ac illarum et Halberstattenses ciuitates et dioceses . necnon terras | et loca illustrissimi et illustrium Principum dominorum Marchionum Brandenburgensium temporali dominio mediate vel immediate subiecta nuncii et com | missarii : ad infrascripta specialiter deputati . Vniuersis et

singulis presentes literae inspecturie Salutem in domino . Notum facimus quod sanctissimus dominus | noster Leo diuina prouidentia Papa decimus modernus : omnibus et singulis vtriusque sexus christifidelibus : ad reparacionem fabrice basilice prin|cipis apostolorum sancti Petri de vrbe : iuxta ordinationem nostram manus porrigentibus adiutrices : vltra plenissimas indulgentias ac alias gratias et facultat|es quas christi fideles ipsi obtinere possunt : iuxta literarum apostolicarum desuper confectarum continentiam misericorditer etiam in domino indulsit atque concessit : vt idoneum possint | eligere confessorem presbyterum secularem . vel cuiusuis etiam mendicantium ordinis regularem, qui eorum confessione diligenter audita, pro commissis per eligentem | delictis et excessibus : ac peccatis quibuslibet : quantumcumque grauibus et enormibus : etiam in dicte sedi reseruatis casibus : ac censuris ecclesiasticis : etiam ab | homine ad alicuius instantiam latis . de consensu partium . etiam ratione interdicti incursis . et quarum absolutio eidem sedi esset specialiter reseruata. Preterquam machina|tionis in personam summi pontificis : occisionis episcoporum aut aliorum superiorum prelatorum et iniectionis manuum violentarum in illos aut alios prelatos . falsificationis literarum apostolicarum . delationis armorum . et aliorum prohibitorum ad partes infidelium : ac sententiarum et censurarum occasione aluminum tulfe apostolice de partibus infi|delium ad fideles contra prohibitionem apostolicam delatorum incursarum semel in vita et in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminebit . licet mors tunc non subsequatur | Et in non reseruatis casibus totiens quotiens id petierint plenarie absolouere et eis penitentiam salutarem iniungere . necnon semel in vita et in dicto mortis arti | culo : plenariam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam et remissionem impendere. Necnon per eos emissa pro tempore vota quecumque (vltra-marino : visitationis | liminum apostolorum : et sancti Jacobi in compostella : religionis et castitatis votis dumtaxat exceptis) in alia pietatis opera commutare auctoritate apostolica | possit et valeat. Indulsit quoque idem sanctissimus dominus noster . prefatos benefactores : eorumque . parentes defunctos qui cum charitate decesserunt in precibus : | suffragiis : elemosynis : ieiunijs : orationibus : missis : horis canonicis : disciplinis : perigrinationibus : et ceteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis que fiunt | et fieri poterunt in tota vniuersali sacrosancta ecclesia militante : et in omnibus membris eiusdem in perpetuum participes fieri. Et quia deuotus | Philippus Kessel[1] presbyter ad ipsam fabricam et necessariam instaurationem | supradicte basilice principis apostolorum iuxta sanctissimi domini nostri Pape intentionem et nostram ordinationem de bonis suis contribuendo se gratum | exhibuit. In cuius rei signum presentes literas a nobis accepit. Ideo eadem auctoritate apostolica nobis commissa : et qua fungimur in hac parte | ipsi quod dictis gratijs et indulgentijs vti et eisdem gaudere possit et valeat per presentes concedimus et largimur. Datum Auguste | sub sigillo per nos ad hec ordinato . Die xv Mensis Aprilis Anno domini. M.D. xvii.

Forma absolutionis totiens quotiens in vita.

Misereatur tui, &c. Dominus noster Jesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absoluat : auctoritate cuius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa : et tibi | concessa : ego te absoluo ab omnibus peccatis tuis . In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma absolutionis et plenissime remissionis : semel in vita et in mortis articulo.

Misereatur tui, &c. Dominus noster Jesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absoluat : et ego auctoritate ipsius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa : et tibi | concessa te absoluo . primo ab omni sententia excommunicationis maioris vel minoris si quam incurristi . deinde ab omnibus peccatis tuis : conferendo tibi plenissimam omnium | peccatorum tuorum remissionem . remittendo tibi etiam penas purgatorij in quantum se claues sancte matris ecclesie extendunt . In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti Amen.

Translation.—Albert, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, of the holy see of Mentz and the Church of Magdeburg Archbishop, Primate, and of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany Arch-Chancellor, Prince Elector and Administrator of Halberstadt, Marquis of Brandenburg, of Stettin, of Pomerania, Duke of Cassuben and the Sclaves, Burgrave of Nuremburg and Prince of Rugen, and Guardian of the Order of Friars Minor of the observance of the Convent of Mentz ; by our most holy lord Pope Leo X., throughout the Provinces of Mentz and Magdeburg and the cities and the dioceses thereof, and of Halberstadt, and throughout the territories and places mediately or immediately subject to the temporal dominion of the most illustrious Prince and illustrious Princes, the Lords Marquises of Brandenburg, Nuncio and Commissary for the underwritten matters specially deputed ; To all and singular who shall inspect the present letters greeting in the Lord.

We make known that our most holy lord Leo, by divine providence Pope, the tenth, that now is, to all and singular the faithful in Christ of both sexes, who towards the repair

[1] This name has first been written Keschel—ltered to Kessel.

of the fabric of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter of the City, according to our ordinance, extend helping hands, beyond those fullest indulgencies and other graces and faculties which the faithful in Christ can of themselves obtain, hath, in accordance with the contents of the Apostolic letters above executed, of his mercy also in the Lord indulged and granted that they have the power to choose, as a fitting confessor, a priest secular or a regular of any order, even of Mendicants; who, after diligently hearing their confession—for the faults and excesses committed by the person so choosing him; and for sins of any kind, however grave and enormous, even in cases reserved for the said See; and from ecclesiastical censures, even when borne by a man at the instance of any one soever, and with the consent of the parties, even from those incurred by reason of an interdict; and from those of which the absolution hath been specially reserved to the same see; except from the crimes of machination against the person of the Supreme Pontiff, of the murder of bishops or of other higher prelates, and of the laying of violent hands upon them or other prelates, of the forgery of letters Apostolic, of the conveying of arms and other prohibited things into heathen parts; and except from [crimes involving] sentences and censures incurred by reason of the importations of alums [such as those] of Apostolic Tolfa from heathen parts to the faithful, contrary to the apostolic prohibition—once in life, and in the article of death as often as it shall threaten, although death may not then supervene, and in non-reserved cases as often as they shall seek it, can and may plenarily absolve them and enjoin upon them salutary penance; and also, once in life and in the said article of death, grant plenary indulgence and remission of all sins; and also commute for other works of piety any vows made by them on occasion (vows of pilgrimage beyond sea, of visiting the thresholds of the Apostles, and of St. James in Compostella, of religion and of chastity, alone excepted). The same our most holy lord hath also indulged that the aforesaid benefactors, and their parents defunct who have died in charity, become partakers for ever in the prayers, suffrages, alms, fastings, supplications, masses, canonical hours, disciplines, pilgrimages, and all other spiritual benefits which are and can be in the whole universal holy Church Militant, and in all the members of the same. And whereas the devout *Philip Kessell*,[1] *priest*, hath shown himself acceptable by contributing of his goods to the fabric itself and to the necessary restoration of the aforesaid Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, in accordance with the intention of our most holy Lord the Pope and our own ordinance, in sign whereof he hath received from us the present letters; therefore, by the same Apostolic authority to us committed, and which we discharge in this behalf, we grant and freely give unto him by these presents that he can and may use the said graces and indulgences, and enjoy the same. Given at Augsburg, under the seal hereunto by us ordained, on the 15th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1517.

"Form of Absolution, as often as may be during life:—

"'Misereatur tui,' &c. [Almighty God have mercy upon thee, forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee into life everlasting]. Our Lord Jesus Christ, by the merit of His Passion, absolve thee; by whose authority and by the authority Apostolic to me in this behalf committed and so to thee conceded, I absolve thee from all thy sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

"Form of Absolution and fullest remission, once in life and in the article of death:—

"'Misereatur tui,' &c. Our Lord Jesus Christ, by the merit of His Passion, absolve thee; and I, by His authority and by the authority Apostolic to me in this behalf committed and so to thee conceded, absolve thee, first from every sentence of the greater or lesser excommunication, if any thou hast incurred, and next from all thy sins, by conferring upon thee the fullest remission of all thy sins, by remitting to thee also the pains of purgatory, so far as the keys of Holy Mother Church extend. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

P.S.—A remarkable book has been published with illustrations and facsimiles by Marshall Bros., 10 Paternoster Row, which shows that Tetzel's methods are being still resorted to in Spain, *Romish Indulgences of To-day; or, Is Tetzel dead? An Exposure.* Price 2s.

INFALLIBILITY.—A quality which prevents its possessor from being deceived or mistaken.

The longing in the human mind for certainty is so intense that men are tempted to create for themselves a living and visible authority, which shall be infallible. We see this tendency in individuals. Let a young person be endowed with strong imagination and warm affections, and he or she will probably take a parent or an older friend as an object of quasi-worship, who shall be to him or her, infallible. The mistake is confusing authority with infallibility. In the case of such individual the mistake cures itself. As the mind matures it is able to distinguish between facts,

[1] This name has first been written Keschel—altered to Kessell.

and what it had desired to be facts, and it finds itself disillusioned and saddened by the supposed loss that it has undergone.

The same desire for certainty, and the same mistake as to the limits of authority, produced a belief in infallibility residing somewhere in the Church. "The Church hath authority in controversies of faith." Yes—authority; for no man of well-regulated mind will deny that weight ought to be given to the judgment of the National Church to which he belongs, and of the whole Church in its earliest and purest days, if such judgment exists, in respect to any truth about which a doubt has arisen; but because it "has authority," it is not therefore infallible. It is a help, an enormous help, in the search after truth, but not the only guide to it. Learning, criticism, common sense, natural perception of possibility and impossibility, of likelihood and unlikelihood, of right and wrong, the affections, the imagination, the reason, the moral sense—none of these must be ignored; all have their use, and the rest must not be made subject to any one of them.

Belief in the infallibility of the Church preceded belief in the infallibility of the Pope, and still holds its own in the Oriental Church. As long as there was a Gallican Church, it was held there likewise, and it appears to be the theory of Dr. Pusey and of the Ritualists. But the infallibility of the Church is no more tenable than the infallibility of the Pope, for—

1. There is no promise of infallibility. The texts of Scripture relied on for proving it are inadequate for the purpose. They are Matt. xvi. 18; xxviii. 20; John xvi. 13. The first, which promises that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church, is fulfilled by the continued existence of the Church. For the expression "gates of hell or Hades" is almost certainly proved by Isa. xxxviii. 10; Wisdom xvi. 13, Job xxxviii. 17, and Psalm ix. 13; to mean the powers of death. In that case the promise was that the Church should not come to an end on the death of the first believers, but should still go on, as we see that it does, and, further, that the grave should not be able to retain those who were faithful members of it. (See Dr. Wright's *Intermediate State*, Nisbet.) Or if the words "gates of hell" (see HADES) be interpreted powers of destruction, the promise is still fulfilled without any thought of fallible or infallible. In neither sense of the expression have the gates of hell (hades) prevailed against the Church. The second passage promises that Christ will always be with His Church; in like manner God promised to be with His elder Church, the Jews, but they are not thereby made infallible. The third, referring to the expected descent of the Holy Ghost, was addressed only to His immediate disciples.

2. Men argue that God must have given an infallible guide, but we have no right to assume that God *must* do what we might *à priori* expect Him to do.

3. Why should the Christian Church have the gift of infallibility, if God's earlier Church was without it? The argument from analogy is against her infallibility.

4. The early Christian Church shows an entire unconsciousness of possessing any such power, for (*a*) the Fathers uniformly make Scripture, not the living voice of the Church, the infallible standard of doctrine; (*b*) The Councils did not merely meet and put the question at once to the vote, knowing that they would be infallibly led to a true decision by a mechanical process, but they placed the Holy Scripture in their centre as the judge, and demanded of the various bishops the tradition of their Churches as to its meaning on the point at issue. All this would be surplusage if they knew that they were infallible. (*c*) Vincentius Lirinensis, writing an elaborate treatise to show how to distinguish between true and false doctrine, does not say, "Ask the infallible Church," but lays down a number of propositions which issue in the famous definition, "that which has been held in all times, at all places, by all"—a rule which is incompatible with the theory of a present infallibility in the existing Church.

5. We have only to open our eyes and compare doctrines which have been held at various times in particular parts of the Church with the Scriptural standard of the truth, to see how far from infallible the Church has been. "As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith." (Article XIX.).

We may well believe that God will not allow the Church in its universality to fall into fundamental and permanent error; and we may allow that if we find any truth taught by the Church from the Apostles' time downwards, and believed at all times and in all places, such as the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, or the Atonement, or the Resurrection, we may believe the testimony of the Church that such doctrines are the true interpretation of Scripture with so much certitude as to be infallibly assured of them. But that an infallibility which can *ex cathedra* decide present or future controversies, resides either in Ecclesiastical Councils, as representing the Church, or in the Church diffusive, has no basis to rest upon beyond the unreasoning longing for certainty that we have already mentioned, and

a presumptuous imagination that God must have done what we think it would be best for Him to do.

Papal infallibility is only a form or phase of the infallibility of the Church—a phase which must have arisen as soon as the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy had been carried to its full limit. For when men, believing in the infallibility of the Church, came to believe also that the Church is summed up in the Bishop of Rome, as its head and ruler, it would be in him, not in Councils or in Fathers or in Schoolmen, that they would make the infallibility to reside. It was by the Gnostic fictions (we should now call them novels) attributed to Clement of Rome at the end of the second century, that the idea of Peter standing in a position of authority over the other Apostles was first suggested. Stephen, first of the Roman bishops, in the third century made arrogant claim to a higher position than other bishops in his controversy with Cyprian, which was rejected calmly by Cyprian, indignantly by Firmilian. Adopted by Leo I. in the fifth century, on the plea of the Bishops of Rome being the successors of St. Peter, maintained by later Popes, apparently proved by the False Decretals in the ninth century, this claim was at length acquiesced in by the Latin Church, and on it was founded the temporal despotism of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. Time only was then required to conclude that the supreme monarch of the Church was the organ through whom her infallibility energised. But this time stretched out into six or eight centuries, for it was much more difficult to maintain in argument the infallibility of a definite line of bishops, than of a varying and unsubstantial body like the Church, because it was a patent fact that Popes had been heretical—Callixtus, Liberius, Vigilius, Honorius—and little doubt could be entertained that some of the Mediæval Popes were unbelievers in Christianity. It was not till 1870 that the coping-stone was laid on the edifice of Papal power by the declaration of the Pope's personal infallibility. That was the work of the Jesuits, who believed that they were thus strengthening the Latin Church by centralising authority, and throwing a religious awe round the man who wielded it. Their work was aided by Dr. Manning, who had run into the extremes for which converts are proverbial, and by the diplomatic arts of Mr. Odo Russell, a Protestant, whose object was to strengthen the hands of the Pope as a secular prince against the assaults of Socialism. The declaration of the dogma produced immediately the revolt of the Old Catholics, who have taught the world that there can be a Catholicism which is not Roman. The future effects of the declaration are yet to be manifested. Probably they will not be unlike the effect of the "lump of pitch and fat and hair," which Daniel, according to the story in the Apocrypha, "put in the dragon's mouth" in Babylon. But that consummation has to be waited for till the members of the Latin communion have realised what it is they have done in creating, so far as they are capable of creating, an infallible man. On the question see Dr. Salmon's learned Lectures on the *Infallibility of the Church* (Murray, 1890). See GALLICANISM.

[F. M.]

INFANT BAPTISM. (See BAPTISM, BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.) The right of children, and especially of the children of those already within the Christian Church, to the sacrament of baptism, has long been a subject of dispute. The Roman, Greek, and Anglican, with most Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist Communions, maintain this right; the large and influential Baptist denominations contest it. On the question of principle, therefore, infant baptism is not a point of controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants as such, though in the doctrinal ideas, and, to some extent, in the forms and usages connected with the rite, there are wide divergencies. The doctrinal aspects of baptism have already been treated of in the above-named articles. The present article will deal with the subject chiefly on its scriptural and historical sides, and doctrinally only in respect of certain peculiarities in the Roman teaching about infants.

The argument of those who oppose infant baptism in every form is simple, and to many minds conclusive. It is urged, in the first place, that there is no warrant for the ecclesiastical practice either in express command of Scripture, or in apostolic usage. Scripture, on the contrary, connects baptism with faith, and all the cases of baptism in the New Testament are those of adult believers. Infant baptism, therefore, it is held, is not only ultra-scriptural but anti-scriptural. Further, it is contended, infant baptism was unknown in the early Church, and only crept in gradually as the result of the idea of baptismal regeneration. Tertullian is said to mark the time of its entrance by his opposition to it. Those who favour the practice of infant baptism take, naturally, a different view of the bearings both of the scriptural and of the historical evidence. It is conceded at once that there is no passage in the New Testament directly commanding the baptism of infants. It is not even regarded as essential to prove that there was entire uniformity of practice in the Apostolic Age. The Apostolic Church was remarkably free and varied in its usages, and it would probably be impossible to estab-

lish that there was on this, or on almost any point, an absolutely unvarying procedure. What is maintained is, that the deeper scriptural foundations on which the practice of infant baptism rests are not thereby touched. With reference to the passage, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark xvi. 16), from which it is frequently inferred that believers only are to be baptized, it is pointed out that the declaration clearly relates to adult believers, and has no bearing on the case of children; else, with equal cogency, it might be argued that children, as incapable of faith, cannot be saved. The reading of Church history is contested. The idea of baptismal regeneration had a powerful influence; but if it had the effect of sometimes leading parents to seek baptismal grace for their children, it is historically certain that it operated quite as strongly in the other direction of the *postponement* of baptism, lest the grace of regeneration should be lost. It will be seen below that this was really the motive of the opposition of Tertullian.

The state of the case in the Apostolic Age was really this. The Apostles were dealing with the beginnings of the Church; with converts from Judaism or heathenism to Christianity; therefore, in the nature of the case, with adults. The scriptural rule here is that those who profess faith are to be baptized—a rule which all Churches follow. As to what is to be done with the children of those already baptized and members of the Church, nothing is said directly in Scripture, either one way or the other. Their case is a totally different one, and is left to be settled on general principles. There is nothing that directly enjoins the baptism of children, but there is nothing that forbids it. In Christ's own original command, "Make disciples of all nations, baptizing them," &c. (Matt. xxviii. 19), there is assuredly nothing which precludes baptism of children; rather, as Alford has remarked, the fact that baptism comes before instruction would point to this as the normal way. The question then comes to be, How ought we to treat the children of believers? Ought we to treat them as within the Christian Church, and forming part of it, and recognise that fact by the ordinary symbol, mark them by baptism at the outset as lambs of Christ's flock, and lay on them the corresponding obligations of service to Him? or treat them as still no part of the Church until they come to years of discretion and make public profession for themselves? Those who favour the former of these alternatives do not regard themselves as left without very definite scriptural guidance in the matter.

In the consideration of this subject, stress has always justly been laid on the continuity of the Church under the old and new dispensations. The New Testament form of the Church began at Pentecost, but the Church of God is older than its New Testament form. It may be said to take its origin in the covenant with Abraham, in which God bound Himself to be the God of Abraham and of his seed, gave them temporal and spiritual promises, and established circumcision as the sign and seal of the new relation and of interest in the Covenant (*cf.* Rom. iv. 11). The principle was there laid down which connected parent and child in the promise of blessing. Every Jewish child was regarded as born within the Covenant, received, if a male, in his flesh the seal of it, and was reputed to be a sharer in its blessings, unless by a personal act of apostasy he separated himself from the people of God.[1] Was this law, then, based on the divinely established relation between parent and child, repealed in the Church under the New Testament form? We have no reason to suppose that it was. The New Testament lays stress on the connection between the Old and the New; declares that believers are admitted to the privileges of the Covenant with Abraham (Rom. iv. 11–13; xi. 17–24; Gal. iii. 6–14, 29; iv. 22–31); but says nothing to indicate that the privileges which children possessed in the old Israel were to be restricted in the new. On the contrary, baptism is spoken of as if it had come in the place of circumcision (Col. ii. 12). and the Apostle Peter says on the day of Pentecost, speaking to Jews in the old language, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you . . . for the promise is unto you, and to your children" (Acts ii. 38, 39), by which assuredly he means more than simply adult posterity. This is quite in the line of the teaching of Christ, who never spoke of diminution of the privileges of children, but bade His disciples receive them in His name (Matt. xviii. 5), and said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven" (xix. 14).

When, in the light of this principle, we look at the cases of baptism in the New Testament, we find them to be what we might expect. It is not always observed that there is no case of adult baptism in the New Testament which would not also be a case of adult baptism in modern Churches; even as there is no case in which the Churches would

[1] It is worthy of note that in several Mohammedan countries, as in Egypt, female children are also circumcised. Women were under certain disabilities under the Old Covenant, which have been removed under the New. Comp. Gal. iii. 28. [C. H. H. W.]

baptize children in which baptism is shown to be withheld in the New Testament. Single adults are baptized as adults, but where the adult is the head of a household, as in the case of Lydia (Acts xvi. 15), and the Philippian jailer (xvi. 33), the narrative informs us almost as if it were a matter of course, that the "household" was baptized also. It is usually replied that we have no evidence that there were any young children in these households. There may or there may not have been, but that is not the point. The point is that the household was baptized along with its head, and evidently on the ground of connection with it. If there were young children in any of these, or in similar households, it is morally certain that they would not be excluded from the sign of the New Covenant. An interesting light is thrown on this usage by what seems to have been the practice in Jewish proselyte baptism. When a proselyte was received from heathenism into the Jewish Church, he was not only circumcised, but was also baptized. But if the Talmudic notices which refer to this practice can be relied upon as evidence for the Apostolic Age (and we think they can), this other important fact emerges, that not only was the proselyte himself baptized, but his household, if he had one, down to its youngest member, was baptized with him (the passages may be seen in Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*). This naturally would be the course to which the Christian practice conformed. Accordingly, taking Paul's Epistles, we find all through that children are recognised as component parts of the Church. They are exhorted as such, and it is never suggested that they should not receive the outward sign, or that the receiving of it is something that awaits them in their later years. It would, indeed, be easier to argue that in the case of such children baptism was not regarded as necessary at all (else why this silence about their future reception of it, or about preparation for it?), than to argue that they had not already received the symbol. One passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians is specially interesting. The Apostle is dealing with the case in which one parent is believing and the other unbelieving. A question might then arise, How would this affect the Church status of the child? The principle which Paul lays down is that the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife, and *vice versa*, "else," he says, "were your children unclean, but now are they holy" (1 Cor. vii. 14), that is to say, sanctified, separated, evidently in the sense of being regarded as members of the holy community. Without, as before remarked, pressing for entire uniformity in the usage of the Apostolic Age, these things make it fairly clear that the baptism of the children of believers is, to say the least, not hostile to, but in harmony with the spirit and genius of Christ's religion, and the true idea of the Church.

We may now look briefly at the testimony of Church history on this subject (see the ample collection of passages in Wall's *History*). It will be found fully corroborative of the view which has been taken of the practice in Apostolic Churches. The immediately post-apostolic literature yields nothing directly bearing on the subject. When Justin Martyr (A.D. 150), however, speaks in his *Apology* of "Several persons among us, of sixty or seventy years old, of both sexes, who were discipled (or made disciples) to Christ from their childhood," using the very word which Christ employs in the command in Matt. xxviii. 19, it is difficult to resist the impression that discipling by baptism is alluded to. If this is correct, the ages of the persons concerned carry us well back into the Apostolic Age. The usage in the second century is attested towards its close by Irenæus, who had been in his youth the disciple of Polycarp. He speaks of "all who by Him (Christ) are regenerated unto God—infants and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons" (ii. 39). There can be no reasonable doubt that by "regeneration" in this passage Irenæus means baptism. His own usage, and the current usage of the time, put any other explanation out of the question. Further corroboration is found in repeated statements of Origen (A.D. 230), who had travelled more widely and probably knew more of the literature and usages of different sections of the Church than any other man of his time. In the Latin translations of his works which have come down to us we have the following: "Let it be considered what is the reason that, whereas the baptism of the Church is given for forgiveness of sins, infants also are, by the usage of the Church, baptized" (*Hom.* 8 *on Lev. xii.*); "Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins" (*On Luke i.* 14); "For this also it was, that the Church had from the Apostles a tradition to give baptism even to infants" (*Comm. on Rom.*, Book v.). Doubt, certainly, may rest on the literal accuracy of the translations (of Rufinus), but it is not to be supposed that the translator would wantonly *invent* the allusions to baptism of infants; and that he did not, we learn from a passage in Jerome, in which this Father refers the Pelagians to Origen's views on this subject (*3rd Dial. Against the Pelagians*). Origen was himself the child of Christian parents (born A.D. 185), and must have known whether he himself was baptized.

Tertullian of Carthage (A.D. 200), the great Latin Father, is commonly cited as an opponent

of infant baptism. But, rightly construed, his words are rather a witness for it. His argument assumes that infant baptism was the custom in the Church (there is no suggestion of its being new), and his opposition is based, not on grounds of Scripture or principle, but on the expediency of delaying baptism till there is less danger of falling from grace. "Therefore," he says, "according to every one's condition and disposition, and also their age, the delaying of baptism is more profitable (*utilior*), especially in the case of little children" (*On Baptism*). For the same reason, he advises delay in the case of unmarried persons, and of those in widowhood, till they either marry, or are confirmed in continence. This is weak support for the opponents of the usage. That, in any case, Tertullian's was not the general view of the Church of Carthage is shown by the Epistle of Cyprian and his Council to Fidus (A.D. 250). The question dealt with by the Council was not as to the propriety or impropriety of infant baptism, but as to whether baptism of infants must be delayed (after the analogy of circumcision) till the eighth day, or might take place earlier. The Council emphatically declared that it might. The usage of the Church is presumed. It is hardly necessary to multiply testimonies further. It is not disputed that from this time infant baptism was common in the Church, though the tendency also strengthened to delay baptism. In the great Pelagian controversy in the beginning of the fifth century, much was made of infant baptism, in confutation of the Pelagian denial of original sin. Jerome and Augustine pressed the Pelagians hard with this argument, which the latter evaded by a distinction between eternal life (a lower state of happiness), and being heirs of the kingdom of heaven (the portion of the regenerate). The important point is that the Pelagians, as little as their opponents, challenged the antiquity or apostolical authority of the custom. Augustine could confidently appeal to baptism of infants for forgiveness of sins as supported by "the authority of the whole Church, which was, doubtless, delivered by our Lord and His Apostles" (*On Remission of Sins and Baptism of Infants*, ch. xxvi.-vii.), and declared that he did not remember ever having heard any other thing from any Christians that received the Old and New Testament, "neither from such as were of the Catholic Church, nor from such as belong to any sect or schism" (ch. vi.). This was when quoting the Epistle of Cyprian to Fidus above referred to. Jerome also goes back to the works of Origen. Both fathers, therefore, speak with a full knowledge of the past literature of the Church. This must be felt to give their opinion exceptional weight as respects the great antiquity and practical universality of the practice. But on neither side, as above observed, was this disputed.

The ceremonies connected with the baptism of infants in the Roman Church have already been described in a special article (see BAPTISM, ROMAN RITUAL OF), and in part fall under baptism generally. In the ancient Church the mode of baptism, even for infants, was trine immersion (Bingham, Book xi., 11, 5), and the rite was accompanied by the usual ceremonies (sign of cross, tasting milk and honey, imposition of hands and chrism, and exorcisms). The professions and renunciations were made by sponsors (Tertullian, *On Baptism*). The sponsors, in the early age, were ordinarily, though not necessarily, the parents (Augustine discusses the question in his *Epistle to Boniface*); in the case of slaves, foundlings, children whose parents were dead, &c., others took their place. Already, in the time of Cyprian, and for many centuries thereafter, confirmation followed immediately upon baptism, and the child partook of the communion (see INFANT COMMUNION). The modern godfathers and godmothers are a later development.

In the Roman, as in the ancient Church, baptism is held to be the divinely appointed medium of regeneration, and a necessity for salvation. Only while, in the case of adults, a certain predisposition of mind is needed for the right reception of baptism, in infants the rite takes effect by its inherent virtue. To render baptism valid, it is not required that the priest be a holy man, but only that he administer the sacrament in proper form, and with a serious intention. He may personally be the most wicked of individuals, but his act, nevertheless, by the mere form which he uses, has regenerating power. But it is not even required that the ceremony be performed by a priest. Baptism may be administered by any one—Jew, heretic, infidel, even atheist—and if only water is applied, and the proper formula used, with intent to baptize, the baptism is valid. This is one of the most remarkable parts of Rome's doctrine, but the assertions regarding it are most explicit. "For this office is permitted," the Catechism of the Council of Trent says, "if necessity compel, even to Jews, infidels, and heretics; provided, however, that they intend to perform what the Catholic Church performs in that act of her ministry."

The saving clause, "if necessity compel," means little, for practically all baptisms by heretics are regarded as valid if performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This is a very important point in connection with infant baptism; for, on the ground of it,

Rome claims jurisdiction over all baptized persons.

The necessity of baptism for salvation, even in the case of infants, is asserted in the strongest manner. This raises the difficult question of the fate of unbaptized infants. Augustine combats the view that there is any middle place between heaven and hell, and with ruthless logic consigns unbaptized infants to eternal fire (*Ser.* 294), though he allows that their doom will be "the lightest of all." (*Rem. of Sins and Baptism of Infants*, ch. xv.) The Council of Trent is hardly less pitiless. "The law of baptism," says its Catechism, "is prescribed by our Lord to all, in so much that they, unless they be regenerated unto God through the grace of baptism, whether their parents be Christian or infidel, are born to eternal misery and perdition." The Middle Ages provided a *limbus infantium* for unbaptized infants, and doleful enough are the descriptions and pictures that are given of it (*cf.* Wall). Theologians, however, have shrunk from these extremes, and, following Aquinas, have succeeded by ingenious refinements in limiting the punishment of unbaptized infants to "pain of loss" (excluding "pain of sense"), and even in converting the "eternal misery and perdition" of the Council of Trent into a place of the highest "natural" happiness (*cf.* Perrone). Thus, by a wonderful dialectic, the Church of Rome has come round to very much the same doctrine of the future of infants as it condemned in Pelagius. [J. O.]

INFANT COMMUNION.—When the practice of infant baptism had become established in the early Church (see INFANT BAPTISM), there grew up in its train the custom of giving the communion to newly baptized infants—a custom which continued in the Western Church till about the year 1000, and which still prevails in the Greek and other Eastern Churches. The custom had its origin in the close connection of the two sacraments, regarded as equally essential to salvation. The main facts on the subject are the following (*cf.* Bingham, book xii., ch. i.; Wall, *Infant Baptism*, ii., ch. ix.; Daillé, *Use of Fathers*, book ii. ch. iv. and vi.; Church Histories and Dictionaries). The earliest to mention infant communion is Cyprian (A.D. 250). In his treatise on *The Lapsed* this Father tells a curious story of the effects of the Eucharist on a child to whom bread mixed with wine had been given in presence of an idol (ch. xxv.). The practice, however, was apparently then of recent origin; at least, it is not referred to by Tertullian, who would most naturally have mentioned it when discussing infant baptism. Tertullian, on the other hand, refers to the early custom of giving the baptized person a mixture of milk and honey. In Jerome (A.D. 400), this seems changed in the Churches of the West to a custom "of giving to those that are regenerated in Christ, wine and milk" (in Wall). By this time the usage was established of confirming infants after baptism with imposition of hands and chrism, and admitting them to partake of the Eucharist (so Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, fifth century; see Bingham). Up to the fifth century nothing is heard of the *necessity* of infant communion; then Innocent I. (A.D. 417) and Augustine (A.D. 400) go so far as to declare that without baptism and the sacrament of the Lord's body, infants cannot be saved (see passages in Wall). These writers found in the saying of Jesus in St. John vi. 53, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." "If then," says Augustine, "as so many divine testimonies do agree, neither salvation nor eternal life is to be hoped for by any without baptism and the body and blood of our Lord, it is in vain promised to infants without them." This continued to be the view of the Western Church for many centuries. Alcuin, *e.g.*, who wrote in the time of Charlemagne, says: "After an infant is baptized, he is to be clothed, and brought to the bishop, if he be present, who is to confirm him, and give him the communion; and if the bishop be not present, the presbyter shall communicate him" (in Bingham). About A.D. 1000, a change is perceptible. The same causes which led to the withholding of the cup from the laity operated to bring about the withdrawal of the Eucharist from the infant. We are informed by Hugo St. Victor (A.D. 1000) that before his time they gave to infants only the wine, and that by the priest's dipping his finger in the chalice, and giving it to the child to suck; afterwards this also was left off, and they gave to the infant some drops of wine not consecrated. This Hugo deprecates. Nevertheless, as late as the thirteenth century the communion was given to children in danger of death. Finally, the Council of Trent (1560) decreed that the communion "is not at all necessary for them (infants), since, being regenerated by the laver of baptism, and incorporated into Christ, they cannot in that age lose the grace of being children of God, which they have now obtained." It adds: "If any one shall say, that partaking of the Eucharist is necessary for infants before they come to years of discretion, let him be anathema." The Council had probably forgotten that Pope Innocent I. had expressly declared in a letter to the Council of Mileve, that if infants do not eat of the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, they have no life in

them (Wall). Here is a problem for the Infallibilists. Infant communion has thus long been discontinued in the Latin Church, but it is still maintained in the Greek Church, and in other Churches in the East (Armenians, Maronites, Coptic Church, &c.). In the Greek Church the usual mode of administration is to mix the bread with the wine, and place a drop or two of the mixture on the child's lips after baptism. He receives no more till he has come to years of discretion. In the Roman Church children usually take their first communion between eleven and twelve years of age. [J. O.]

INHIBITION is the command of a bishop or judge of an Ecclesiastical Court prohibiting a clergyman from doing any duty. Under sec. 14 of the Church Discipline Act, a bishop may inhibit a clergyman charged thereunder if it appears to him his continuing doing duty would cause scandal. Under the Public Worship Regulation Act, obedience to the court is enforced by inhibition, which, if it continues in force for three years, voids the benefice. Obedience to such an order can be enforced by imprisonment for contempt. (See Dale's Case, 6 Q. B. D. 376.) By the Benefices Act, 1898, the bishop is also given the power of inhibiting an incumbent if he finds him negligent in the discharge of his duties, subject to the incumbent's power of appeal to a court composed of the archbishop of the province and a judge of the High Court. [E. B. W.]

INJUNCTIONS are administrative directions issued by lawful authority for the guidance of clergy and laity, and to enforce and explain the existing law, in Church matters. They have been promulgated by royal as well as episcopal authority. Thus Henry VIII. issued Injunctions in 1536 and 1538, and Queen Mary in 1554. But the most important are those of Edward VI. (1547) and Queen Elizabeth (1559). It is important to notice that Edward's Injunctions of 1547 were modified in 1549, to adapt them to the "First Prayer Book," which was enacted by Parliament in that year, and which changed the creed and form of worship of the Church of England. Thus, under the Injunctions of 1547, transubstantiation was taught, the mass was still the law of the land, and "altar lights" were still used, and these Injunctions were required to be published quarterly in church. But in 1549 the Visitation Articles provide for the change in the law as follows: "That all parsons, vicars, and curates *omit* in the reading of the Injunctions all such as make mention of the Popish mass, of chantries, of *candles upon the altars*, or any other such-like Thing" (see Tomlinson, *Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 79, 82; citing Burnet, Cardwell, Collier, and Gasquet, *First Prayer Book of Edward VI.*, p. 114). As Mr. Tomlinson says, it is clear that the bishops "would not have dared publicly to forbid the reading and enforcement of royal Injunctions, and this too in London itself, unless they had the law at their backs. In fact, we know that the sheriff, Sir John Gates, was despatched by the Government to enforce Ridley's Injunctions" of May 1550, which were "That there should be no reading of such Injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish mass, candles, &c."

Many bishops have issued Injunctions as well as Visitation Articles. Of these Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions to the clergy and laity of the Province of York, 1571, are very instructive (Grindal's *Remains*, p. 122. Parker Soc.) See ADVERTISEMENTS. [B. W.]

INQUISITION, THE.—This iniquitous institution, miscalled the "Holy Office," presents the Roman system under perhaps the most hateful of all its aspects. Many histories of the Inquisition have been written (reference may be made to those of Limborch, 1692; Baker, 1736; Llorente, abridged Eng. trans., 1826; Rule, 2 vols., 1874; Lea, 3 vols., 1888), and abundant materials have been collected illustrative of its working, from its origin in the thirteenth century to its final overthrow in the nineteenth. With these aids the dispassionate inquirer will have little difficulty in disposing of the figment that the Papacy had no responsibility for its enormities—that it was a "state-engine," &c. How fallacious this statement is, even in regard to Spain, will be shown below. The Inquisition, in truth, sprang out of the conditions created by the Papacy; it but reduced to precise system the principles and practices of persecution already sanctioned and enforced by the Papacy; in France, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere it was the direct creation of the Papacy; its officials were monks and other persons in the service of the Papacy; the strongest means were taken to effect its introduction into countries that had not previously received it; its proceedings were applauded and blessed by the Papacy; if in certain cases a protest was made against excesses, this generally had its origin in some other motive than humanity, and imposed no effective check; its extremest cruelty in burning heretics at the stake, or in the Autos-da-Fé (Acts of Faith), was never reprobated, but was called for, and made compulsory on the secular powers; the canonists and doctors of the Papacy defended its methods, including the torture, &c. No doubt the Inquisition has varied in character and in the degree of its severities in different countries and ages, and there have been inquisitors in

whom some spark of humanity lingered. But the difference has been only in degree. Individual sentiment could not change the essential nature and procedure of a long-established institution. In all ages, and under all its forms, the Inquisition must be pronounced a monstrosity of wickedness.

The origin of the Inquisition is usually, and not improperly, connected with the name of Dominic (1216), but the institution was really the outgrowth of previous conditions, and only gradually assumed a settled form. This was the "ancient" or mediæval Inquisition; the "modern" may be said to begin with the reorganisation of the Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella (1481), and with the Roman Congregation of Cardinals of the Holy Inquisition (Paul III., 1542; remodelled by Sixtus V. forty years later). A few words may be said on both.

Punishments for heresy, or for what was regarded as such, date from the union of Church and Empire under Constantine. There was, however, for long, horror at the infliction of the death penalty. The burning of heretics does not appear till about the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was first made a law of the Empire in 1238. So long as heretics were few, and the Church and the secular powers were in accord, there was little difficulty in having the laws against heresy (imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, &c.) enforced. It was different in the twelfth century, when Europe was literally honeycombed with heretical sects, or sects reputed to be heretical (Cathari, Waldenses, largely an effect of the ignorance, sloth, and scandalous lives of the clergy), and when the temporal powers, often in conflict with the Church, could not be depended on to act with the necessary promptitude and severity. The writers in Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary* (article "Inquisition") put this with admirable ingenuousness. "The Church," they say, "was as clear as ever upon the necessity of repressing heretics, but the weapon—secular sovereignty—which she had hitherto employed for the purpose, seemed to be breaking in her hands. The time was come when she was to forge a weapon of her own; to establish a tribunal, the incorruptness and fidelity of which she could trust; which, in the task of detecting and punishing those who misled their brethren, should employ all the minor forms of penal repression (what these "minor" forms are will be seen below; the article does not mention torture), while still remitting to the secular arm the case of obstinate and incorrigible offenders." Even the Bishops' Courts proved utterly inadequate to cope with the general revolt against Church authority. "It became evident that so great a work as the extirpation of heresy could never be done effectually, even by the most willing servants, unless there were some one administrative power, having oversight of all. . . . It was found that in the numberless imprisonments, trials, and executions now occurring, there was more than enough work provided for a distinct ecclesiastical department" (Rule I. p. 28). Hence arose the Inquisition.

The Inquisition may be described generally as a secret, irresponsible tribunal, armed with practically absolute powers for the detection, suppression, and punishment of heresy, and seeking the accomplishment of its ends by the most refined and ingenious applications of cruelty the mind of man has yet proved capable of devising. Preludes to its establishment are found in the acts of various Councils (Tours, 1163; the Third Lateran, 1179; Verona 1184; the Fourth Lateran, 1215; Toulouse, 1229), laying on bishops the duty of diligently searching out heretics, and latterly of associating with themselves three or four men of good character, or, if they pleased, the whole neighbourhood, to aid them in discovering heretics, and denouncing them to the secular powers. The severest penalties were imposed for failure in this duty. The secular powers, in turn, were "to be moved and induced, and if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censures" to second the labours of the bishops, and root out heretics from the land. Innocent III., unwearied in his zeal against heretics, took a further step in sending two emissaries, Rainer and Guy, into France and Spain, with unlimited jurisdiction as inquisitors (1198). The terrible Albigensian crusades followed from 1208. Dominic, who had been busy among the heretics in France, obtained permission to found his order of preaching friars in 1216, directly with the view of combating heresy. For its zeal in this work the new order earned the name *Domini Canes*—the hounds of the Lord. Dominic enlarged his order by a body of married men whom he called "the militia of Christ"; these were sworn to use the sword when required against heretics (germ of the "familiars" of the Inquisition). In 1224 the Emperor Frederick II. speaks of the Dominicans as "Inquisitors whom the Apostolic See had appointed in any part of the empire," and takes them under his special protection. A series of papal bulls and Acts confirmed this character; thus Gregory IX., 1233, and in 1248, Innocent IV., established a special tribunal, the chief direction of which was vested in the Dominicans. The system thus inaugurated was speedily extended into the various countries (France, Spain, Portugal, Italy; in 1255, *e.g.*, Alexander IV. constituted

the Provincial of the Dominicans, and the Guardian of the Franciscans in Paris Inquisitors-General for all the kingdom of France), and the persecution and burning of heretics went on apace. By the beginning of the fourteenth century we find regular tribunals in full action administered by three concurrent authorities, the inquisitors, the bishops, and the civil magistrates. Naturally there was considerable difficulty in adjusting the respective jurisdictions of bishops and inquisitors, but the latter gathered power more and more into their own hands. The attempt to introduce the Inquisition into Germany was only partially successful.

The earliest of all the inquisitional tribunals established was that of Toulouse. There is fortunately preserved a book of this Inquisition (reprinted by Limborch), giving its "sentences" at fourteen "Sermons" or Autos-da-Fé, from 1308 to 1322. Besides burnings, these reveal large groups doomed to the punishment of being literally "immured" in cells built into the wall of the "House of Inquisition" for many years, or for life. The penalty of perpetual immuring is meted out in 1312 as an act of grace (!) to eighty-seven persons who had received absolution. Three men, one of them aged, and three women, two of them widows, are doomed, because of their weightier offences, to be "perpetually shut up in closer wall and straiter place, in fetters and chains." Another valuable document, as throwing light on the proceedings of the early Inquisition, is the famous *Directory of Inquisitors* of Nicholas Eymeric, inquisitor of Aragon, in Spain (1357). His book remained the fundamental code of the procedure of this inquisition to the last. The nature of the proceedings based on it is described below.

The Inquisition, owing to the opposition of the people, made but slow progress in Spain, and seems almost to have fallen into desuetude, when it was revived, and erected into a master-engine of oppression in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella. By a bull in 1232 Gregory IX. had appointed Dominican friars inquisitors in Aragon, and sought to set up the tribunal in Navarre, Castile, and Portugal as well. In the fifteenth century the special objects of persecution were the nominally converted Jews, whose wealth held out a strong inducement to confiscation. From 1477 an agitation was set on foot by the Dominicans and heads of clergy for the creation of one undivided Court of Inquisition on the Sicilian model. The king and queen at length agreed, and, much against the wishes of the people, the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition was set up, with four subordinate tribunals, and the relentless Torquemada as its first Inquisitor-General (1481; confirmed in this office by Innocent VIII.). Then the reign of terror commenced. In the single year 1481 as many as 2000 persons convicted of Judaism were burned. The next year (1482), on pretext of these severities, the Pope revoked the power he had given to the king of nominating some members of the Council; and though, in later times, Pope and king were again united in the administration, the papal will was always predominant. In Portugal the Inquisition on the Spanish model was set up in 1531. It has been mentioned how, in 1542, the Congregation of Cardinals of the Holy Inquisition was instituted at Rome. The Inquisition was soon put in active and merciless operation for the uprooting of heresy in Italy, the Netherlands, Bohemia, India (Goa), &c.

We are now prepared to look at the mode of working of this dreadful papal engine. The machinery of the Inquisition consisted of the inquisitors proper, one or more (appointed by the Pope; in Spain by the chief inquisitor); his assistants; assessors or counsellors, to advise in law; a fiscal; familiars or attendants, &c. The tribunal was secret, and not bound to any forms of law. The crimes of which it took cognizance embraced not only actual heresy (*i.e.* deviation from Romish belief or practice) of every shade and degree, but even the slightest suspicion of heresy, favouring heretics, refusing to lay information regarding them, hindering the Holy Office in its work, blasphemies, sorceries, witchcraft, Judaism, infidelity, or any suspicion of these. The people of a town or district were required, on the visit of an inquisitor, to come voluntarily forward and lodge information against any who were guilty or suspected of these offences, otherwise they were themselves liable to punishment. Any kind of testimony was acceptable, and from persons of any kind of character. "Great weight was attached to popular report or belief, and to ascertain this the opinion of the witness was fully received, whether based on knowledge or prejudice, hearsay evidence, vague rumours, general impressions, or idle gossip" (Lea). Two witnesses were enough to condemn a man; one might suffice in case of need. The testimony of one witness (a "semi-proof") was at least sufficient to base a suspicion of heresy warranting the application of torture. Unwilling witnesses might themselves be tortured. But the inquisitor could proceed on common report or suspicion of his own without any regular witness. The victim was not allowed to know the names of his accusers, or even at first the nature of the charge against him. He was bound to answer all interrogatories, was allowed no means for his defence (the provision for

allowing him an "advocate" was a dead letter; *cf.* Lea, i. p. 445); was imprisoned without sentence so long as his judges pleased; was plied with every ingenious artifice to make him incriminate himself, could be forced by torture to confess, or to incriminate others. If, after all means had been tried, nothing could be proved against him, he might be, but rarely was, acquitted; if the inquisitor believed him guilty, his persistent assertion of his innocence was converted into proof of "obstinacy"; if he confessed, and under terror or torture abjured his heresy, he was probably tortured to make him confess more; if absolved, the absolution carried with it in most cases some form of life-long penance—perpetual imprisonment, easier or more strict, sometimes, with fetters, in a small and loathsome cell, or the wearing of "the crosses," an insignia that marked him with disgrace as a penitent; if obstinate, or if he relapsed, or retracted his confession, he was "relaxed," *i.e.* handed over to the secular arm to be burned. These sentences were generally proclaimed at the great public spectacles of the Autos-da-Fé. With consummate hypocrisy, the formula for handing the victim over to the secular authorities (bound to carry out the Inquisition's behests) contained a prayer to the judges so to moderate their sentence, that no shedding of blood or peril of death might follow.

Words fail to describe the terror and misery which an institution of this kind, working not by open accusation and public process of law, but by suspicions, espionage, secret informations, often prompted more by private hatred or desire of confiscating wealth than by real guilt in the victim, was capable of inflicting. Unhappy was the wretch who fell under its ban. Seized in his home at dead of night, in the name of the "Holy Office," he was hurried off, and without being even informed of the charges against him, was incarcerated in a dungeon, where, waited on in absolute silence by masked attendants, he was kept till the inquisitors were ready to deal with him. When he was brought forward, it was to find himself entangled in a net of subtle interrogations in which he was almost bound at some point to trip. Threats of torture, if confession was not prompt and adequate, were speedily followed by torture itself. Up to the thirteenth century torture was disallowed in ecclesiastical procedure (*cf.* Lea, i. p. 421). It began to be employed in the first half of that century, and in 1252 Innocent IV. authorised its employment for the discovery of heresy. But it was the Inquisition that raised it to the perfection of an art. The tortures it applied were such as to appal the stoutest heart. There was the rack, on which the limbs of the victim were stretched asunder till they were torn from their sockets, or cords fastened round the limbs were tightened till they cut into the bone. There was the favourite torture of the pulley (squassation), in which the victim's hands were tied behind his back, and a heavy weight was attached to his feet, and he was then hoisted up by a cord attached to his wrists and in this excruciatingly painful position suddenly let drop, with the result of dislocation. There was the torture of forcing water into the mouth till the victim was gorged and well-nigh choked; of fire applied by a brazier to the soles of the feet; of the pendulum, swinging above the face of the victim, and gradually descending till it cut through his nose, &c. If torture was suspended, it was only at a later stage to be renewed, till what was wanted was obtained. It passes comprehension, almost belief, that such deeds should be done in the name of the Saviour of the world. The complicity of Rome in these enormities cannot be doubted in view of the explicit vindication of torture in Liguori and other authorities.

It has already been stated that the administration of the Inquisition was mainly entrusted to the Dominican Order as a reward for their zeal in suppressing heresy, and that its spread was rapid into European countries. It was naturally strongest in countries where the Papacy had most power, as Italy and Spain. Its introduction was successfully resisted in England. It did terrible work in Bohemia, Poland, and the Netherlands. The havoc it wrought in the Netherlands may be learned from reading Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. Nevertheless, even in papal countries, its introduction was, as a rule, violently resisted by the people, who hated and execrated it, as well they might. In Spain, its stronghold, Torquemada, the inquisitor, had a bodyguard of 250 soldiers to protect him from violence. France would not allow its establishment. Its barbarities in the Spanish and Portuguese dependencies in America, the West Indies, and India (Goa) were such as might have been anticipated. It was not, however, till the nineteenth century that the Inquisition had its final downfall. The Inquisition in Spain was overthrown by Napoleon on his capture of Madrid in 1808; was formally abolished in 1813; next year was restored by Ferdinand VII.; lasted from 1814 to 1820, then again fell. An independent Tribunal of the Faith which took its place in 1823, was swept away by the Revolution in 1868. In Rome the Inquisition was likewise abolished on the entrance of the French troops in 1809; was revived after the fall of Napoleon (new prisons were built by Leo XII. in 1825); was again overthrown after the Revolution and

flight of the Pope in 1849 (two persons were found in the cells, one of whom had been there for twenty years, and numerous skeletons were found in the vaults); finally vanished when the army of Italy entered Rome in 1870.

Thus ended the institution which one of the Popes, Paul IV., described as "the sheet-anchor of the Papacy." We may devoutly hope it will never be revived. [J. O.]

Nicolas Eymeric, Grand Inquisitor for the Kingdom of Castile (1357) and Kingdom of Aragon in 1357, flourished under the Pontificates of Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI., Urban VI., and Boniface IX., and exercised his functions for forty years of the fourteenth century. He published his *Manual for Inquisitors*, which became the authority and code for all inquisitors. It was so highly thought of that it was reprinted by Francis Pegna, a doctor of Theology and Canon Law, in 1578, and dedicated to the Pontiff, who approved of it. Pegna cites a crowd of ecclesiastical writers and Cardinal inquisitors approving of the reprint; and subsequent to him, Sousa, Sallelès, Masini, Delon, Marsollier, to Limborch, glory in or recognise Eymeric and Pegna as the great guides for Inquisitorial Law.

The rules it contains are the most horrible collection which ingenious cruelty and injustice can suggest, and by their application it was practically impossible that any prisoner could—though innocent—escape punishment, always cruel, when not capital. (1) Prisoners were compelled to furnish evidence against themselves. (2) Depositions against them could be received even from those guilty of any crimes, however horrible. (3) They are not to be confronted with the accused—nor is he to know who are his accusers. (4) A chapter is devoted to various deceptions practised to entrap the accused into avowals of guilt, even to promising "forgiveness," and then burning him because "absolute impunity" had not been also promised. (5) An advocate is assigned to the accused, but selected by the inquisitor; yet the former is chiefly to exhort to a confession of guilt, and not to defend an acknowledged heretic in any way. (6) No appeals were allowed. (7) A whole chapter on the tortures of many kinds, and the *precedure throughout*, including how to treat those who go *mad* through terror prior to torture, or from its effects. Others on fines, confiscations of goods, dowry, lands, perpetual imprisonment, and of sentences against the dead, so as to disinherit their heirs, even wives and children, though quite innocent and orthodox, so that they shall receive nothing whatsoever. An edition of this work published at Lisbon, 1762, by Abbé Morellet, is now before us. See also Dr. W.] invaluable *Hist. of the Inquisition*, 1874, vol. i. p. 81. [C

INSPIRATION.—The Bible which the written Word of God is a divi book (or library of books), as Jesus the Living Word and a divine-huma As the Word (Christ) became fles divine Word became embodied i speech and writing. The Bible is l books in many particulars, but it is other books in being the only autl embodiment of the divine revelation The inspiration of the Bible, howev mechanical, but supposes a human which must not be ignored. Tha element, however, is not inconsistent doctrine that its teachings are to be as the teachings of God. The revelat communicated in the Old Testament parts or portions (πολυμερῶς), and forms (modes, πολυτρόπως), as stated i. 1, until the revelation which wa and complete appeared in the tes Christ as "the Prophet," and in th writers of the New Testament as taug Holy Spirit "the things of Christ." of inspiration is clear, the *mode* of in has not been revealed. The Swiss or *Consensus Formula* (1675) went to teaching the literal inspiration of t tures, and involved itself in statem cerning the integrity of the Old T text (even as respects the vowel-pc accents) which could not be upheld. In parallels have several times been drawn the doctrine of Inspiration and tha Person of Christ, and errors, like th concerning the divine-human Person have been also put forward concer sacred Scriptures which reveal Him Theologians have been too prone to d on the subject of inspiration, instead fully noting the facts and phenome are exhibited in the Book itself.

[C. H.

INTENTION, DOCTRINE OF.—T tion of the priest is in the Church necessary for the validity of the sac The Council of Trent decreed that, "i shall say that, in ministers, while th and give the sacraments, the *intention* quired, at least of doing what the does, let him be anathema" (*Canons* p. 52, Paris, 1832). According to Rom ing the sacraments are Baptism, E Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Orders, Marriage. All these, in ord valid, require, according to this do intention of the officiating priest. I state of uncertainty every membe

Roman Church is continually placed? He can never be sure that he has properly received a sacrament. The married cannot be sure they are married; the penitent cannot be sure that they are forgiven; those who believe that they worship God "under the form" of a wafer, cannot be sure that they are not worshipping that which is not God. Even the dying cannot be sure of the priest's intention of administering the sacrament of extreme unction, nor indeed can any member of the Roman Communion be sure that he or his priest are members of that Church, or even of the Church of Christ at all, for the required intention may have been lacking to the priest who administered baptism to them.

Cases in which want of intention nullifies the Sacrament of the Mass, are mentioned in the Latin *Missale Romanum*, section vii.: "If any one does not intend to consecrate but to do something in mockery. Also, if any Hosts through the forgetfulness of the priest remain on the altar, or any part of the wine, or any Host is hidden, when he intends to consecrate only those that he sees. Also, if any one has before him eleven Hosts, and intends to consecrate only ten, not determining what ten he intends—in these cases he does not consecrate, because intention is required."

The dogma of intention invalidates the "Apostolic succession," which the Roman Church considers one of the necessary marks of the true Church. For it is impossible to prove that there was the necessary "intention" in every case of priests baptizing or of bishops ordaining. Many of them were confessedly heretics and unbelievers, and a single lapse of intention would invalidate the whole succession. According to this doctrine, Rome cannot, upon her own showing, be the one true Church which she professes to be, and the Pope himself cannot be sure of the infallibility which he claims. Even Cardinal Bellarmine allowed, "No one can be certain with the certainty of faith, that he has a true sacrament, since the sacrament is not formed without the intention of the minister, and no one can see the intention of another" (tom. i. p. 488, Prag. 1721). [M. E. W. J.]

INTERCESSION OF SAINTS.—The supposed prayers of departed souls for the Church on earth.

We know nothing of the state of the soul between death and the Day of Judgment. We may entertain guesses and support them by a word or two in Scripture, or a sentence or two in early Christian writings, but we have no distinct revelation, and therefore no real knowledge. The most common belief entertained by the early Church, is that the souls of the faithful rest in peace and happiness in a place (if we can speak of places in such a connection) called Paradise, and that they will abide there until the last day, when they will be reunited with their spiritualised bodies, and advanced from a comparative to a superlative state of bliss in heaven. What is the occupation of these disembodied souls in this interval? We know not, and we need not know. Possibly they are no more conscious than we are in sleep. Possibly they are able to communicate with each other, and are subject to hopes and fears. We do not know. But there is a possibility—no more—that they still interest themselves in the Church Militant, to which they belonged, and they may still have aspirations for its welfare.

But this can only be understood with two limitations. First, their aspirations can only be for the general good of the Church below, not for any particular persons in it, except, it may be, those whom they have themselves known on earth. Secondly, their aspirations must be simply the outcome of their charity, which desires the blessing of God on the society or persons that they love, not the presentation of their own merits as a plea to God on behalf of others.

1. A general aspiration would be no more than a loving desire that God would bless the Church Militant and sanctify it. If this be called intercession, we have no knowledge that the saints in Paradise do not exercise it, though we have equally no knowledge that they do. But certainly they cannot intercede for particular persons as the generations pass, because they have not knowledge of any, except, it may be, by memory, of those with whom they have lived. They can have no knowledge of events subsequent to their own death unless they possess ubiquity, and as this is proper to God alone, Thomas Aquinas (taking a hint from a rhetorical flourish of Gregory I.) invented a hypothesis that they looked at God, and looking at Him, saw everything else in heaven and earth and under the earth in what was called the Glass or Mirror of the Trinity. But, in the first place, according to the theory held till the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century, the souls of the faithful departed (except perhaps the martyrs) are not in the immediate presence of God until after the Judgment Day; and next, if they were, God is not a Reflecting Glass, nor by looking at a Being who knows everything, does a finite creature come to know everything himself. Such a hypothesis as this gives up argument, and trusts to a mystical fanaticism.

2. The modern Roman view of the Intercession of the saints departed, is, that in their prayers they offer their merits to God to make Him favourable to those who have not suffi-

cient merits or satisfactions of their own to present, or have not piety of their own sufficient to make God listen to them. In this there is contained an astonishing amount of false teaching in small compass. That men can lay up a store of merit; that they can offer their merits as a ground of acceptance for themselves; that whether alive or dead they have merits which can make other people, as well as themselves, acceptable; that God is more willing to listen to dead people pleading their merits than to the penitent prayer of those whom Christ has invited to come unto Him in their distresses for free forgiveness through His merits—these are some of the perversions of truth which belong to this form of the tenet of the intercession of saints.

In a word, intercession of the departed, if it be *general*, that is, for the whole Church Militant (as we intercede for the Church Expectant when we say, Thy Kingdom come), and if it be merely *supplicatory*, is possibly true. We neither affirm nor deny it. But if it be *particular*, that is, for individuals (other than those known in life), and if it be *meritorious*, that is, offered on the score of the merits of the interceders, it is impossible to be believed and unevangelical, and as such is repudiated by us. (See Crakanthorp, *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, ch. lv. *et seq.*) [F. M.]

INTERDICT (Lat. *Interdictio Divinorum officiorum*) is an ecclesiastical sentence forbidding a priest to exercise his holy office, or depriving a certain place or district of the exercise of public worship and the administration of the sacraments. Sometimes, also, a personal excommunication is termed an interdict.

Interdicts and excommunications were not unknown to the pagans, but it was reserved for the Roman Catholic Church to make the greatest use of them. In the early Church it would seem to have been quite contrary to usage to punish the innocent with the guilty, and to lay whole churches and nations under interdict for the faults of a single criminal. So much so "that St. Austin was amazed when he heard of a young rash African bishop who anathematised" not only the offender, but his whole family (Bingham, 5, 549). It was a noted saying in those days that "if any one excommunicates another unjustly, he does not condemn him, but himself" (p. 554).

Originally intended to bring people back to the path of duty, the Popes and bishops of the Middle Ages did not hesitate to use interdicts for mere temporal matters, and often for their personal interest. The most ancient instances of interdict in France go back to the sixth century, when the Bishop of Bayeux is said to have interdicted all the churches of Rouen until the murderers of the archbishop of that city should be discovered. Another instance in 870, that of the Bishop of Laon, is recorded. In 998 Pope Gregory V. placed the kingdom of France under an interdict to compel King Robert to put away his wife Bertha.

In the eleventh century the kingdom of Poland was placed under an interdict by Gregory VII. on account of the murder of Stanislaus, the "ambitious and perfidious" Bishop of Cracow, by King Boleslaus, and, in consequence, the Popes for 200 years refused to acknowledge the right of the monarchs of Poland to the title of king. In the twelfth century Adrian IV. placed Rome itself under an interdict, in order to drive away Arnaldo de Brescia and his followers. In 1181, the legates of Alexander III. placed the diocese of St. Andrews in Scotland under an interdict (Burton, 2. 6).

In the thirteenth century the kings of Portugal were continually at variance with the Church, and the kingdom was more than once put under an interdict. France was again placed under an interdict by Innocent III. in 1200, when for more than eight months the churches were closed, no masses said, no marriages celebrated, no dead buried with religious ceremony; in consequence of which the king had to give in to the Pope.

In 1208 the same Pope placed King John and the kingdom of England under an interdict for not receiving Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, and for more than five years the nation was deprived (as far as the Pope could effect it) of all the public offices of religion. The king ultimately gave way and submitted to the Pope's election of Stephen; and obtained a relaxation of the interdict when he had paid 40,000 marks to the Church. The interdict had not such an influence on affairs as might be supposed, for John conducted a successful expedition against Scotland during this period. The bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Norwich sided with the king, and continued to officiate. But many of the clergy implicitly obeyed the papal orders.[1]

[1] Dr. J. Dunbar Ingram in *England and Rome: A History of the Relations between the Papacy and the English State and Church from the Northern Conquest to the Revolution of* 1688 (Longmans, 1894), says: "Notwithstanding his excommunication, John observed his wonted religious observances, and distributed his accustomed charities and doles to convents in distress, and to the poor; nor is there any mention of those gifts from an unholy hand being refused. He certainly met with but little opposition from the bishops and clergy. He held a convention of all the prelates of England, says the chronicler, in 1210, to which

Interdict was sometimes accompanied by lugubrious ceremonies—statues were veiled, and bells taken down. But baptism of children and penance for the dying were always excepted; the regular clergy usually preserved the right to say their office with closed doors and without bell-ringing, and in some cases the restrictions were removed at Christmas and on other great festivals. But the use which the Popes made of interdict brought it into discredit. Thus, in 1303, Boniface VIII. placed France under interdict without avail, and in 1407 a sentence of Benedict's was publicly torn up, and his ambassador and commissioner were condemned to make an apology, dressed in white, carrying the arms of the Pope reversed, and wearing paper mitres. In 1512 Julius II. again placed an interdict on France, and in 1606 Paul V. on Venice. But in the latter case the senate forbade the bull to be published, and ordered the clergy to continue their duties as usual. The Jesuits and other monastic orders pleaded their duty to the Pope, and asked leave to depart, which was granted. Ultimately, in the seventeenth century, interdicts were abandoned. The Roman Catholic Church now only uses them against priests, and the sentence is pronounced by the bishop. It suspends them from administering sacraments and celebrating church services (Larousse, *Dict. Univ.*, *Penny Cyc.*)

[B. W.]

INTERSTICES.—A technical term in the Roman Church for the intervals required between the reception of the various Orders of the Church. The Church of England prescribes (as a rule) a year as the period of a deacon's service before he receives the order of the priesthood. See rubric at the end of "The Ordering of Deacons."

INTONING.— See MUSIC IN RELATION TO WORSHIP.

INTROIT.—Literally "entrance." This name is given by the Church of Rome to the anthem and psalm recited by the priest on ascending the "altar" at the beginning of Mass. Both the term and practice have been adopted by Ritualists.

INVENTION OF THE CROSS, or the discovery of the Original Cross on which Christ hung. See under CROSS.

INVOCATION OF SAINTS.—Prayer to good men and women departed this life.

At the foundation of all religions lies the axiom that worship must be paid to God and to God alone. But this conception becomes blurred in almost all religions in turn, and so there grow up Polytheism and saint worship. There are two main causes for this declension from the original religious idea: (1) the desire to do honour after death to those round whom a religious awe had grown up in their lives either for their piety or their superstition; (2) a disposition on the part of the human mind to sink down from the heights of the adoration demanded by the grandeur of the Most Highest to the lower level of devotion to one like ourselves, whom we can treat with a greater familiarity than Almighty God. The last of these causes is probably the most efficient in inducing men to acquiesce in saint worship when established, but it is the first, which generally leads the way to the deification, or semi-deification of a man or woman, which is its immediate parent.

When a great and good man dies, his followers regard him with even greater reverence than when he was alive. One of the first steps is to provide a panegyric to be spoken over his grave. The panegyrist recounts the famous deeds of the deceased, and very naturally, in the course of his oration, apostrophises the dead, not with the least idea of addressing him or expecting to be heard by him, but as a rhetorical means of stirring the feelings of his audience. Afterwards, when the strong and warm feeling of affection for the lost has passed away, the words of the panegyrist are caught up and claimed as an invocation of the dead, and therefore a justification of the practice. One of the most touching of these apostrophes is addressed to Agricola by Tacitus in recounting his death: "If there be any place for the souls of the pious; if, as wise men tell

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abbots, priors, abbesses, templars, hospitallers, &c., repaired. The Cistercian monks throughout the country continued to celebrate divine service notwithstanding the interdict. Elections to bishoprics and the consecration of the elect took place as usual. It is manifest that if the interdict had been observed, no bishop could have been elected or consecrated. Five bishops left the country, but when three of these five by command of the Pope ordered the other prelates of the kingdom to publish the excommunication against the king, the order was not attended to. The hostility of the Papacy had in no way weakened John's prestige, or diminished his resources, for he collected on Barham Downs the noblest army which had been seen in England since the Norman invasion. His fleet, too, was far more powerful than that of France, from which an attack was feared, and which he destroyed. But unhappily, John irritated his own subjects, and his cruelty and vices drove his barons into a conspiracy against him. To save himself from domestic danger, John suddenly altered his policy, contracted a shameless alliance with the Papacy, and betrayed the independence of the English Church (p. 72)."

us, great souls are not extinguished with the body; mayest thou rest in peace, and summon us thy household from weak longings and womanish laments to the contemplation of thy virtues, over which there is no room for wailing and beating the breast; let it be by our admiration, and, if our nature admits it, by striving after thy likeness, that we honour thee, rather than by our ephemeral praises." These are the words of the student at his desk; when similar apostrophes were made by the orator in the excitement lent by a sympathetic crowd of hearers and the presence of the dead body, they took the form of a much more personal address. But whether the speaker were heathen or Christian, there was no thought of the dead listening to his words, but of the audience being stirred by them as he was stirred himself. This is the account to be given of some words of St. Basil in his sermon on the Forty Martyrs, and of a few other fairly early writers, which are improperly appealed to as justifying invocation of the dead. With the increasing superstition of the sixth and seventh centuries, addresses made to senseless things (as in the Song of the Three Children) degenerated into invocations and prayers; but it was not till 787 that in the Pseudo-Council of Nicæa II. the practice was sanctioned, together with image worship, in the East; nor in the West till the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. Now the worship of St. Mary has become so distinguishing a mark of the unreformed Church that the natives of Tinnevelly gave the name of the Mother-worshippers to the Roman Catholic missionaries, while Protestants were called Christians.

The attempt to justify invocation by distinguishing the kinds of worship allowed to God and to creatures fails, not only because such a distinction can be made only by theologians, not by the people, but also because that which is regarded as the lowest form of adoration (*προσκύνησις*) is expressly forbidden in Holy Writ to be addressed to any but God (Acts x. 26; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9). And besides, any kind of worship of the departed implies their omniscience or ubiquity, which cannot be granted.

The wrong done to Christ by saint worship is thus expressed by Bishop Andrewes: "Why do we not go straight to Him without a go-between, and ask of Him, but turn off and ask of them to ask? Are there any saintly spirits with whom we can converse with greater safety and joy than our Jesus? Is access to them easier? Have they more indulgent moments for speaking? Do the saints know more of our needs? Are their bowels of mercy more enlarged than Christ's? Should our confidence be greater with them any grace of theirs be more preci than Christ's promise? Should an to them be dearer to us than Christ 'Come to Me'? When you thus i saints, you give them Christ's plac go to them, you put them in th Christ, for them to refresh you inste You take them as mediators witl obtain His pardon for you by thei Paul and John never made themse and had they done so, faithful would not have endured it" (*Resp. a* p. 242). See also Beveridge on the Articles, p. 420.

IRISH CHURCH.—Under this he have to consider briefly: (1) Th Celtic Church of Ireland; (2) the Ireland as subject to the Roman Se Church of Ireland at the Reformatio Church of Ireland before the Act tablishment; (5) the Disestablishe which, as identical with the Church Act of Disestablishment, retains its fo

1. *The Celtic Church.*—St. Patrick monly accredited with having b Apostle of Ireland," but there were in Ireland before Patrick began hi istic labours. His own statement i *fession* (which contains his autobi that he went "even to those dist beyond which there were no inhabi where no one had ever come to b ordain clergymen, or confirm the p dicates that he was not the earliest labourer in this field. The ancient of Prosper of Aquitaine, who lived i half of the fifth century, and was t of Pope Celestine, speaks of Pallad was also called Patrick, but is not to fied with the great missionary of I having been consecrated by the "sent to the Scots believing in Chri first bishop."[1] By the Scots are n natives of Ireland; Ireland was cal and its people *Scots* up to the twelfth when the name *Scotia*, or *Scotland*, wa North Britain. Bede and other write speak of the Irish as Scots; and who afterwards appeared in alliance Picts, were originally emigrants from

[1] Palladius, according to Prosper's which gives notes of events up to sent by Celestine "to the Scots (or lieving in Christ" (*ad Scotos in Christum* The language of the old chronicle later narratives transformed into *ad Christum* (or *in fidem Christi*) *converte* the Scots to be converted into the Christ."

The mission of Palladius was not successful. It took place in the year A.D. 431. That missionary carried on his labours in Wicklow and Wexford for scarcely more than a year. He then left the country, is said to have worked in Scotland, and died shortly after. St. Patrick is generally supposed to have entered on his work a year after Palladius in the counties of Down and Antrim. Dr. Todd considers that the year A.D. 442 is the most probable date for the commencement of his missionary labours.

St. Patrick never claims to have converted the whole of Ireland. He speaks of himself as labouring among those whom he terms "proselytes and captives," and as one who expected to have to pour out his blood for Christ's sake, and even possibly to be deprived of common burial, and eaten by dogs or wild beasts. He speaks in the end of the same passage (at the close of the *Confessio*) of living among sun-worshippers. The latter passage is a sure indication that the inhabitants of the country were pagans. The passage is not alluded to by Zimmer.[1] That scholar's theory is that Palladius and Patrick are one and the same individual. Zimmer brushes lightly aside all the evidence brought forward by Dr. Todd to show in his great work on *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), that there were a large number of Patricks mentioned in this period of Irish history (Todd, p. 306). So in the Hymn of St. Fiacc :—

"When Patrick died he went to the other Patrick,
And both ascended together to Jesus, son of Mary."

The Irish tradition is that Ireland was pagan up to A.D. 431. Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Irish, but shortly afterwards died. Patrick, who had been a slave in Ireland, succeeded to the work, and was successful in converting the whole of Ireland. He founded churches everywhere, and became finally Archbishop of Armagh.

Zimmer, however, rightly maintains that the ancient Irish Church was not a properly episcopally organised Church, but "a monastic Church with no organised centre." A similar Christian Church existed in Britain, and was not transformed into a regular episcopal Church for centuries. "The very nature and development of the sixth-century Irish Church," he affirms, "are an emphatic protest against the legend which grew up in the following century concerning the introduction of Christianity into Ireland." The Irish Church was, however, by no means a barbarous Church. Whatever its defects and peculiarities, it possessed no inconsiderable amount of learning. It was characterised also by a deep reverence for the Word of God, and curiously enough has preserved a not inconsiderable portion of Pelagius's commentary on the Epistles. The Pelagian doctrines are, however, often condemned in the Würzburg Glosses.[2] Pelagius's opinions, moreover, seem to have been presented in an incomplete form in the works of St. Jerome.[3] The theory of the German Professor seems to be that the Irish Church in the early part of the fifth century was under the influence of Pelagius, and it was to counteract his work in Ireland that Patrick was by the Pope "appointed a bishop in Ireland." Patrick freely acknowledges, in both the *Epistle to Coroticus*, and in the *Confessio*, his want of learning; and that defect, together with the fact of his foreign orders, according to Zimmer, account for a good deal of the want of success which characterised Patrick's efforts.

We cannot agree with the interpretation which Zimmer puts upon the phrase "appointed bishop in Ireland." The ancient Irish writers explain it of a consecration in Gaul. If it be interpreted of a commission from Rome, it is directly in opposition to the silence on that point which prevails in all the remains we possess of St. Patrick's writings. Patrick unquestionably had a great esteem for Roman practices and civilisation, and was proud of his noble origin. In his *Dicta* (preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, at the close of the Notes by Muirchu-maccu-Machtheni), Patrick instructs his converts to chant like Romans, and in the *Coroticus* he boasts of being himself a Roman and a freeman, and speaks of the Roman and Gallic Christians as superior to other Christians. Why, then, should he not have emphasised his commission from the grandest Christian see then in existence?

Patrick's account of himself is completely at variance with the legendary stories of his mission and labours which found credence in later times, or with the wonderful and absurd accounts of miracles performed by him, mentioned in the *Tripartite Life* and in the collection of similar marvels made by the monk Jocelin in the twelfth century.

[1] *The Celtic Church in Great Britain and Ireland.* Translated by A. Meyer, London, Nutt, 1902.

[2] See *The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago:* Selections from the Würzburg Glosses. Translated by Rev. Thos. Olden. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1888.

[3] See *Pelagius in Ireland. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Litteratur*, Von Heinrich Zimmer. Berlin : Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901.

St Patrick, in his autobiography, lays no claim whatever to the power of working miracles. He speaks of himself as devoid of learning, owing to the circumstances of his early youth. He nowhere mentions the Pope or the See of Rome; still less does he allude to any commission received therefrom. In the creed in the *Confessio* there is not the slightest allusion to the peculiar doctrines of Rome. He does not speak of "seven sacraments," nor of the mystery of the mass, nor of the doctrine of transubstantiation. He does not allude to the invocation of saints and angels, nor does he mention the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose cultus is now such a conspicuous feature of the Church of Rome. He never alludes to a purgatory, or to the offering up of masses for the dead. His writings abound with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, although they naturally allude to several of the books generally known as the Apocrypha as of divine authority. Patrick did not dream of the enforced celibacy of the clergy. His father was a deacon, his grandfather a presbyter. So far was the Church to which he belonged from adhering in such points to the teaching and discipline of the modern Church of Rome.

The Writings of St. Patrick have often been translated into English. It may be permitted to refer to our edition.[1] His Irish Hymn is itself a masterpiece.

Among the number of less known workers in Ireland in the days of the Celtic Church, the most remarkable were St. Columba, or Columbkille (521–597), the apostle of the Picts, whose life is related with various fabulous incidents by Adamnan. Columbanus, an Irish missionary (543–615), was the apostle of Burgundy. Many of the usages of the Celtic Church came from the East, and the Celtic Church long maintained the Eastern time of keeping Easter.

There is no room here to describe the Irish saints whose names have been handed down to posterity, or speak of the work performed by the missionaries sent forth from Bangor in the north of Ireland to other lands. Traces of their labours can be pointed out in England, in Germany, in France, and in Switzerland. The mediæval Roman writers thought meanly of Ireland and her Church. Cardinal Baronius, whose *Annales Ecclesiastici* were published in Rome in twelve volumes folio between A.D. 1588 and 1607, asserts that in the middle of the sixth century "the Church in Ireland, which had so far been thriving well, became overspread with thick darkness, having made shipwreck in consequence of not following the bark of Peter;" and that "all the bishops that were in Ireland" were then "schismatics," and "guilty, like them, of separation from the Church of Rome."[2]

2. *The Mediæval Church of Ireland.*—The Danes, who first attacked the Irish coasts in 795, and from that time onward made frequent incursions into the country, had, at the beginning of the eleventh century obtained fixed settlements in Ireland, especially at Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Christ's Church Cathedral was founded by them in A.D. 1040. In 1074 Patrick, second Bishop of Dublin, was consecrated at Canterbury, and promised allegiance to that see. This was a step in advance in the destruction of the Celtic Church. Through the Danish bishops, the Bishop of Rome obtained a footing in Ireland. The Pope was powerfully aided by Lanfranc and Anselm, the two Primates of England under the Norman kings. Gillebert, the first bishop of the Danish city of Limerick in 1106, presided as legate of the Pope over the Synod of Rathbreasail about 1110 or 1118. By the decrees of that Synod diocesan episcopacy (as distinct from monastic) seems to have been first introduced into the country. Bishop Malachy, who filled successively several sees in Ireland, including that of Armagh, and who visited Rome, and made the acquaintance of St. Bernard in France, was full of enthusiasm for the Papal See. Malachy strove hard to induce the Irish bishops to accept palls from the Pope. Palls were distributed after his death to the four Irish archbishops at the Synod of Kells in 1152. Those ornaments, supposed to be marks of distinction, were symbols of the subjection of the Church of Ireland to the Roman Pontiff. The Church of Ireland thus became, by its acceptance of papal legates and of papal dignities, an integral part and parcel of the Roman Catholic Church.

Henry II. of England, desirous of adding Ireland to his dominions, obtained in 1155 from Pope Adrian IV. (the only Englishman who ever attained to the papal dignity), a Bull empowering him to invade the island. The Pope was anxious to extend his ecclesiastical

[1] *The Writings of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland;* a Revised Translation with Notes, critical and historical, by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D. Third edition, considerably enlarged, R.T.S., 1897, 2s. Also the *Genuine Writings of St. Patrick;* a Revised Translation with Life, published by R.T.S. at 3d. Also *Epistles and Hymn of St. Patrick*, by Rev. T. Olden, published by S.P.C.K. in 1894. Rev. E. J. Newell's *St. Patrick: His Life and Teaching*, published by the S.P.C.K., contains much important and interesting matter. See also Dr. J. T. Fowler's Preface to *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894.

[2] See King's *Church History of Ireland*, vol. iii., pp. 932–936.

authority, and it was "in order to widen the bounds of the Church" that Henry was permitted to enter Ireland, "provided always that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured for St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church." What the Popes then thought of the Irish Church, notwithstanding its formal subjection to their authority a few years before, may be gathered from the Bull of Pope Alexander III., in 1172, in confirmation of the Bull of Adrian IV.: "We . . . ratify and confirm the permission of the said Pope granted you in reference to the dominion of the Kingdom of Ireland (reserving to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church as in England, so also in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny for every house), to the end that the filthy practices of that land may be abolished, and the barbarous nation which is called by the Christian name may, through your clemency, attain unto some decency of manners; and that when the Church of that country, which has been hitherto in a disordered state, shall have been reduced to better order, that people may by your means possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession."[1]

Henry landed in 1171 at Waterford. The English rule was at first submitted to by the Irish princes without bloodshed, who received Henry "more in the light of a protector and patron than as their enemy." By the decrees of the Synod of Cashel in the following year (1172) the ritual of the Irish Church was more closely assimilated to that of the Church of Rome; and though Henry II.'s first episcopal appointment was judicious, for he appointed an Irishman to the see of Waterford then vacant, yet his appointment, shortly afterwards, of an Englishman to the see of Dublin (which bishopric was afterwards regularly supplied on every vacancy with English bishops for nearly 500 years), and his establishment of a number of abbeys in the land, all filled with inmates from England, proved that a new era had begun, in which the English element was to be the predominant factor. The bishops, who had been previously subject to the various Irish chieftains, were raised in rank above them, and were thus by degrees brought over to be partisans of English rule.

The impolitic attempts made to compel the native Irish to adopt English manners and customs, however, alienated the native chieftains and their retainers. Externally there was then but one Church in Ireland, but the Celtic and English elements were not fused together. In places where English settlers were too few to receive adequate protection from their race, attempts were made to unite the two races; but, as those settlers took part with the Irish in various insurrections against the Government, an attempt was made to break up that union, and to compel the Anglo-Irish to return both to their English customs and their English allegiance. The infamous Statute of Kilkenny was passed in 1367. By that Act everything Irish was denounced as infamous; marriage with the Irish natives was pronounced an act of high treason; the use of the Irish language by English settlers was made liable to be punished by forfeiture of lands and imprisonment. Priests of the Irish race were rendered ineligible to be appointed to any benefice of the Church among the English of the land. That shameful Act was sanctioned by the bishops and Court of Rome. The names of eight Irish bishops were appended to the document itself, three at least of them being Irishmen by birth. No protest was made on the part of those bishops who had no direct hand in the matter, for nearly all the bishops then in Ireland had received their appointments through papal influence.[2] The Act, anti-Irish as it was in its character, thus received the approval of the Church of Ireland, English influence being all-powerful among the heads of the Church.

3. *The Church of Ireland and the Reformation.*—In the reign of Henry VIII. the English Parliament abjured the Papal Supremacy and accepted the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical. Papal Supremacy, however, was not so readily abolished in Ireland. George Browne having, however, been appointed to the Archbishopric of Dublin, the Act of Supremacy was passed by the Irish Parliament in 1537, and the bishops and clergy, including the Primate, who had first made a stout resistance, conformed and took the required oath of supremacy. The Irish laity, as represented by their great chieftains, assented to the change, and expressed their resolve to root out "the usurped authority of the Roman Pontiff." The Church of Ireland thus nominally shook off the bondage of the Church of Rome.[3] In a really National Parliament, the Irish nation bestowed on Henry VIII. the title of King of Ireland in 1542.

Little change was effected during Henry VIII.'s reign in the Church of Ireland in matters of doctrine, but the abjuration of

[1] King's *History*, Appendix No. xi., p. 1046, and No. xii., p. 1053.

[2] See Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 234; and King's *Church History*, vol. ii. pp. 656 *seqq.*; and vol. iii. App., pp. 1139 *seq.*

[3] See King's *History*, vol. ii., and Killen's *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 339 and pp. 349, *seqq.*

the Papal Supremacy by the Church and nation was in itself of great significance. It is of importance to note that no schism took place in the Church of Ireland at that time. Some progress was made in the way of enlightening the minds of the Anglo-Irish in the doctrines of the Reformation, but the utter absence of education and of a printed literature in the native Irish language, and the want of men able and willing to labour for the enlightenment of the native Celts through the medium of their own language, were the main causes which led to the Irish remaining substantially wedded to their old opinions in matters of faith. They were therefore ready to join the papal ranks when, at a later period, the Pope declared against the king and nation of England.

During the reign of Edward VI. several prelates were appointed who were supporters of the Reformation, among whom the most noted was Bale of Ossory. Those bishops appear to have been consecrated by Irish prelates. The reformed English Liturgy was introduced into Ireland, and directions were given for its translation into Irish. The latter instructions were not, unfortunately, at once carried into effect. The Primate opposed the introduction of the English Liturgy, and though he was ultimately set aside and a new Primate appointed, yet outside of the garrison towns little progress was made in the way of reformation; and the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Queen Mary led to the re-establishment of Romanism in Ireland. During the reign of Edward VI. an edition of the English Prayer Book was published in Dublin in 1551, "being the first book ever printed in Ireland."[1]

Queen Mary, shortly after her accession, deposed from their bishoprics all the Irish bishops who had favoured the Reformation. She commanded also that the clergy who had been guilty of contracting marriage should be duly punished. In place of Archbishop Browne of Dublin, who was Protestant in his convictions, Curwen was installed as Archbishop. He was consecrated in England by English bishops. To become a bishop of a national Church, it had never then been considered essential that a prelate should receive consecration from the prelates of the particular country in which he might exercise his office. His entrance upon the duties of the see and his recognition by the bishops of the land were all that was essential.

We cannot here detail the acts connected with the reconciliation of the Irish Church with the See of Rome, nor repeat the story how, by God's providence, Queen Mary's design of persecuting the adherents of the reformed doctrines in Ireland, as she had done in England, was singularly frustrated.

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in November 1558. The English Liturgy was again restored in Ireland, and used in Christ's Church Cathedral, Dublin. A pretended miracle was got up to defend the falling mass, and the marble image of Christ seemed to shed drops of blood, which rolled down from under the crown of thorns. Archbishop Curwen, anxious to ingratiate himself with the new Queen, ordered the image at once to be examined, when a sponge of blood was discovered in the hollow of the head of the image. The monk who had been guilty of the trick, and his accomplices, were duly punished for the cheat, and were compelled for three successive Sundays to stand on a table before the pulpit in the Cathedral, "with their hands and legs tied, and their crime written on their breasts."[2] They were afterwards imprisoned, and then banished from the realm.

In 1560 the Irish Parliament restored to the Crown its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the authority of the Pope was again repudiated. In the same Parliament the Irish Act of Uniformity was passed, enjoining the use of the English Prayer Book, and authorising the use of the Latin Service in places where English was not understood. This strange expedient was adopted, because no translation of the Prayer Book had then been made into the Irish language.[3]

Bishop Mant and Mr. King, in their histories of the Church of Ireland, have asserted that, with the exception of two individuals, all the prelates of the Church of Ireland at this period

[1] King, vol. ii., p. 747.

[2] Mant's *History of Irish Church*, vol. i. p. 256; King, vol. ii. p. 749.

[3] The Book of Common Prayer was translated later into Irish, and published in 1608 by William Daniel or O'Donnel, Archbishop of Tuam, who published also the first Irish Version of the New Testament. The translation of the Old Testament into Irish was by Bishop Bedell, mentioned later in this article. The Irish Prayer Book has often been reprinted, the latest edition being that published by S.P.C.K. in 1861, with the English text of the larger portion on the opposite page. In the original Irish translation the word "priest" is throughout rendered "minister," and the Irish names of some of the festivals are given. The comma is even, in the latest edition, put in its proper place in the answers of the Cathechism. The Eccles. Hist. Society published in 3 vols. in 1849, a copy of the MS. book annexed to the Irish Act of Uniformity, 17 and 18 Car. II. c. 6, together with Notes, legal and historical, by Dr. Archibald Stephens. See Stephens's Introduction, p. xxix.

outwardly conformed to the Reformation and continued in their respective sees. Statements contradictory to this assertion have been made by Mr. Froude in his *History of England* and by Dr. Maziere Brady,[1] who afterwards seceded to the Church of Rome. A writer alluded to by Mr. Godkin has characterised the assertion as "the most impudent falsehood in all history;"[2] and Dr. Killen, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has adopted a similar view.

But whatever evidence may be adduced against the statement in the form in which it is made by Mant and King, that statement, when examined into, is not altogether without authority. The Loftus MS. in Marsh's Library, Dublin, to which reference is made by Mr. King on p. 752 and on p. 760, contains the following statement: "1560. This yeare was held a Convocation of Bishops, at the Queen's command, for establishing the Protestant religion; but William Walch, Bishop of Meath, would not conform thereunto, but for practising against it was committed to custody, afterwards imprisoned, and at length deprived of his bishoprick; unto whom succeeded Bishop Brady, who was chaplain to Archbishop Loftus, after a vacancy of above two yeares."

Such a statement proves that if all the bishops did not conform, yet certainly that so many did conform as to justify the assertion that there was no break in the historical continuity of the Church. The Irish Church of that period was not a new body, but a continuation of the Church of the years preceding. Although several of the bishops appointed by Queen Mary were afterwards deprived of their sees for resistance to the reformed religion, and their places supplied by other prelates wherever the English authority could reach—the country being in great confusion owing to the frequent rebellions of that period—yet it is clear that the Irish bishops did not assume that attitude of determined resistance to the Reformation which they afterwards took up, but conformed generally, no doubt, from personal motives. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry in the reign of James I., and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, asserts that "the old bishops complied and held their places, and joined in such ecclesiastical acts (as consecration) until they had made away to their kindred all the land belonging to their sees;" and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his funeral sermon over Archbishop Bramhall, says: "At the Reformation the Popish bishops and priests seemed to conform, and did so, that, keeping their bishoprics, they might enrich their kindred and dilapidate the revenues of the Church."

The rebellions in Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth were not indeed primarily caused by religious differences, although Rome, for her own ends, threw the weight of her influence into the scale against England. Thus the Reformation came to be regarded as essentially English, and was ultimately rejected by the masses, though the heads of the Church seemed for a time willing to accede to the change.[3] Dr. Todd says: "When the Anglo-Irish Church had accepted the Reformation, the 'mere Irish' clergy were found practically to have become extinct. Their episcopacy had merged into, or become identified with, the episcopacy which was recognised by the law. Missionary bishops and priests, therefore, ordained abroad, were sent into Ireland to support the interests of Rome; and from them is derived a third Church, in close communion with the See of Rome, which has now assumed the forms and dimensions of a national, established religion."[4]

4. *The Church of Ireland up to its disestablishment.*—The accession of James I. was followed by a period of tranquillity in Ireland. The tranquillity did not, however, long continue. The Act of Uniformity was enforced, and the non-conforming papal clergy were ordered to leave the kingdom. A pastoral from Rome was issued stirring up the people to disloyalty and schism. There was at this time only one titular Romish bishop connected with Ireland;[5] the old stock of Romish bishops who had borne office in the reign of Queen Mary had become extinct. That bishop was also a non-resident. Others were added in due course, but only one was in the country in 1613, and at the Romish

[1] Froude's *History of England*, vol. x. *The Alleged Conversion of the Irish bishops to the Reformed Religion, &c.*," by W. Maziere Brady, D.D., Vicar of Donoughpatrick and Rector of Kilbroney.

[2] *Ireland and Her Churches*, by James Godkin, London: Chapman & Hall, 1867, p. 41.

[3] An important work on this subject is: *The Titular Archbishops of Ireland in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth;* an inquiry into the facts of the Roman Succession in that period, by Rev. H. C. Groves, D.D. Dublin. Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 37 Dawson St., 1897.

[4] Dr. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 241. The two other Churches were "the Church of the English Pale, which was at first strongly supported by all the power of the Court of Rome," and "the Church of the native Irish, which was discountenanced and ignored by Rome as well as by England." The latter had merged into the former by insensible degrees.

[5] King's *Irish Church*, vol. iii. p. 889. Dr. Grove's *Titular Archbishops of Ireland.*

Synod of Drogheda held in 1614 there does seem to have been one bishop present. Even seven years later, according to the Romish statements, there were only *four* bishops connected with the Church of Rome in Ireland, and only two of them were actually resident in the country.[1] While the Church of the Reformation in Ireland can trace a connection in several, if not in the majority, of its sees with the native Church of older days, the Church of Rome in this country had lost all connection with the past, save through the See of Rome.

The Plantation of Ulster, as it was termed, took place in the early part of the reign of James I. By it considerably more than 500,000 acres of land in the north, which had belonged to rebel chiefs, were confiscated to the Crown, and English and Scotch settler were introduced into the country, chiefly the latter. "The Plantation" was, on the whole, of great benefit to the north, but it was not unattended with many individual cases of hardship inflicted on the native Celts. Many of the settlers from Scotland were persons who had been disgusted with the tyrannical way in which their religious opinions, when in opposition to episcopacy, had been dealt with. They were Presbyterian in principle and in sympathy. Some of their ministers were admitted to benefices of the Irish Church; and no serious attempt was made at that time to enforce strict uniformity in public worship. Congregations distinct from those of the Established Church were, however, formed in 1611, and soon came into existence in many places in the north. Those congregations were the means of introducing the Presbyterian Church into this country, and of extending Protestantism in the Province of Ulster. Individuals holding Presbyterian opinions had before this time occupied positions of trust, as, for instance, Walter Travers, appointed the second Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1594. His successor, Henry Alvey, who was appointed Provost in 1601, is also said to have been a Presbyterian in sentiment, although he appears to have conformed to the Established Church. Presbyterian congregations existed in Ulster from that time onward, although Presbyterian ecclesiastical government does not appear to have been organised in Ireland until 1642.[2]

The meeting of the Convocation of the Irish Church in 1615, and the one hundred and four Articles of Religion then agreed to were drawn up by Ussher, Regius Professor of Divinity and Vice-Chancellor of the Ui of Dublin, afterwards Archbishop of . Those articles, strongly Calvinistic were practically set aside by the drawn up and passed in the Con which met in 1634, by which the 3 Articles of Religion of the English were approved, under the powerful i of Lord Wentworth, afterwards Strafford, the well-known abettor of t Church party.

During the reign of Charles I. the fluence of Archbishop Laud and tl Church party was much felt in the C Ireland. For though the Irish Churcl that time some excellent prelates, learned Archbishop Ussher and the Bedell, and no doubt others of lesser r the greater number do not seem to hz remarkable for their zeal or piety. of all the efforts of the more liberal-min lates, earnest men were deposed from benefices because of their unwillin sign the canons of 1634, which were ol able to persons holding Presbyterian c The determination of Lord Wentw crush the Puritan spirit in the noi the persecution carried on under his di against those who refused to take th tionable form of oath of allegiance to which had been devised, defeated t object those acts were intended to furt made Presbyterianism dearer than ever who, from their connection with Scotla ferred that form of Protestantism.

In the awful massacre of 1641 thousand Protestants, chiefly belongin National Church, perished. The ho that time are narrated in the first vc Froude's work on *The English in Irela* Killen has pointed out that that massa not brought about by massacres comm the Protestant inhabitants or settlers in; He has shown also, as has Froude in teresting work just referred to, and Re earlier *History of the Presbyterian Ch Ireland*, that the Roman Catholics who in the massacre of Islandmagee were m in retaliation for outrages committed of their party, and that the victims massacre did not exceed thirty in num

Bishop Bedell, amid all the horrors time, was permitted by the rebels, ou profound respect felt for his characte main uninjured, and even to assist his Protestants. Chastisement was infli the rebellious Irish by Oliver Cromw the Church was disestablished during of the Independents. During the C wealth, in 1653, only one Roman bishop remained in Ireland, and ev

[1] King, p. 903.

[2] Killen's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 53.

the Restoration, in 1663, there were only two Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland.[1]

At the Restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of the Church, many Presbyterians and other Nonconformists conformed to the new state of things, some actuated by a desire for peace, others from lower motives. Those ministers who had received only Presbyterian ordination were not permitted long in that reactionary period to continue in possession of Church benefices. Many good men were thus once more turned adrift, and the state of the Church, which was not permitted to legislate for itself, was mournful to contemplate. There was, however, some light amid the darkness, and the Bible was printed in Irish for the first time in the reign of Charles II. During the reign of James II. things became naturally worse. The Protestants were gradually disarmed, the army was filled with Roman Catholics. The Protestant clergy were discouraged, while the Romanist clergy were patronised. Bishoprics in the National Church were kept vacant, Romish sees endowed, and a daring attempt was made to unprotestantise the University of Dublin, which had been founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591 as a Protestant University.

The Revolution of 1688 and the victory of the Boyne changed the aspect of affairs. The Protestant Church was once more restored, but, after such troubles and vicissitudes, it is not to be wondered at that many abuses were found to exist in its midst. The Church had all along been treated, in accordance with the ideas of that day, as a mere department of the Government. The Government itself was too much occupied with other matters to give its attention to a thorough Church reform, even had it been so disposed. The *Regium Donum*, which was given first to the Presbyterian ministers in the reign of Charles II., was restored to them and increased in the reign of William III. and in the reigns of the succeeding sovereigns. Many of the bishops of the Established Church during that period held High Church views, and, with some bright exceptions, a general deadness in religious matters prevailed, and along with it an indisposition to tolerate "dissent" in any shape whatever. This deadness of religious life characterised all the Churches in the reigns of Anne and the Georges, though bright examples may be cited of the contrary spirit. The names of Richardson, Atkins, and Brown may be mentioned with honour as those of clergymen who, in the early part of the eighteenth century, took an active interest in the work of evangelising the native Irish through the medium of their own language. Archbishop Boulter, Bishop Berkeley, and others may be noted among the members of the episcopal bench who exhibited an earnest spirit of devotion and practical godliness. Wesley and his followers among the Methodists, in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, did much by their labours, first inside and then outside the Church, to awaken evangelical life among all ranks of the national clergy. But English influence was during the period too often used in a wrong direction. English clergy were too frequently thrust into the best Church livings in Ireland, and Irish bishoprics were filled with Englishmen, while the earnest parochial clergy of the land were neglected and despised. Dean Swift's witty description of the honest clergymen nominated to Irish bishoprics being waylaid and murdered by highwaymen on Hounslow Heath, who then seized on their "letters patent," came to Ireland, and got consecrated in their room, shows what was thought in some quarters of many of these who at this dark era bore spiritual rule in the Church of Ireland.

5. *The Disestablished Church.* — The Irish Church was cut adrift from the State by the Irish Church Act of 1869. The Disestablishment came into full operation in January 1871. To avoid possible difficulties the Irish Convocations were summoned; and it was agreed to summon a Convention, which met in Dublin on February 15, 1870, and drew up a Constitution for the Church—providing that there should be a General Synod composed of three distinct orders, the bishops, clergy, and laity, and two Houses, that of Bishops and of Representatives. The bishops, however, ordinarily sit and debate in the House of Representatives, but have power, when they consider it expedient, to sit and vote apart by themselves. The House of Representatives consists of 208 clerical representatives and 416 lay representatives, elected triennially by the Diocesan Synods in certain fixed proportions from each diocese. The Diocesan Synods are composed of all the clergy, incumbents or curates, in each diocese, and of two laymen for each clergyman, elected by the vestries of the several parishes. The Cathedrals are represented in the Diocesan Synods; and Trinity College, Dublin returns members to the Dublin Diocesan Synod. The bishops are elected by the clergy and laity of each Diocesan Synod, peculiar arrangements being made for the Arch-diocese of Armagh. The tribunals of the Church consist of a Diocesan Court and an Appellate Court, called the Court of the General Synod. Diocesan Courts are composed of the bishop with his chancellor (a

[1] See Killen, vol. ii., pp. 117–146.

lawyer) as assessor, a clergyman, and a layman chosen by the Diocesan Synod. The Appellate Court consists of three members of the House of Bishops, with four lay judges who have held judicial office in the Civil Courts, and are elected by the General Synod. The Crown granted a charter in October 1870, incorporating "the Representative Body of this Church of Ireland,' and the property of the Church in general is vested in that body.

The arrangement of the temporalities of the Church need not be sketched here. A new body of canons has been drawn up, and the Book of Common Prayer revised. The Preface to that Book states the principles of the revision. Very slight alterations have been made in the Services for Holy Communion and baptism. The objectionable form of absolution in the Visitation of the Sick was dropped, and the unobjectionable form in the Communion Service substituted in its place. The Ordinal was left unchanged, lest it should injure the future of clergy ordained in Ireland, and prevent their taking duty in the Church of England. The Athanasian Creed was removed from the public service, but left in the same place in the Prayer Book as in the English Book, the rubric directing its recital being simply removed. The Lectionary has been improved by substituting lessons from the Old Testament in place of the lessons from the Apocrypha which occur in the English Book, and the whole Book of Revelation in the New Testament is read in the daily lessons. By the Preface which was duly passed by Act of Synod, the liberty of explaining the Baptismal Service affirmed in the Gorham Case was secured. That Preface, moreover, states in explanation of the Ordinal that "no power or authority is by them (the formularies) ascribed to the Church or any of its ministers in respect of forgiveness of sins after baptism, other than that of declaring and pronouncing on God's part remission of sins to all that are truly penitent."

Thus the Church of Ireland is in many respects more distinctly Protestant than before Disestablishment, and yet, as was clearly foreseen by many, the general tone of the Church has become more "churchy" than it was, and there is less disposition on the part of its clergy to fraternise with the other Protestant Churches in Ireland. This is much to be regretted. The Church, we fear, is becoming more like the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and, though in the main still strongly Evangelical in doctrine, it is in process of being "levelled up," as the phrase goes. Ritualism, as expressed in outward dress and illegal services, is almost non-existent, for the revised canons of the Church provide an easy way of hindering such excesses, but the vigorous and manly Protestantism of forty years ago is decidedly on the wane.

Authorities.—Bishop Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland:* from the Reformation to the date of the Union. R. King, *Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland* (3 vols.), vol. i. reprint, 1858; vol. ii. 1846; vol. iii. Supplementary, 1851. Professor G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 1888; *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, 1889. The Right Hon. J. T. Ball, LL.D., D.C.L., *The Reformed Church in Ireland;* 2nd edit. revised, 1890. [C. H. H. W.]

IRREGULARITY.—Gury, a Jesuit, whose *Moral Theology* is now the text book in Maynooth, defines an irregularity (*in loco*) as "a canonical impediment which prevents a person from entering the ranks of the clergy, or from rising to a higher order, or from exercising the order which he has received." The term crops up for the first time in the decretals of Innocent III. Irregularities may be:—

1. *Ex defectu*, that is, from some defect of body or mind. 2. *Ex delicto*, that is, from some crime committed by the candidate. It is explained, however, that although an irregularity may arise from a crime, this can be only indirectly, in so far as it constitutes a defect in the reputation desirable in a clergyman. 1. The following are examples of irregularities *ex defectu*:—(*a*) *Ex defectu animi* (from some defect of the mind). Lunatics are irregular, as being without requisite knowledge. Ignorance is also mentioned as an irregularity. Several Popes require that candidates for the tonsure must be able to read and write; those for ordination must be able to instruct the people. (*b*) *Ex defectu corporis*, from some mutilation, such as in the famous case of Origen, or when the deformity would cause horror in the people. The loss of the left or "canonical eye" is also an irregularity. It is called the "canonical eye" becasue the missal is on the left side of the celebrant during the reading of the Canon of the Mass. (*c*) *Ex defectu natalium*, which excludes from the priesthood children born out of wedlock, unless their parents were afterwards married. We are told in the *Catholic Dictionary* by Addis and Arnold that this irregularity was necessitated "by the prevalence of clerical concubinage and the frequent promotion of priests' sons to their fathers' office" (p. 507).

Irregularity is mentioned in Canon 113 of the Church of England.

There are several other irregularities. The Council of Trent (sess. xxiii.) decreed that a sub-deacon must be twenty-two years of age, a deacon twenty-three. The old canonical age for the priesthood was twenty-five. Slaves

cannot be promoted to holy orders, nor married persons, unless the wife consents to enter a convent. Persons married twice, or even if married once to one who was not a virgin, are declared irregular on the extraordinary authority of 1 Tim. iii. 2. Such marriages, we are told, fail in the resemblance to Christ's union with His Church. Soldiers are also declared irregular, as well as all who have willingly concurred in the death or mutilation of another. The reception of baptism from a heretic, the exercise of an order never received (or while under censure), heresy, and apostasy, constitute irregularities. Bishops may dispense from irregularities arising from secret crimes; the Pope from those arising from defect, or from homicide. [T. C.]

ITE MISSA EST.—In the early centuries the catechumens were dismissed by the deacon after the Gospel, with the words "Ite missa est," "Go, you are dismissed," literally, "A dismissal is made." The same formula was repeated at the end of the Mass service. In the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom, we find the form, "Let us go in the peace of Christ," the people answering, "In the name of the Lord." The Greek equivalent of "Ite missa est" was ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Ἀπολύεσθε and προέλθετε were "the solemn words" used at the dismission of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective services. Hence the services themselves at last took their names from those solemn dismissions, the one being called "Missa catechumenorum," and the other "Missa fidelium," neither of which ever signifies more than the divine service at which the one or the other attended. Bingham, *Works*, vol. iv., pp. 80, 81. [C. J. C.]

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JACOBITE, or OLD-SYRIAN CHURCH.—In the middle of the sixth century the Monophysites (see article HERESY) had become greatly weakened, especially in Syria, owing to deprival of most of their bishops and clergy by the orthodox Emperors Justin and Justinian. Their revival was due chiefly to the indefatigable labours and journeyings of Jacob Baradaeus, and from him they are called Jacobites till this day. The term is confined in its stricter sense to the Old Syrians, but is often used of all Monophysites, *i.e.* inclusive of the Copts and Armenians with whom the Old Syrians are in communion.

Jacob Baradaeus or Burde'ana = *James the Ragged*, or *James of the horse-cloth*, so named from his coarse and poor raiment, was a monk of Pesilta, the *Quarry* or *Hewn Stone* Monastery, on Mount Izla in Northern Mesopotamia. In A.D. 528 he went to Constantinople with another monk, Sergius, to seek the aid of the Empress Theodora; and fifteen years later, Theodora being urged by a Christian Arab king to send bishops to Syria, Jacob was consecrated by Theodosius, the refugee Patriarch of Alexandria, as Bishop of Edessa with jurisdiction over all Syria and Asia Minor. His first care was for the consecration of other bishops for his party, and this he achieved by the aid of recommendations from Constantinople to the See of Alexandria. In the following year, A.D. 544, his friend and companion, Sergius, was made Patriarch of Antioch, and six years later, three years after the death of Sergius, Paul the Black began his thirty years' tenure of the see. Since then there has always been a Jacobite as well as an orthodox Patriarch of Antioch.

For thirty-seven years Jacob laboured with ceaseless journeyings, chiefly on foot, visiting his vast diocese, ordaining priests and deacons, strengthening and exhorting, composing differences, and welding various factions into one whole. He died in 578, when journeying towards Alexandria to visit the new Patriarch Damian. The Jacobite Church has always kept the strongly monastic character which Jacob Baradaeus impressed upon it; there are many monasteries, and the Patriarchs always and the bishops mostly are chosen from these; a widowed priest, however, may become a bishop.

Since 1166 the Patriarch has resided at Deir-al-Za'faran near Mardin. The Patriarch always takes the name Ignatius, and each of the sees under him in like manner has a special name taken by each occupant. The Patriarch is elected by the vote of the whole people, but must be approved by the bishops. In the seventh century there were sixteen bishoprics under the Patriarch, now there are ten sees and six titular bishops residing in various monasteries.

A title peculiar to this Church is that of Maphrian (*he who makes fruitful*, from a root אפר, *to be fruitful*). The office was established by Jacob Baradaeus on account of the heresy (Nestorian) of the Persian Church. The Maphrian's seat was formerly at Tagrit, then since 1089 at Mosul in the Monastery of Mar Matthew; he ruled the whole Eastern Province from Urmi and Tabriz to Baghdad, consecrated bishops, and was practically independent of the Patriarch. Now he only has the small diocese of Mosul and first rank among the bishops. The Bishop of Jerusalem also has the historical title of Patriarch.

The priestly order is divided into Monks, Priests, and Chor-episcopi, the leading priest of a large town has the latter title. Priests marry before ordination, and may not remarry; there

is an office of ordination for the wife of a priest. Priests are chosen by their flock, *i.e.* by the Church Council of laymen and deacons. Deacons form a really separate order and are numerous, for any who continue their studies till the age of fifteen usually take this order. The lesser orders of Psaltes, Reader, and Hypodiaconus are obsolete, as also is that of Deaconesses.

Jacobites keep five strict fasts during the year, abstaining even from eggs, milk, and cheese, and during Lent from oil. Baptism and Confirmation are administered at the same time by the priest, hence children are allowed to communicate. The Liturgy of St. James is used by the Jacobites and Melchites (see article) alike; the ecclesiastical language is Old Syriac, but the lections and rubrics are in Arabic. Jacob Baradaeus wrote a liturgy and hymns, as did most of the writers of this Church. The Jacobite, as well as the rival Eastern Church (see NESTORIANS), had many learned and prolific authors, such as the historians, John, Bishop of Asia or Ephesus (505–585), and Dionysius Tel-Mahraya (died 845), the commentator Dionysius Bar-Salibi, Bishop of Amid (end of the twelfth century), and chief of all, the Maphrian Gregory Bar-Hebraeus (1226–86), who, while indefatigable as a bishop, was not less so as a student; his writings cover the whole science of his time, linguistic, medical, astronomical, philosophical, and theological.

Both Arab and Turkish conquerors favoured the Jacobites as being opposed to Greek rule, and perhaps on this account the Jacobites resisted the persuasions of the Crusaders towards union with the Roman Church. Subsequent missions of Rome have had and are having partial success. The Jacobite Patriarch is acknowledged by the Porte, and his episcopal representative at Constantinople has right of audience with the Sultan. The number of the Old-Syrian Church at the present day is reckoned at 400,000; their communities are chiefly in Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, round Damascus, Homs, and Aleppo.

The Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, who used to be connected with the Nestorians, had, in the seventeenth century, fallen under the dominion of the Roman Church in consequence of Portuguese settlements in India. In 1673 they threw off this usurped and rigid rule, and, for want of bishops, had recourse to the Jacobite Patriarch. Since then they have continued to receive Jacobite bishops, and have also accepted the Liturgy used by the Jacobites, their own books having been destroyed or garbled by the Roman Synod of Diamper (1597).

Authorities.—Asseman's *Bibl. Orient.*, vol. ii.; Wright's *Syriac Literature;* Brightman's *Liturgies;* Parry's *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery.* [J. P. M.]

JANSENISTS. — The name is given to a party in the Roman Catholic Church in France in the seventeenth century, marked by its adherence to the tenets of Augustinian theology, by its keen antagonism to the lax morality of the Jesuits, and, in the chief period of its influence, by the purity of motive and high-mindedness of its leaders and members. It was not a name chosen by the party itself, but was bestowed on it by its opponents, from the name of the originator of the movement, Cornelius Jansenius, as a brand of reproach. Its headquarters was the famous Port Royal near Paris; it numbered among its representatives many of the most pious, gifted, and learned men of the day—men like Antoine Arnauld, and Blaise Pascal; it was the subject of bitter, cruel, and unremitting persecutions till ultimately Port Royal was destroyed; it exercised a powerful influence for good in its time, and has left a memorial of itself in the Jansenist Church of Holland, which still subsists. It was nevertheless a purely Roman Catholic movement. The Jansenists disliked Protestants (Calvinists) hardly less than Jesuits, though their own theology had many affinities to Calvinistic doctrine. Jansenius thought the Protestants no better than Turks, and speaks of them as having "much more reason to congratulate themselves on the mercy of princes than to complain of their severities, which, as the vilest of heretics, they richly deserved." The Jansenists professed unshaken fidelity to the Pope; their piety was that of the cloister, and was marked by even an excess of severity of self-mortification. The following sketch will give some idea of the character and chequered fortunes of this interesting movement.

The doctrine of grace had long been a subject of keen controversy in the Church of Rome. The Dominicans, following Augustine and Aquinas, held that in the case of the predestinate God bestows an "efficacious" grace, which infallibly, yet in harmony with freedom, secures their salvation. Others held that God bestowed on all "sufficient" grace, and that the will of man was the determining factor in the acceptance or rejection of grace. The latter was the view which found favour with the Jesuits. In 1588 a new turn was given to the controversy by the publication of a work by a Spanish Jesuit, Molina, on *The Harmony of Free Will with Grace, &c.* Molina, and those who adopted his views (Molinists), exalted the power of natural freedom so far as to maintain that "free-will, without the aid of grace, can produce morally good works; that it can withstand temptation; that it can even

elevate itself to this and the other acts of hope, faith, love, and repentance. When a man has advanced thus far, God then bestows grace on him on account of Christ's merits, by means of which grace he experiences the supernatural effects of sanctification; yet, as before this grace was received, so still, free-will always holds a *determining* place."

These doctrines were eagerly accepted by the Jesuits, but were as strongly opposed by the Dominicans (Thomists). They were brought under the notice of the Pope, Clement VIII., and were repeatedly condemned by "Congregations" appointed to examine them; but in the end Clement's successor, Paul V., decreed that the question should remain an open one, provided the theologians of each party refrained from censuring their opponents. The ferment, however, continued, and it was the disputes arising from it which furnished the occasion of the rise of Jansenism.

Cornelius Jansen or Jansenius was born of humble Dutch parents in 1585. He studied at Utrecht, Louvain, and Paris, and at Louvain (1604), formed a friendship with Jean du Verger de Hauranne, afterwards (from 1620) better known as the Abbé of St. Cyran. Both young men speedily attracted notice by their deep piety, brilliant talents, and extensive erudition. For years they studied together the works of Augustine, and formed those views which were subsequently stigmatised as Jansenist. Jansenius, in course of time became Professor at Louvain (1617), and finally Bishop of Yprès (1635). At both of these places he occupied himself with the production of a great work—his *Augustinus*—in defence of the Augustinian system of efficacious grace, and in opposition to the views of Pelagians and semi-Pelagians. He was engaged in this work for over twenty years; in preparation for it he read over ten times every word of Augustine's works, and studied thirty times all the passages that bear on the Pelagian controversy. He was cut off by the plague, however, before he got the work published; and died (1638) submitting it to the judgment of the Pope (a fact long suppressed). Two years later the book was published (1640), and caused a great sensation. Jansenius, with his friend St. Cyran, who had risen to extraordinary influence, had long been the object of intense hostility to the Jesuits. These put forth every effort, first to prevent the publication of the book, then to procure its suppression, but in vain. In 1641, however, when a second edition was issued, it was condemned by the Papal Inquisition; and in 1642 it was again condemned in general terms by Pope Urban VIII. A powerful defender of the book appeared in Antoine Arnauld; but the crisis was reached in the years 1649–53, when five propositions alleged to be extracted from it by Nicolas Cornet, a Jesuit Father, were submitted first to the Sorbonne (1649), and afterwards to the Pope Innocent X. (1651), who, after two years' examination by theologians, gave judgment in a bull (1653). The five propositions were now definitely condemned. They were these: "I. Some precepts of God are impossible to just men, wishing and striving (to obey them), according to the strength which they then have; also they lack grace which would make them possible. II. Resistance is never made in the state of fallen nature to interior grace III. For merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature, there is not required in man freedom from necessity, but freedom from compulsion is sufficient. IV. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of prevenient interior grace for single actions, even for the beginning of faith; but they were heretical in holding that grace to be of such a kind that the human will could resist or yield to it. V. It is Semi-Pelagian to say that Christ did shed His blood for all men together."

Before tracing the further history of this dispute, we must go back to look for a little at Port Royal.

The Cistercian Abbey of Port Royal (founded 1204) was situated in the wooded valley of Chevreuse, a few miles from Versailles. It had fallen into great disorder when, in 1602, a new abbess was appointed in the person of Marie Angélique Arnauld, then a child of eleven years! (She was the sister of Antoine Arnauld, born ten years later, 1612.) At the age of seventeen the young abbess came under deep religious impressions, and commenced a work of reformation, which in a few years brought about an entire change in the mode of life in her own and many other convents. Frivolity was banished; severe self-mortification took its place; the power of religion was established in thought and life. Five of Angélique's sisters found their way to Port Royal, which yearly grew in repute as an abode of sanctity. The situation, however, proved unhealthy, and for safety the nuns removed to a new establishment in Paris, known as Port Royal de Paris, in distinction from Port Royal des Champs. The removal took place in 1625. Here Mère Angélique became acquainted with the Abbé de St. Cyran, then at the height of his reputation. He soon became the spiritual director of the convent, and imbued its inmates with the principles of Jansenism. His influence quickly extended to the male members of the Arnauld circle, and a company of young men was formed, including Angélique's brother Antoine, and her nephews, Le Maître (a renowned pleader), De Sericourt, and De Saci

(translator of the Scriptures). Their numbers increasing, they were induced by St. Cyran (1638) to remove to the monastery of Port Royal des Champs, deserted fifteen years before by the nuns, there to form a community of recluses, devoted to the study of the Scriptures, literary labours, agricultural and manual occupations, and, very specially, the instruction of youth. In this way arose the Port Royal Society, adorned by the names of Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maître, Saci, Fontaine, Pascal, and others, and knit together by a common attachment to the principles of Jansenius. All this was gall and wormwood to the Jesuits, who saw their own educational institutions eclipsed by the schools of their rivals. In the very year of this retreat (1638) Jansenius died; in the same year, the vindictiveness of Cardinal Richelieu prevailed to send St. Cyran to a dungeon at Vincennes. Then broke out the storm over the book of Jansenius. A little later a fresh change took place. The nuns in Port Royal de Paris had so multiplied that it became necessary to divide them. It was accordingly resolved that Mère Angélique should return, with a portion of her community, to her old quarters at Port Royal des Champs, while the remainder remained in Paris. Thus, after twenty-five years' absence, the nuns of Port Royal again took possession of their abbey. The recluses were provided for in a farm in the vicinity of the convent, called Les Granges, and there continued their labours.

We return to the controversy over the five propositions. St. Cyran had expired in 1643, a few months after his release from prison on the death of Richelieu, and his place was taken as leader of the party by Antoine Arnauld, whose controversial gifts eminently fitted him for that position, if they also made inevitable the troubles that befell him. He had already given offence to the Jesuits by his book on *Frequent Communion* (1643); now, on the proclamation of the Pope's condemnation of the five propositions, he at once agreed to condemn the propositions as heretical, but declared himself unable to find the condemned propositions in the work of Jansenius. He distinguished between the question of *right* (of doctrine), and the question of *fact*; and professed himself willing to submit to the Pope's judgment on the former, but not on the latter. In doctrine the Pope might be infallible; on historical questions he might err. His distinction only fanned the flame of hostility to Jansenism. Learned conclaves decided that the propositions were in the book, and censured Arnauld; the Pope confirmed the sentence (1654); in two letters Arnauld defended himself (1655); next year (1656) Alexander VII. formally condemned the propositions "in the sense of the author." Arnauld's distinction between *right* and *fact* was condemned by the Sorbonne, and in 1656 he, with sixty other doctors, was expelled from that body. "To-day," he writes to his sister Angélique, "they are erasing my name from the list of doctors, but I hope our Lord will not erase it from the number of His servants." But in this drastic step his enemies outreached themselves. The fraternity at Port Royal made common cause in the trouble that had overtaken their leader. They put their heads together, and the outcome was the publication of Pascal's first *Provincial Letter*, which took Paris and France by storm. The *Letters*, eighteen in all, exposing with infinite ingenuity, in a light, satiric style, the theological quibbling, but, above all, the shockingly lax morality of the Jesuits (see MORAL THEOLOGY), overwhelmed that order with ridicule, and produced a revulsion of feeling in Arnauld's favour. "This book alone," said Daniel, who forty years after attempted a refutation, "has done more for the Jansenists than the *Augustinus* of Jansenius and all the works of Arnauld put together."

But it was only for a time. The Court joined with the Jesuits, and already, in 1656 (during the publication of the *Letters*), the extermination of Port Royal as a nest of heresy was decreed, and was only averted by the singular (supposed) miracle of the Holy Thorn. This stayed the storm till 1661, the year of the death of Mère Angélique, when it burst anew on the little community in terrible and prolonged persecutions. A formulary was drawn up in 1660, requiring assent to the condemnation of the five propositions "contained in the work of Cornelius Jansenius" from all the clergy, all schoolmasters, all members of religious houses, including nuns. A formulary in *these* terms the nuns at Port Royal refused to subscribe. A similar formulary was promulgated by Pope Alexander VII. a few years later (1665). Then the blow—or a succession of blows—fell. The schools at Les Granges were broken up; confessors and directors scattered; scholars, novices, and postulants in the convent expelled. After Mère Angélique's death yet heavier trials were encountered. Archbishop Péréfixe, of Paris, found an ally in one of the nuns, who, coveting the post of abbess, apostatised to his side. On her advice a large number of the nuns were imprisoned, and many cruelties were inflicted. A new friend was raised up for the afflicted community in the repentant Duchesse de Longueville, through whose influence Pope Clement IX. was induced to agree to a compromise, by which the nuns and others bound themselves to "a respectful silence" on the debated question of *fact* (1668). This "peace of

Clement" lasted only till the death of Madame de Longueville (1679), when violent persecutions were renewed. Clement's agreement was retracted by the Pope in 1694, and the original formulary imposed in all its rigour. To complete this tale of woe, the nuns were finally expelled from Port Royal in 1709, and the place was razed to the ground in 1710.

The last phase of the Jansenist controversy takes us into another country. Arnauld had fled to Brussels in 1679, where, in 1684, he was joined by a distinguished man, Pasquier Quesnel, author of *Moral Reflections on the Gospels* (1671). He, too, was of the Jansenist faith, and had been forced to flee from Orleans. In his arms Arnauld died in 1694. Quesnel now enlarged his *Moral Reflections* to include the whole New Testament. But the papal thunderbolts were being got ready against him. In 1705 Clement issued his bull "Vineam Domini," in which it was affirmed that Catholics were bound to give full and undoubting assent to the matter of fact affirmed by the Pope, as well as to the points of doctrine. Then, in 1713, came the famous bull "Unigenitus," in which 101 propositions from Quesnel's book were condemned, including one on the reading of the Scriptures. Quesnel died in 1719.

The after history of Jansenism need not detain us. In France its later course was one of degeneration. Its adherents became fanatical, and gave themselves up to excesses. Great excitement was caused by the miracles said to be wrought at the tomb of the Jansenist Abbé de Paris (died 1727)—miracles of which Hume makes much in his Essay on that subject. The party obtained for themselves from this cause the name of *Convulsionnaires*. In Holland, on the other hand, the Jansenist Church continued to maintain itself, and subsists till the present day. Its numbers are small (under 5000), and its general doctrine and practice is thoroughly Roman. But the Dutch Jansenists maintain their independence. They reject the bull "Unigenitus," and show an interest in the circulation of the Dutch Scriptures. They protested against the new dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope. They consecrated Dr. Reinkens bishop for the Old Catholics.[1]

It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss the merits of the Jansenist theological opinions. In the depth, seriousness, and Scriptralness of their theology, they came at least immensely nearer the truth than their supple, superficial, unscrupulous, and casuistic opponents; while, on the doctrinal question, it cannot reasonably be doubted that they represented with substantial fidelity the positions of the great Latin Father to whose teaching they attached themselves. One feature in which they shone out brightly was their attachment to the Scriptures. That, notwithstanding their adherence to the Papacy, they were essentially evangelical in spirit, is amply proved by their published utterances and writings. What could be finer than the following sentences of De Saci, the translator of the Scriptures, written as director of the Port Royal fraternity? "Jesus Christ Himself must be our light and our strength. The sufferings of Christ are all our merits and plea; they are the source of all the mercies and graces we receive; it is by them only that we become living members of Jesus Christ. . . . Our confidence must be firm, as St. Paul says, because it is grounded on the virtue of the blood of Christ, which is infinite. It is faith alone which inspires well-grounded confidence. We trust, because Christ Himself is our trust, who teaches us that our salvation is His glory; and that in saving us He obtains the price of His death, and the fruit of His sufferings. . . . That faith, by a vital reception of which we are saved, and by which we are distinguished from the angels of darkness, after showing us this ground of corruption and sin, which ought profoundly to humble us, shows us with it the infinite mercy of God, founded upon the blood of Jesus Christ, as Mediator and Reconciler of men to God by His atoning sacrifice, who is thus become our trust and our salvation. . . . We must then unite these two views, which ought never to be separated: the view of ourselves and our sins, and the view of Jesus Christ and His merits. The first terrifies, the second reassures. . . . This confidence is firm because it is humble. Its prerequisite is the entire annihilation of hope from man; and it is founded on the mercy of God, and the efficacy of the blood of Christ, both of which are infinite" (De Saci's *Letters*, ii. pp. 677–78). We may close, as one other illustration, with the words of Mère Angélique on her deathbed: "The mercy of God! the mercy of God! all is included in that word mercy! Jesus! Jesus! thou art my God, my strength, and my justification." [J. O.]

JESUITS.—The name given to members of the Society of Jesus. It must, however reluctantly, be admitted that this Society has been the most formidable opponent which the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century has had to deal with, and therefore a careful study of its history, constitution, and operations, is of great importance to adherents

[1] The Jansenist Church in Holland is governed by three bishops, the chief of whom is the Archbishop of Utrecht see Neale's *Hist. of the Jansenist Church in Holland.*

of the Protestant faith, as well as to Roman Catholics. In an article like this it is impossible to do more than to give the reader an outline of the subject. When the Order was born its Founder did not realise what the main object of its existence would become. Indeed, his first thought seems to have been mission work in the Holy Land. In one point he showed considerable wisdom, viz., in directing that the members of the new Society should pay special attention to the education of the young. He worked for the generations to come rather than for the men and women of his own time. Not that the latter were overlooked, or their importance underestimated. In the constitution and history of the Society worldly wisdom may be seen almost in perfection, though the "wisdom that cometh from above" is sadly wanting. Perseverance is one of the most remarkable characteristics in its career. Again and again have its efforts been checked; disasters after disasters have attended its operations, while from almost every civilised nation in the world it has been banished again and again; and yet, notwithstanding all these opposing forces, it has after brief intervals renewed its work as though nothing had happened! It never appears to realise that it has been defeated. A well-known writer in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* speaks of "the universal failure of the great Company in all its plans and efforts." Temporary failure there has been, no doubt, but it is a great exaggeration to describe it as "universal." For is it not a fact that at the present moment its numbers and influence are greater than ever before in its history? Its influence is almost supreme in Rome, while in other countries its plans and operations have succeeded—excepting in France—to an extent which has been the marvel of its opponents.

Those who, from the moral standpoint, are the best men in the Society of Jesus have no voice whatever in its governance. The men who are naturally sympathetic, kindly, and self-denying; who sincerely—however mistakenly—are anxious to do their duty to God and benefit their fellow-creatures are greatly valued by the Order as useful agents, but are not allowed to rule. Only the Professed Fathers, who have taken the four vows, have any voice in the government, or are allowed to vote at the deliberations of the Society, and these form only a very small percentage of the whole. From the ranks of the Fathers who have taken only three vows come the men whose work gives to the Society amongst devout Roman Catholics a reputation for holiness, and, in the foreign mission field, for heroic devotion to what they believe to be their duty. These priests know nothing of the secrets of the Jesuit Order, nor are the ordinary Lay Coadjutors ever allowed to penetrate its mysteries. It is true that the priests professed of the three vows, and the Lay Coadjutors, are real Jesuits; yet, after all, they are but the dupes of the real wire-pullers. They do the work which gains for the Order renown and praise; when evil work has to be done other instruments are generally chosen, though not always. For every Jesuit, no matter what his position in the Order may be, is vowed to what is termed "Blind Obedience" to his Superiors, and is bound to obey orders, no matter what they may be. Disobedience, on any pretext, would certainly lead to expulsion. The commanding officers of the Jesuit Army are the professed of the four vows only. There may be exceptions in their ranks, but as a rule the professed are men of great subtlety of mind, crafty, worldly-minded politicians, more men of the world than anything else, whose great ambition is the glorification of their Order by making it the greatest power in the professedly Christian world. These are the men whose operations have justly given the Jesuit order a bad name in the world. They hold the strings, and all the other Jesuits are but puppets on the world's stage, who perform mechanically as the strings are pulled by their masters, or rather, by the chief master of the whole organisation—the General of the Jesuits.

The worldly wisdom of the Jesuit Order is markedly seen in the selection of its members. Scarcely any of them are able men all round. But nearly all of them are more or less clever in *one* thing, and one thing only. "It is," says the Canadian historian Parkman, "a characteristic of the Jesuit Order, and one of the sources of its strength, that it chooses the workman for his work, studies the qualities of its members, and gives to each the task for which he is fitted best. When its aim was to convert savage hordes and build up another Paraguay in the Northern wilderness (of Canada), it sent a Jogues, a Brebouf, a Charles Garnier, and a Gabriel Lalemant, like a forlorn hope, to storm the stronghold of heathendom. In later times it sent other men to meet other needs and accomplish other purposes." As men pass through the Novitiate of the Order their natural abilities are carefully studied by their Superiors, as well as their moral character, and all the studies of the novice are directed to polish and make as perfect as possible his natural gifts. One shows an aptitude for controversy, another

for preaching, or authorship, or teaching, or political intrigue, or scientific study—everything comes in as helpful to the work of the Society. Out of his own peculiar element the Jesuit is almost useless to the Order, yet in his own particular line of work he is above the average of his co-religionists. Yet it must be admitted that Mr. J. A. Symonds was very near the mark when he declared that "No really great man in any department of human knowledge or activity has arisen in the Company of Jesus."

Many causes have contributed to the measure of success acquired by the Society of Jesus. Amongst these a foremost place must be given to the vow of "Blind Obedience," as it is termed, which each member of the Order must take. The vow is so stringent that it makes every one who takes it the moral, mental, and physical slave of his Superiors. The Jesuits are a body of slaves, even when living in a free country like England. It is true they cannot be bought and sold like negroes were in days gone by, and no one compels them to become slaves by physical force. They are slaves of their own free will. A negro may be a slave in body, yet a free man intellectually and spiritually. But a Jesuit can call neither his body nor his soul his own. They are at the disposal of his Superiors, who can do with them what they think best. Having become abject slaves themselves—with fetters more powerful than those of any other class of slaves—they seek to make nations and peoples also, the moral, intellectual, and spiritual slaves of the priesthood, and especially of the chief priest of their religion, the Pope. Liberty and Jesuitism cannot live together; they are irreconcilable enemies. The only liberty the Jesuits allow is liberty to submit to slavery, in one of its worst forms.

What the Jesuit's Vow of Obedience implies is clearly seen in the well-known Epistle on Obedience, written by Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Order, and dated March 26, 1553. I quote from an English translation privately printed by the London Jesuits, in 1863, for the use of the members. Ignatius here declares that all the members of his Society should "be distinguished by this mark" of obedience above all other Religious Orders. Every Superior must be obeyed as Christ Himself; and "true and perfect Obedience" is said to consist in "the abnegation of our will and judgment." "Then perishes," wrote Ignatius, "that renowned simplicity of Blind Obedience when we call in question the justice of the command." Obedience brings, he says, the understanding "to be of the self-same opinion in all things with the Superior." "Always seriously endeavour to defend within yourself that which your Superior commands or thinks good, but *never to disapprove of it.*" "Determine within yourself whatsoever the Superior commands, to be the commandment of Almighty God Himself." "In doing that which your Superior commands, you must be carried with a kind of *blind* impulse of your will, desirous to obey. So it is to be thought Abraham did, when bid to sacrifice his son Isaac." According to this teaching, were a Jesuit Superior to order a Jesuit under his obedience to kill his son, by a marriage contracted before he joined the Order, he would be bound to obey him, since, inasmuch as his obedience is to be "a kind of *blind* impulse," he could not possibly *see* anything wrong in the command, especially as he is required, as we have just seen, "never to disapprove" of his Superior's command. It is true that in this Epistle Ignatius seems to qualify this obedience, by asserting that it is to be given "in all things where manifestly there appears no sin." But, observe, he first of all puts out the eyes of the man's judgment, so that he becomes "blind"; and then tells him that if he can *see* anything sinful in the command he is not to obey. But how is a blind man to see anything? The qualification in practice becomes absolutely useless, while the "Blind Obedience" is always a living and practical reality. The principles laid down in this Epistle by Ignatius would manifestly justify the commission of any crime by a Jesuit, provided it was commanded by his Superior.

In a volume published by the English Jesuits, entitled *The Spirit of St. Ignatius*, containing "The thoughts, feelings, words, and actions of the Founder of the Society," we read: "I ought to belong no longer to myself, but to my Creator and to him who stands in His place to guide me and to govern me, and in whose hands I must become like soft wax under the fingers of the artist. . . I ought to consider myself like a dead body which has no longer either will or opinion, like a statue which is turned any way at will and does not offer any resistance, like a stick in the hand of an old man, who uses it at pleasure, and lays it down anywhere as is convenient to him." It is obvious that the Jesuit's vow of Blind Obedience in the hands of domineering Superiors may become an instrument of overbearing tyranny, and of great suffering, both mental and bodily, to those who have to practise it. When Blind Obedience is given to the manifest will of God it leads to true Christian liberty; but when given to man it may become the instrument of intellectual and spiritual slavery of a most degrading character. Yet it must be admitted that the Blind Obedience of the whole Jesuit Order to its

General cannot fail to greatly contribute to the success of his schemes.

The Jesuit Order is a great political society. It has ever relied on the arm of flesh. Like the Papacy itself, it exercises both temporal and spiritual power. Yet, strange as it may appear, one of its laws forbids the members to interfere in political affairs. In the "General Admonitions" for the use of its members, it is ordered that: "To take away all appearance of evil, and, as far as possible, to prevent the complaints which arise from false suspicions, all of Ours are commanded, in virtue of Holy Obedience, and under pain of inability to any post, dignity, or superiority, and of privation of active and passive voice, in no way to meddle in public or secular affairs of Princes, which appertain, as they term it, to matters of State; neither may they presume or take upon them to treat of such political affairs, however much and by whomsoever they may be urged or importuned." The rule is certainly stringent enough to prevent all political intrigue on the part of the Order, and, if it were faithfully observed, one great weapon of attack against the Jesuits would be removed. But, unfortunately, in this most important point, the practice of the Order flatly contradicts its rules. The apparent contradiction between the Society's theory and practice is, however, explained by a reference to Part IX., chapter iii., section 8 of its Constitutions, in which we read that: "As it belongs to the General to see that the Constitutions of the Society be everywhere observed, *so shall it belong to him to grant dispensation in all cases where dispensation is necessary.*" The rule forbidding political action is, therefore, not binding on the Jesuits whenever the General dispenses them from its obedience. A "History of the Political Influence of the Jesuits" throughout the world would fill several large volumes. It seems a pity that no Protestant writer has ever undertaken the task.

The political work of the Jesuits in Great Britain and Ireland has ever been of the most mischievous character. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were the leading agents in fomenting disloyalty, rebellion, and even attempted assassinations. Ample evidence of their political misconduct in England and Scotland may be found in Father Taunton's modern *History of the Jesuits in England*, in Father Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, in Father Tierney's edition of *Dodd's Church History*, in Father Dodd's *Secret Policy of the Jesuits*, and in my *Jesuits in Great Britain*. The Jesuit Robert Parsons, who for many years was the ruler of the English Jesuits, was ever a ringleader in treasonable practices. His great ambition was to suppress Protestantism in England and Scotland by means of the armies of France and Spain. For this purpose he was ever on the move, visiting the Netherlands, Brussels, Paris, Madrid, and Rome, soliciting money and soldiers from the enemies of his country. To him is mainly due the Spanish Armada, and also several plots to upset Protestantism in Scotland by the soldiers of France and Spain. Nearly all the political plots in England for the assassination of Queen Elizabeth were undertaken by the spiritual children of the Jesuits; and almost, if not every one of the Gunpowder Plotters of 1605 were the spiritual offspring of the Order. And certainly no modern Jesuit can deny that in the unhappy reign of James II., his Father Confessor, the Jesuit Petrie, exercised enormous political influence in England, and was even sworn in as a member of his Majesty's Privy Council.

In Ireland also the Society of Jesus has frequently exercised a pernicious political influence. As early as the year 1540 Pope Paul III. sent two Jesuit priests, John Codure and Alphonsus Salmeron, to Ireland to encourage the rebels then in arms against Henry VIII. "From this date," writes Dr. Killen in his learned *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, "we may distinctly trace the influence of the Jesuits in the plots and wars which for so long afterwards disturbed Ireland. Supported by the money of foreign Princes, delighting in intrigue, unscrupulous as to the means employed, and reckless of consequence, they were found wherever they hoped to be able to carry out a scheme for the overthrow of the English government." In the autumn of 1560 another Jesuit priest, named David Wolfe, was sent to Ireland as a Papal Nuncio, nominally to strengthen the Irish in their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, but mainly to excite disaffection to the throne of Elizabeth. Another traitorous and prominent Jesuit who very actively helped the Irish rebels in their war against England at the close of Elizabeth's reign was James Archer. The editor of the modern edition of *Pacata Hibernia* states that Archer "moved ceaselessly around the South of Ireland seeking to impart to the insurgent cause the fervour of a religious crusade. There were many men like Archer, and their co-operation was very serviceable to the league. These men, unlike the chieftains, were in dead earnest. In the reign of James I. we catch a glimpse of Archer at Court, disguised like a gallant, cloaked, frilled, and feathered. Archer was a very accomplished person, a gentleman and a soldier."

The political influence of the Jesuit Order in Ireland during the Great Rebellion of 1641

was of a decidedly mischievous character. Before that Rebellion had ended, an Irish Jesuit, named Con O'Mahony, sent to the Irish rebels a book which he wrote specially for their benefit, and had printed in Portugal. It was entitled *Disputatio Apologetica, De Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus Hæreticos Anglos.* At the end of this book, as an appendix, there was printed a letter to the rebels in which he urged them not only to kill all the Protestants in the country, but also all the Roman Catholics who assisted them. "My dear Irish," he wrote, "go on and perfect the work of your liberty and defence, which is so happily begun by you; and kill all the heretics, and all that do assist and defend them. You have in the space of four or five years, that is, between the year 1641 and the year 1645, wherein I write this, killed 150,000 heretics, as your enemies do acknowledge; neither do you deny it. And for my own part, as I verily believe that you have killed more of them, so I would to God you had killed them all!" The book from which this extract is taken is acknowledged as a genuine Jesuit book by Father Peter Walsh, in his *History of the Loyal Irish Formulary and Remonstrance*, and by Mr. John T. Gilbert, a Roman Catholic, in his *History of Affairs in Ireland*, 1641-1652.

The political work of the Jesuits in foreign lands is known to every student of history. In France their influence has again and again led to civil commotions and endless misery. They were the chief instigators and advisers of the "Holy League" of evil memory, which was not only disloyal to the Crown, but sought above all things the extermination of the Huguenots from France by the sword. Trustworthy historians hold them responsible for the assassinations of Henry III. and Henry IV., and when those crimes were committed, Jesuits sang the praises of the criminals. The Jesuits were Father Confessors to several of the Kings of France, and used their positions to further the political schemes of their Order. It was the Jesuits who urged Louis XIV. to issue the infamous Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by which untold misery and suffering were inflicted on hundreds of thousands of innocent Protestants. In the eighteenth century their political power became so great in France, and was so used to the injury of the country, that it was found necessary to banish them, as had previously been done on several occasions, and also to take steps to induce the Pope to suppress the Society of Jesus altogether. This was done by the celebrated bull of Clement XIV., dated July 21, 1773. In this document the Pope accuses the Jesuits of many serious offences, including interference with the secular affairs of states, and he declares that his "dearly beloved sons in Christ, the kings of France, Portugal, and Sicily, found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from their states, kingdoms, and provinces, these very companions of Jesus, persuaded that there remained no other remedy to so great evils; and that this step was necessary in order to prevent the Christians from rising one against another, and from massacring each other in the very bosom of our common mother, the Holy Church." It may here be well asked, has any Protestant writer ever put forth a more serious indictment of the Jesuit Order than this of the Roman Catholic kings of France, Portugal, and Sicily, adopted as correct by the Pope himself? No one can deny that he was fully acquainted with the facts of the case, nor can any one assert that these are the lying utterances of an evil-living Pontiff. Clement XIV. has borne the character of being one of the most moral Popes who ever sat on the papal throne. And be it noted that in the countries named in the bull, the work of the Jesuits had produced, as the Pope states, "dangerous seditions, tumults, discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, (had) excited the faithful to all the rage of party, hatreds, and enmities." In short, it was necessary to suppress the Society of Jesus, in order to prevent the Roman Catholics rising against one another and cutting each other's throats! Yet this is the self-same and unreformed Order which is tolerated in the British Dominions, contrary to the laws, and with grave danger to the State. The political and other operations of the Jesuits in France are mainly responsible for the fearful French Revolution. Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, a well-informed Roman Catholic, in his book on *The Ruin of Education in Ireland*, declares that: "The French Revolution was the work, with hardly an exception, of pupils of the clerical schools, which, previous to that catastrophe, had monopolised the education of all classes of the French nation. Voltaire and Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, and Robespierre were the pupils of clerical schools, and mostly of Jesuits."

The history of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay is in itself a sufficient refutation of those who assert that the Order never interferes with political affairs. In the portion of that country under their control, until about the middle of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits were sole masters of the natives in temporals as well as spirituals. And what was the result of their government? Mr. Washburn, formerly United States Minister at Asuncion, tells us, in his *History of Paraguay*. "In effect, it

was the worst government ever devised by the perverted ingenuity, selfishness, and bigotry of man. The Indians under it were abject slaves, with no possible chance of rising into a condition fit for free men, or men capable of self-government, or self-support. . . . The exercise of absolute power within the missions only did not satisfy the Jesuits. Their influence was to be seen and felt everywhere. It was the same with them in Paraguay as throughout Europe. They aimed at universal dominion. They were not content with attending to merely spiritual affairs, but they must be all the while intriguing to get control of the civil government. The frontiers of the missions, and the dividing lines between them, were guarded like a military camp, and the enslaved Indians were not allowed to pass from one to the other. They were as in great prison pens, with Holy Fathers for overseers." This Jesuit Utopia was, after all, but a nation of slaves, with Jesuit priests as masters and autocrats.

The Jesuits tried hard to form another Paraguay in Canada. Happily, they failed, but not before they had caused a vast amount of trouble to the then rulers of New France, as Canada was called in the seventeenth century. Again and again the Jesuits were able to banish the Huguenots and to prevent the intrusion of Protestant worship into what then formed part of the possessions of the King of France. In 1682 Frontenac, Governor of New France, complained that, "Nearly all the disorders in New France spring from the ambition of the ecclesiastics" (by whom he meant the Jesuits and the bishop who was but their puppet), "who want to join to their spiritual authority an absolute power over things temporal, and who persecute all who do not submit entirely to them." Parkman, the Canadian historian, asserts that the Canadian Jesuits "frequently did the work of political agents among the Indians." At one period the Superior of the Canadian Jesuits was one of the Council of the Governor, when it consisted of five persons only; and Parkman adds that "Before the end of the seventeenth century the functions of the Canadian Jesuit had become as much political as religious." In a book published in Toronto in 1877, entitled *Rome in Canada*, the author, Mr. Charles Lindsay, after referring to the early political work of the Canadian Jesuits, adds: "What the Jesuits were then doing, under the French dominion, they are repeating to-day;" and he affirms that, "To-day Canada is fast becoming the paradise of the Jesuits."

It was the political work of the Jesuits that led to the fearful Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648. Maximilian of Bavaria and Ferdinand of Austria had been educated by them, and were, for the purposes of the war, but mere puppets n their hands. Gindely, in his *History of the Thirty Years' War*, affirms positively that the Emperors Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III. were "affiliated" members of the Jesuit Order, and that the war itself was at the time, and since then, known as "The Jesuits' War."

In every section of work undertaken by the Jesuit Order, it has ever relied, with unshaken confidence, on the practice of equivocation and mental reservation. Without the aid of these evil weapons disaster would almost always have attended its boldest projects. By crooked dealing and deception it has won many of its greatest victories. What is an "equivocation"? It is thus defined by the Rev. John Morris, a modern Jesuit writer: "An equivocation was a false expression used under such circumstances, that if they to whom it was addressed were deceived by it, it was their own fault." In other words, equivocation consists in the use of words or phrases having a double meaning. A "mental reservation," says the Roman *Catholic Dictionary*, "occurs when a person uses words in a sense other than that which is obvious and which he knows they are likely to convey. Thus, a man who tells a beggar that he has no money in his pocket, meaning that he has no money to give the beggar, uses mental reservation. He inserts mentally a qualification or restriction which is not expressed." The notorious Jesuit, Father Garnett, affirmed that it was lawful to equivocate, not only in life, but also "at the hour of death it is lawful to equivocate, with such due circumstances as are required in this life." He also declared that it was lawful to confirm equivocation with an oath, or "by receiving the Sacrament," if necessary. It is notorious that Jesuits have used both equivocation and mental reservation in a manner calculated to undermine all confidence between man and man, even in the ordinary affairs of life. It would be well were judges and magistrates to bear this historical fact in mind whenever a Jesuit appears before them in the witness-box.

The *Spiritual Exercises*, written by Ignatius Loyola, have proved most serviceable to the Jesuit Order, especially in obtaining for it new members. They were not written at once, but in fragments. The book was approved by Paul III. on July 31, 1548. It was written originally in Spanish, but was immediately translated into Latin. The volume was first printed, for the private use of the Society, in 1548. It is remarkable that the first Roman Catholic translation into English was not published until 1736. The Rev. Orby Shipley, then a Ritualistic priest, but now a Roman Catholic layman, published an edition in 1870, for the use of members of the Church of England, and, as was

stated in the preface, with only "a few trifling omissions—not more than three or four—to bring the work more in unison with the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church." The modern Roman Catholic author of *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History*, states that "It is not a book to be gone through alone, but it needs a wise and experienced Director to explain its precious lessons, and to apply them to the strength and capacity of each individual soul." The *Spiritual Exercises* are described by the author as a "method of preparing and disposing the soul to free itself from all inordinate affections, and after it has freed itself from them, to seek and find the will of God concerning the ordering of life for the salvation of one's soul." The penitent taking these *Exercises* is advised to go into a "Retreat" for the purpose, lasting four weeks, or, at the utmost, thirty days. The book is made the basis of meditations during that period, under the guidance of a priest. The main object set before the penitent is the unscriptural one of acquiring more merit in the sight of God. During the whole of the period very little time is given to reading; in fact, all that is said on the subject in the *Spiritual Exercises* is contained in the following brief direction: "During the second week, and so henceforward, it greatly helps to read occasionally out of the *Imitation of Christ*, or the Gospels, or the *Lives of the Saints*." It will be observed that in this list of books the Gospels occupy only a secondary place, and that the Bible, *as a whole*, is not once recommended. In the first week the penitent meditates upon sin, its nature, and its punishment. With the eyes of his imagination he is to see "those great fires" of Hell, "and the souls, as it were, in bodies of fire . . . to smell the smoke, the sulphur, the filth, and the putrid matter" of Hell. This particular meditation on Hell he is to make "one hour before supper." It is recommended that these exercises shall be made "at one time kneeling, at another prostrate upon the earth, or stretched on the ground with my face upwards, now seated, now standing." During the first week also, the penitent "is not to desire to think on pleasant and joyful subjects;" and in order to add to his gloom and sorrow, he is recommended to deprive himself "of all light, shutting the shutters and doors" while in the room; and to be careful "not to laugh or to say anything that may provoke laughter." He is advised to "chastise the flesh; that is to say, by causing it sensible pain, which is inflicted by wearing a hair cloth, cords, or iron chains, next to the skin, by disciplining or bruising the body, and by other kinds of austerities." It is declared that the object of these self-imposed penances is to make "satisfaction for past sins"—a most unscriptural idea, for the Bible recognises only the satisfaction for sins made by the Lord Jesus Christ. In the second week of the *Exercises* the penitent must meditate on the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus, and on certain incidents in His ministry while on earth. During this period he is required to think a great deal about the blessings of poverty. He is informed, in the *Spiritual Exercises*, that, "It will help much to rooting out of such an inordinate affection, to ask in our colloquies, even though it be against the flesh, that our Lord should choose us to actual poverty, protesting that we desire, petition, and ask for it, provided it be to the service and praise of His divine goodness." Although Ignatius orders that "He who gives the *Exercises* must not incline him who receives them more to poverty or to a vow than to their contraries," there is reason to fear that this is often done, the penitent being urged to adopt a life of voluntary poverty, giving up all his property, the disposal of which is often given to the Jesuits. This, at least, was the charge brought against them as early as the year 1602 by Father William Watson, a secular priest, who, in his *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions*, mentions many instances, with which he was personally acquainted, in which Jesuits had so used the *Spiritual Exercises* as to induce their penitents, male and female, to give up to the Jesuit Order vast sums of money and many valuable estates.

In the third week the penitent's meditations are on the later events of our Lord's earthly life to His death. In the fourth week he contemplates the events between the Resurrection and the Ascension. Of course the Confessional must be frequently used during the whole of the four weeks. In the *Spiritual Exercises* are printed eighteen "Rules for Thinking with the Church." The sixth is "to praise the relics of saints, showing veneration to the relics, and praying to the saints, and to praise likewise the stations, pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, bulls of the *Cruciata*, and candles lighted in churches." The thirteenth rule is one which, perhaps more than anything else, has tended to give the Jesuit Order a bad name. It is as follows: "To attain the truth in all things, we ought always to hold that we believe what seems to us white to be black, if the Hierarchical Church so defines it"—a rule, alas! only too widely adopted in the papal Church, and leading to the grossest superstition. In 1606 a Jesuit priest, named Strange, was asked by the celebrated Cecil, if the Church were to teach that a subject might kill a deposed king, would he think it lawful to do the deed? To which the Jesuit replied,

"Yes." This is an illustration of the way in which this thirteenth rule might act even in the twentieth century.

The *Spiritual Exercises* from beginning to end seem to present to the penitent a merely mechanical religion, an attempt, from outside sources, to galvanise a spiritually dead body into life. There is one remarkable omission in the volume which, so far as I can ascertain, no Protestant writer has ever noticed. *God the Holy Ghost is banished from the book*, except as an historical personage mentioned in only two very brief passages. The volume is intended to help the sinner from earth to heaven, but he is never urged to seek the enlightenment and aid of the Holy Spirit, who is treated as though He were quite unneeded by a soul seeking salvation and holiness! The omission is significant and sinful, nor can we doubt that it was made of set purpose by the author. There are, of course, many good things in the *Spiritual Exercises*, yet, taking the book as a whole, it is not calculated to promote vital religion on scriptural lines.

In studying the operations of the Jesuit Order in the past and in the present, it is important not to fall into the delusion that its workers are confined to the vowed members, whether they be priests or laymen. If these were all, the Order could not have attained to a tithe of the influence which it has exercised so perniciously. The Jesuits have agents who do most of their work for them, while the real wire-pullers often remain in the dark, unseen and unknown to the general public. Indeed, as Mr. Cartwright proves, in his valuable work, *The Jesuits; Their Constitution and Teaching*, modern Jesuits have themselves acknowledged that a few prominent men have been *secretly* admitted as members, such as Francis Borgia, the rich Duke of Gandia, who subsequently became General of the Jesuits. Mr. Cartwright also mentions a few cases of Jesuits in disguise as Protestant ministers, especially that of John August Stark. It is also well known that in India, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jesuit missionaries assumed the disguise of Brahmins; while in China they disguised the Christian religion itself by overlaying it with heathen customs and ceremonies, leading to the celebrated controversy on the "Chinese Rites," in which eventually the Jesuits were condemned by Rome. The celebrated Duke of Saint Simon, in his well-known *Memoirs*, affirms that the libertine Louis XIV., King of France, was secretly admitted into the Society of Jesus shortly before his death. Gindely, in his *History of the Thirty Years' War*, distinctly declares that the Emperors Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III., "and other Princes," were also members of the Jesuit Order.

But the chief auxiliaries of the Jesuit Order are found in the Sodalities for men and women attached to it wherever the Jesuits possess a church of their own. The first of these Sodalities was formed in Rome in 1563, since which they have increased and multiplied on every hand. The members are all admitted in the name and by the authority of the General of the Jesuits, and are pledged to obedience to the priestly Directors placed over them, who, in turn, are under vows of blind obedience to their Superiors. These Sodalities are not all known under one name. They are sometimes known as "Children of Mary," the "Congregation of Mary," "Children of the Holy Family," and many other names. All of these organisations are affiliated to the central body at Rome, known as the *Prima Primaria*. They are formed for different classes of society. In probably every Jesuit College and School a Sodality is erected for the scholars, and in every school for girls also, where Jesuit influence is felt. The boys and girls do not necessarily cease to be members when they leave College or school; they may remain in the Sodality to the end of their lives. In London, at the principal Jesuit Church in Farm Street, W., Sodalities are established for the upper ranks of society only, the lowest rank admitted being that of gentleman or lady respectively. The gentlemen have a special chapel for their own private use. At the present time the number of the gentlemen's Sodality is about 300. It will be easily seen how serviceable to the Jesuit Order these organisations must prove. The members mix in private amongst the higher circles of society, sit down to dinner, it may be, next to a Cabinet Minister, or other influential personage, learning thus what is going on underneath the surface of the political world, occasionally making a suggestion in the interests of the Papacy, and acting as Jesuit spies on everybody, whenever required to do so by their Directors, whom they are bound to obey in all things affecting the interests of the Church of Rome, and of the Jesuit Order in particular. In what I may term these first-class Sodalities of the Jesuit Order, men of the most exalted rank have taken their place. Amongst the more prominent members have been Sigismund III., King of Poland; Ladislaus IV., King of Poland; John Casimir, King of Poland; Popes Alexander VII., Urban VIII., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent X., Innocent XI., and Clement XI. The celebrated French Jesuit, Father de Ravignan, was, during the early portion of the first half of the nineteenth century, Director of the "Congregation of the Children of Mary" at Paris, into which only ladies of high rank were

admitted. In his *Life*, by Father de Ponlevoy, S.J., it is stated that this congregation "consisted of some six hundred ladies belonging to the most distinguished circles of Paris society."

There are Sodalities for different classes of society and for various professions and trades, every one of whose members is a Jesuit agent for the promotion of the objects of the Order, and a spy to collect information. The first Sodality formed in England commenced its operations about the year 1580, when the Jesuit mission first arrived on these shores. It was an Association of young gentlemen, well-to-do, and some of them very rich. From its ranks came many of the principal agents who were afterwards executed for attempts to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The Jesuit Sodalities have frequently been utilised by the Order in furthering its political work. In 1576, and in the subsequent years, they were used in France to promote the infamous "Holy League," having for its main object the extermination of every Protestant out of France by exile or death. Writing early in the eighteenth century, the Roman Catholic Duke of Saint Simon, referring to the members, says: "It answers the purposes of the Company to insure to itself *those hidden auxiliaries* whom it lets off cheaply. But nothing must pass through their minds, nothing must come to their knowledge that they do not reveal to their Confessor." Early in the nineteenth century, the Abbé de la Roche Arnauld said, that in one of these Jesuit congregations alone "there were to be seen of every grade, from the Duke Mathieu down to the Apostolic Nuncio; multitudes of very Christian barons, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, cardinals, bishops, deputies, prefects, and a host of men distinguished for celebrity, wealth, influence, and especially for fanaticism." Writing on *Modern Jesuitism*, in 1855, Dr. Michelsen declared that in the working of the various Jesuit Sodalities was to be found "*the Grand Secret* of the immense influence which they (the Jesuits) have for centuries exercised upon European society." The number of these organisations scattered throughout the world is very great. From their ranks the Jesuits can always select fit instruments for promoting civil commotions and disturbances. Their operations should be watched more carefully in the future by Protestants than they have been in the past. As a matter of fact, the majority of Protestants are ignorant of their existence.

In Canada, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits possessed a body of vowed servants, known as Donnés, or Domestics, several of whom were professional men, and not merely household servants. They took a formal vow to serve the Jesuit Order for life, without wages, while the Order, on its part, gave them a promise to supply them with food and clothing, provided they continued "to live in uprightness, diligence, and fidelity" in the service of the Order, as to which the Jesuits were the sole judges. So that, although the Order could turn off a Donné whenever it pleased, the unfortunate Donné had to serve his masters for life, without any hope of escape from his self-imposed slavery. Whether such an Order of Domestics, or Donnés, exists in the twentieth century, in any of the Jesuit missions, is more than I can tell.

Our modern English Jesuits, in the official *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, state that in the first half of the nineteenth century the Jesuits employed in England, as a body of literary servants, "a number of Catholic clergymen, scholars of the English Jesuits, who, though never entering the Society, always remained in the service of the English Province, *and subject to its Superiors.*" This mysterious body of writers, of whom the late Rev. Dr. George Oliver is named as one, wrote in praise of the Jesuits, as persons who were not themselves members of the Order; but they were careful not to let the public know that all the time they were "subject to its Superiors." In what other capacities these Roman Catholic priests served the Order, we are not informed. In the *Life and Letters of Father John Morris, S.J.*, it is mentioned that "he came to London in the beginning of 1888, and settled at Farm Street, where *the department of writers* was being put on a new footing. Father Coleridge was still its Director, but next year he was visited with a slight stroke, from which he never fully rallied, and Father Morris was appointed his successor, and continued in this post till the end." In his *Life* extracts are given from several of Father Morris' letters to those outside the Jesuit Order, arranging for the writing of new books. It seems, therefore, that the work of Dr. Oliver is still carried on.

But in addition to these Sodalities and Congregations, the Jesuit Order possesses the control of a vast organisation, larger than has ever before been formed in any nominally Christian Church. It was founded for both men and women by the Jesuits at Vals, in the diocese of Puy, as recently as 1844, and is known as "The Holy League of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," or "The Apostleship of Prayer." The prayers offered up by the members are mainly addressed to the "Sacred Heart"; but this "Holy League" has other things besides offering prayers for its members to do. They are required to devote themselves

"to the regeneration of modern society, which seems falling to pieces," says the official *Handbook* for the use of the English members, which "regeneration," if undertaken on Jesuit lines, would, we may be quite sure, mean the suppression of our civil and religious liberties. This *Handbook* makes the singular statement that "many even *when out of the Church* have been, if inconsistent, at least sincere members of the League." It would be interesting to identify these disguised members of the "Holy League of the Sacred Heart," doing the work of the Jesuits while *outside* of the Roman Catholic Church! The members are required to make a solemn promise never to belong to secret societies, and especially to avoid the Freemasons. Special efforts are made to induce monks and nuns, though not Jesuits, to join this "Holy League," whose Director General is the General of the Jesuits. The *Irish Handbook* of the League states that, in 1897, it numbered no fewer than 25,000,000 of members, scattered throughout the world. From the ranks of this vast number an abundance of suitable agents may be found to carry out the policy of the Jesuit Order. The fact that the Order can control such a great multitude of men and women should be a lesson to those Protestants who affect to despise the Society of Jesus, as though it had but little influence in the world. By the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the Jesuit Order is an illegal body in this country.

It would be easy to enlarge upon the immoral and even regicidal doctrines taught by the Jesuits from time to time. I must, however, from want of space, content myself with referring my readers to a few of the many sources of information on this subject. And, first of all, I must mention a very scarce pamphlet of eighty-eight pages, by a French Roman Catholic, translated into English, and published in 1611, with the title: *Anti Coton; or a Refutation of Cotton's Letter Declaratorie*, "in which it is proved that the Jesuits are guilty, and were the authors of the late execrable Parricide, committed upon the person of the French King, Henry IV.;" and to which is added a Supplication of the University of Paris "in which their king-killing doctrine is also notably discovered and refuted." The evil doctrines taught by the Jesuits are also exposed in a pamphlet of seventy-one pages, published in English, in 1689, with the title of *The Argument of Mr. Peter de la Martelière*, "Advocate in the Court of Parliament in Paris, made in Parliament, the Chambers thereof being assembled, A.D. 1611." The most powerful exposure of Jesuit doctrines ever published was the celebrated Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, of which many editions have been published in English. Another damaging criti published in France, in 1762, but translated into English until a hund later, when it appeared in a well-kn entitled *A Glimpse of the Great Secr* with the title of "Report on the Con of the Jesuits delivered by M. de la Procurer General of the King to th ment of Bretagne." In 1670 there in London, as a folio volume of 392 translation of the Abbé Arnauld's *Th Morals;* "Or, the Principal Errors w Jesuits have introduced into Christian Faithfully extracted out of their ow In 1839 there was published an i volume bearing the title of *The Pri the Jesuits*, "Developed in a Collecti tracts from their own authors," in w proved that the Jesuits have justifie every crime, under certain circumstan book was reissued in 1860, edited by Challis Paroissien, M.A. In this co it is important to remember that by stitutions of the Jesuits the mem forbidden to publish anything with submitting it to their Superiors for the bation. One consequence of this rul the whole Order may justly be held re for anything its members may publish

Before closing this article I mu refer to the subject of female Jesuits. year 1607 a young English lady, nam Ward, founded at St. Omer's a con ladies who were always known as "Jesu She acted under the advice of Fath Lee, a Jesuit priest, and adopted th and Constitution of the Jesuit Orc some modifications, for her nuns. Sh several branches of her new Order Continent and in England, where, ho met with very strong opposition from Roman Catholic priests. These pri sented a Memorial to the Pope again terming them "Jesuitesses," and affirm they were the occasions of "many sc were "idle and garrulous," "gallopin and asserting that they had "a v character." Although, for several yea Ward received great pontifical encours yet the complaints against her Order m to such an extent that at last Urban VII a bull suppressing it altogether. In discouraged by the suppression, she at to work to build it up again under a ne viz., "The Institute of the Blessed Mary," by which designation it is k the present day, and works with paps bation. It is still, though nominal pendent, really under the guidance Jesuits, whose Constitutions are its that its members are as justly entitle

name of "Female Jesuits" as were their predecessors in the early years of Mary Ward. In 1887 this Institute possessed no fewer than 1490 houses in various parts of the world, including nineteen in Ireland and five in England. The nuns devote themselves mainly to the education of young ladies. To show how far the influence of the Jesuit Order has extended amongst Convents generally, it may be mentioned that in no fewer than seventy-one Convents in England alone, the Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Jesus have been adopted, so far as they are suited for women.

For a list of books relating to the Society of Jesus, see Appendix. [W. W.]

JOSEPH, SAINT.—The Gospels assign to Joseph the position of husband of Mary and foster-father of Jesus of Nazareth. We learn from Smith's *Bible Dictionary* that the first to institute a festival in his honour were the Monophysite Christians of Egypt. His name is found in the Western Martyrologies of the ninth century, and the Greeks began to commemorate him about the same time, along with the saints of the Old Testament. Thomassin tells us (*Traité des Festes*, p. 439) that the festival of St. Joseph was still unknown in the time of Gerson in the fifteenth century. St. Teresa and St. Francis de Sales seem to have been the joint authors of the devotion to St. Joseph which has become so popular in the Roman Church in modern times. Gregory XV. in 1621, and Urban VIII. in 1642, ordered his feast to be kept on March 19th as a holiday of obligation; while Benedict XIII., in 1726, ordered his name to be inserted in the Litany of the Saints, immediately after that of St. John Baptist (Gavant, tom. ii. p. 310). But Pius IX. outdistanced all his predecessors by establishing St. Joseph as protector of the universal Church, and constituting his festival a double of the first class. The reason assigned for this innovation was that as St. Joseph was the protector of the human life of Christ, it was fitting to ask his intercession on behalf of Christ's mystical body, that is, the Eucharist. Pius IX. also instituted a new festival in September 1847, namely, the Patronage of St. Joseph, to be celebrated on the third Sunday after Easter.

Several communities in the Roman Church claim St. Joseph as their patron, as: (1) The Josephites, founded at Lyons about 1640, and called Priests of the Mission of St. Joseph. (2) The Lay Hospitallers, or Daughters of St. Joseph, founded at Bordeaux in 1638, for the education of orphan girls. (3) The Nuns Hospitallers of St. Joseph, founded at La Flèche in Anjou. (4) The Nuns of St. Joseph of the Good Shepherd, founded by Henri de Maupas at the suggestion of the Jesuits in 1650. These nuns established Magdalen Asylums, and have just now an unenviable notoriety in France, because of their inhuman treatment of orphan girls. (5) The Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph, founded in Maryland in 1807. (6) The Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, founded also in 1807. (7) The Sisters of St. Joseph of Bourg, founded in 1828. (8) The Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, founded in 1853. (9) The Sisters of the Daughters of St. Joseph, an offshoot of the Good Shepherd nuns. The devotion to the Sacred Heart seems to have seriously interfered with that to St. Joseph.

[T. C.]

JUBILEE.—A technical term in the Roman Church for a solemn plenary indulgence for a whole year. According to a *Catholic Dictionary*, London, 1897, it occurs every twenty-five years, and is granted for a three days' fast, visits to certain churches, prayers in accordance with the intention of the Pope, the giving of alms, confessing and communicating. See INDULGENCES.

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE.—The Crown is the fountain of jurisdiction, and from the earliest times the ultimate appeal lay to the king, either in Council or in Parliament. When the Papal Supremacy was abolished at the Reformation, an appeal from *all* courts of the archbishop was given by the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19 to the king in Chancery, and was there dealt with by delegates appointed *ad hoc* by the Crown. On the Report of a Royal Commission, the High Court of Delegates was abolished, and its jurisdiction transferred in 1832 to the king in Council by the Act 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92. sec. 3. In the following year the Judicial Committee was formed, and took over all the judicial functions of the Privy Council under the Act 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 41. The Committee consists of the President of the Council, the Lord High Chancellor, and all members of the Privy Council who hold, or have held, certain named high judicial offices. In addition to these the Crown may appoint two other persons, being Privy Councillors. Under the Church Discipline Act of 1840, sec. 16, all archbishops and bishops who were Privy Councillors were members of the Judicial Committee on ecclesiastical appeals, and one of them at least must be present at every hearing of such an appeal. But this section now stands repealed by the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876, 39 & 40 Vict. c. 59, which, by sec 14, directed that a number to be fixed by Order in Council of archbishops or bishops should sit as *assessors* to the Judicial Committee. An order in Council subsequently provided for the appointment of five assessors in rotation, with a provision that at least three shall be

present at the hearing of all ecclesiastical appeals.

Lord Selborne observes in his *Defence of the Church of England* (p. 42): "There was very little, if any, difference in principle between the appeal to the 'king in Chancery,' given by the Act of 1533, and the old custom of the Church of England before the allowance of appeals to Rome, as declared by the eighth Article of the Constitutions of Clarendon. . . . There cannot possibly be any difference in principle between an appeal to the king in Chancery, given by statute in 1533, and an appeal to the king in Council, given by statute in A.D. 1832; the latter may or may not be a better Court than the former, but there can be no difference in principle." [J. T. T.]

JURISDICTION.—See CANON LAW.

JUSTIFICATION.—Two different senses have been attached to this term. The first is its obvious and natural signification. The other is certainly not that which it most naturally conveys. In the view of those two senses and the doctrines connected with them, we stand, as it were, at the fountain-head of the controversies which divide us from the theology of the Roman Church. Here is the parting of the streams. On the one side flows the stream which contains the Scriptural and truly Catholic doctrines—the stream of the pure water of life. On the other side is the river which winds through artificial courses—channels cut by the wisdom of human devices—in which the water becomes corrupted by admixture of the thoughts of men who esteemed their thoughts higher than those of God.

From the nature of the case the doctrine has to be regarded in connection with the general view of the history of man given to us in Holy Scripture. *First*, we have to consider man as a fallen being. So far there is no controversy. All theologians agree that the justification of man has to do with the undoing of the work of an enemy, and man's restoration from a terrible fall. It must not, however, be assumed that there will be found agreement as to man's fallen condition. The teaching of our Church[1] concerning "original sin"—"the fault and corruption" of the nature of every man—does not coincide with the teaching of the Church of Rome. As leading up to the Reformed doctrine of justification, the Church of England declares (Article IX.) of original sin, that "in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation" (*iram Dei atque damnationem meretur*).

But *secondly*, our subject requires us to view the history of man as given in Scripture in connection with the revelation there made of the divine purpose of undoing the works of the enemy, and lifting up man from his fall. On that point there is *so far* no matter of controversy. In the oracles of God we cannot fail to behold the revelation of the glory of God in carrying out this saving purpose; and this by a plan of Infinite Wisdom—a plan to man's eyes marvellous indeed, and incredible save to those who believe what is taught by the Holy Spirit of God.

We have here to confine our attention to one only point in the divine procedure. It may be regarded as the culminating point in the divine revelation. In the Reformed view, that culminating point is a judicial procedure which is the marvel of marvels, the wonder of the divinely wonderful, the very miracle of the miraculous.

This divine marvel will be clearly seen in the answers to the following questions:—

1. What is justification? It is, according to the view of the Reformers, the accounting as righteous, not the making righteous; not the infusing of righteousness into the soul, but a judicial acquittal, and gift to man of the standing of the righteous.

2. Who are the subjects of justification? Those who might righteously be regarded as proper subjects of condemnation, who are not innocent, but guilty; who cannot do anything to merit a sentence of acquittal, who have nothing to plead, save that they are deserving of the just sentence of the severity of judgment.

3. How then can divine justification be obtained? We must admit our guilt—in solemn stillness before the Righteous Judge (Rom. iii. 19), and accepting our justification as a *free gift* (δωρεάν, Rom. iii. 24); not by putting in any pleas of human infirmity or human endeavour, nor by making appeal only to divine compassion and tender mercy. We must simply accept in faith God's gift of a justification which we cannot merit.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in all these answers the divergence between the teaching of the Churches of England and Rome is to be clearly seen.

[1] See Rogers on XXXIX. Articles, p. 97, P.S. Such views, however, as those of Ruardus Tapperus, can hardly claim support from the decrees of the Council of Trent. What the Council declared was this: "If any man deny that the guilt of sin is remitted by the grace of Christ conferred in baptism, or shall even assert that the *total of sin is not removed*, but only shorn (*radi*), or not imputed, let him be anathema" (see Mendham, *Memoirs of Council of Trent*, p. 76). There is still considerable variety of opinion among Romish Theologians. See *Catholic Dictionary*, s.v. ORIGINAL SIN.

It is true, indeed, that a great diversity[1] of view on the question of justification was expressed in the Council of Trent, as it had been in preceding ages, and as it has been also in times which have followed since in the history of the Romish Church. It is true also, that some obscurity and considerable ambiguity is to be found in the language of the Council's decrees. And this was, no doubt, the result of a politic design, that there might not seem to be too distinct a condemnation of those —who then formed a section too important to be disregarded — who opposed the dominant theology of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently clear that the Council condemns the teaching (1) that justification is to be understood in the forensic sense of accounting righteous; and (2) that the subjects of justification are rightly spoken of as persons justly condemned; and (3) that justification is to be obtained by the faith which simply accepts the free gift of justification whereby the unrighteous are justified.

Rome teaches that justification—"non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio, et renovatio interioris hominis . . ." (Sess. vi. 1547. Cap. vii.) And following upon this we read: (1) "Si quis dixerit, homines justificari vel solâ imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solâ peccatorum remissione . . . anathema sit" (Can. 11). (2) "Si quis dixerit, sola fide impium justificari, ita ut intelligat nihil aliud requiri . . . anathema sit" (Can. 9). (3) "Si quis dixerit, hominem a peccatis absolvi, ac justificari ex eo, quod se absolvi ac justificari certo credat . . . anathema sit" (Can. 14).[2]

[1] Justification was a subject on which the Tridentine Theologians were confessedly very much at sea (see Mendham, *Memoirs*, pp. 80, 100, 101). Some in the Roman Church still taught the ancient Catholic truth. Cranmer's Homily on Salvation, referred to in Article XI., has many points of contact with Cajetan's *Commentary on Romans*, a work which Cranmer is known to have studied (see Canon Jenkins, *Pre-Tridentine Doctrine*, pp. 69–73; also *Church Intelligencer*, March 1894, p. 42). Pole and Contarini, on this point, had strong affinities to the doctrine of the Reformed.

[2] "It is not only remission of sins, but also sanctification and a renovation of the inner man." "If any one says that men are justified either by the imputation alone of the righteousness of Christ, or by the remission alone of sins . . . let him be accursed." "If any one says that the unrighteous are justified by faith only, so that nothing else is required . . . let him be accursed." "If any one says that a man is absolved from sins, and justified, because he believes certainly that he is absolved and justified . . . let him be accursed."

It should be well observed that the tendency of these teachings is obviously to derogate from the miraculous character of the Christian faith which is to be believed as a matter of doctrine. And it should be noted that, in the teaching of Holy Scripture, the marvel of the doctrine is not only enforced in general and comprehensive statements, but is strongly accentuated by the way in which it is set forth as —if viewed apart from its divine connections —being a doing of that which is contrary to God's revealed character, a violation of His justice, a breaking of His law, a procedure which He will never allow in His judges; nay, an act which He declares to be an abomination in His sight (Rom. iv. 5).

Thus the Christian faith is set before us in the New Testament as that which teaches us to believe "on Him that justifieth the ungodly." The words of the original here should be specially noted: πιστεύοντι ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ (Rom. iv. 5).

When in answer to the prayer of His servant Moses, "I beseech Thee show me Thy Glory," Jehovah vouchsafed to proclaim "the name of the Lord" before him, the solemn declaration was made that He will "by no means clear the guilty" (Exod. xxxiv. 7). And so, in view of the judicial proceedings of His people, He warns them "I will not justify the wicked" (Exod. xxiii. 7), which is rendered in the LXX., οὐ δικαιώσεις τὸν ἀσεβῆ. And again in Deuteronomy, the warning is repeated that in matters which come up for judgment, "they shall justify (δικαιώσωσι) the righteous, and condemn the wicked" (τοὺς ἀσεβοῦς) (Deut. xxv. 1). Again, it is declared in the Book of Proverbs, "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord," (Prov. xvii. 15). And yet again, in the solemn words of the Lord by His prophet Isaiah, we find an awful woe denounced against those "which justify the wicked for reward" (Isa. v. 23); where again we must specially note that the LXX. rendering is οἱ δικαιοῦντες τὸν ἀσεβῆ. In other words, their offence, their unrighteousness, their sin is described in the very words which are adopted by the inspired apostle to set before us that which our faith is to see God doing for us in the matter of our justification. God's faithless people were to know that His woe was upon them for *justifying the ungodly*. God's faithful people now are to know that their only hope is in believing in Him who *justifieth the ungodly*.

But how shall we believe that which is not merely marvellous—not simply miraculous—but absolutely incredible—that which, apart from one connecting link, is clearly impossible, impossible even to divine Omnipotence? For

God's own Almighty power is limited by His divine perfections. God cannot lie; God cannot deny Himself. To believe in a divine justification of the ungodly is to believe that which is against God's law, against God's Word, against the revelation of God's character, of God's name, of God's glory. Is it possible that our faith can be called to believe this?

The answer to this question is this: We are not called to believe this except in connection with that which makes it credible, which leaves it indeed still the wonder of wonders, the miracle of divine miracles; rather, which reveals its wonder and its marvels in the wonderful light —even the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the Person of Jesus Christ—the light in which its wonder is seen as marvellously meeting the need of the outcast, condemned[1] sinner, man, and at the same time revealing the divine wisdom of the divine plan, by which not God's mercy alone, but His justice —even that justice which seemed to make justification impossible—is seen displayed in justifying ungodly through faith in Christ.

But besides considering the doctrine of justification in connection with the history of the Fall, it is necessary to view it in connection with the doctrine of Christ's atoning work. In looking at justification, we are contemplating the divinely wonderful result of the divine purpose for the restoration of the sinner man to the position of a reconciled child of God. The revealed history of the ages before is the history of a preparation for the incarnation of the Son of God. For what purpose was the Word of God incarnate? No doubt there are ulterior purposes to be taken into view. But the main purpose set before us in God's Word is this, that in our human nature He might die upon the Cross for us. And for what purpose did Christ die upon the Cross? Take the answer from the Word: "If righteousness (*i.e.* the righteousness of our justification) come by the law (that is by man's own works, or efforts, or attainments), then Christ died in vain" (Gal. ii. 21), died *δωρεάν*—died for no purpose, died strictly and absolutely *for nothing*. In other words, Christ's death was either "for nothing," or for our justification. Does not the testimony of the Law and of the Prophets all point to the same truth—a truth so abundantly testified to in the writings of the New Testament?

Do we ask, How does the death of Christ affect the matter of our justification? We may be satisfied to take for our answer so much as is revealed in the inspired word of the Apostle: "God made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him"[2] (2 Cor. v. 21).

But there is one other text which demands some special consideration, in view of the difficulty of believing in the righteous God righteously justifying the ungodly. It is the text which tells us of Christ, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to show His righteousness because of the passing over of sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time His righteousness, that He might Himself be just, and the justifier of him that is of the faith of Jesus" (Rom. iii. 25, 26).

We know that God's judgment is "according to *truth*" against sinners. How then shall this *truth* leave a door open for mercy? And how shall this judgment make a way for their justification?[3]

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1 "Grace is to 'justification,' as sin to 'condemnation.' All these shew manifestly we must imagine ourselves standing at the bar, or we shall never take the state of this question aright, nor truly understand the mystery of this Name ['The Lord our righteousness']" (Bishop Andrewes, *Sermons*, vol. v. p. 116, A.C.L.).

2 Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἐποίησεν ἁμαρτωλόν, ἀλλ' Ἁμαρτίαν. οὐχὶ τὸν μὴ ἁμαρτανόντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μηδὲ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν· ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα, οὐκ εἶπε, δίκαιοι, ἀλλὰ Δικαιοσύνη, καὶ Θεοῦ Δικαιοσύνη, (Chrysostom, *In Ep. II.* ad Cor., Hom. xi. § 3, Op. tom. x. pp. 517, 518. Ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1718). "What" (says Bishop Andrewes) "can be further said, what can be conceived more comfortable? To have Him ours, not to make us righteous, but to make us 'righteousness,' and that not any other but 'the righteousness of God'; the wit of man can devise no more. And all to this end, that we might see there belongeth a special *Ecce* to this name, that there is more than ordinary comfort in it; that therefore we should be careful to honour Him with it, and so call Him by it: 'Jehovah our righteousness'" (*Sermons*, vol. v. p. 113, A.C.L.).

3 "Here man's reason may be astonied. . . . This reason is satisfied by the great wisdom of God in this mystery of our redemption. . . . So the justice of God and His mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption" (Homily *Of Salvation*, Part i.). "Summum hic habetur paradoxon Evangelicum. Nam in lege conspicitur Deus justus et condemnans; in Evangelio, justus Ipse et justificans peccatorem" (Bengel). "Deus justus est, et justus justificare non potest injustos: ideo interventum voluit esse propitiatoris, ut per ejus fidem justificarentur qui per opera propria justificari non poterant" (Origen, *Com. on Ep. ad Rom.*, lib. iii. Op. tom. iv. c. 946, Ed. Migne; p. 513, Ed. Ben.).

The answer to these questions is to be found in the only natural exegesis of this inspired teaching concerning the atoning death of the incarnate Son of God. There was a great purpose in view. There was a great end to be accomplished. There was a stupendous difficulty in the way. But here we are taught to see the removal of that fearful obstruction in the Blood of Christ, and in that Blood to see a propitiation, and in that propitiation to see a work effected whereby Mercy and Truth are made to meet together, Righteousness and Peace to kiss one another. God spares not His own Son, but gives Him up to die, the Just for the unjust, that so He may Himself be just, and at the same time the Justifier of all who believe in Jesus (*εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ*, Rom. iii. 26).[1]

This is the Protestant doctrine of justification, as it is so well expressed in our Article XI.: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification."

So Bishop Andrewes: "*Deus sanguine in suo*, 'God with His Blood'—what sin in the world would not that serve for? What justice in heaven or earth would not that satisfy? If ye speak of an expiation, a ransom, an *ἀντάλλαγμα* — Christ's own word—a perfect 'commutation,' there it is. This had, Justice will meet, embrace, kiss Mercy, shake hands, join now friends: *Inveni enim in quo repropitier*. . . . And this is it the Christian religion sets before us: how the Son of the Most High God of heaven and earth took on Him our nature, that in our nature, for our nature, He might make to God . . . a complete, full, every way sufficient satisfaction. And this, lo, makes the meeting. This honour hath the Christian religion above all other; this glory doth dwell in our land; that these four [mercy and truth, righteousness and peace] by Christ's birth in it are brought not only to *obviaverunt sibi;* but even to *et osculatæ sunt*" (Serm. xi. *Of the Nativity*, vol. i. p. 184. *Anglo-Cath. Lib.*).

So Hooker, after setting out the erroneous teachings of Rome in the matter of justification, says, "The righteousness wherein we must be found, if we will be justified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in Him. In Him God findeth us if we be faithful, for by faith we are incorporated into Him. Then, although in ourselves we be altogether sinful and unrighteous, yet even the man which in himself is impious, full of iniquity, full of sin; him being found in Christ through faith, and having his sin in hatred through repentance; him God beholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his sin, by not imputing it, taketh away the punishment due thereunto, by pardoning it; and accepteth him in Jesus Christ as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that is commanded him in the law; shall I say more perfectly righteous than if himself had fulfilled the whole law? I must take heed what I say; but the Apostle saith, 'God made Him which knew no sin, to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.' Such are we in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God Himself. Let it be counted folly, or phrensy, or fury, or whatsoever. It is our wisdom and our comfort; we care for no other knowledge in the world but this, that man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made Himself the sin of man, and that men are made the righteousness of God" (Sermon ii. § 6, vol. iii. pp. 490, 491. Ed. Keble).

Objections have been urged against accepting this view of God's dealings with men. These difficulties must be dealt with in a few brief words.

It is objected that the injustice of justifying the unjust cannot be justified by the added injustice of condemning the just.

[1] It will be found, we believe, that in the Greek of the New Testament the conjunction *ἵνα* loses often much of its *causative* force (see *e.g.* Matt. v. 29; Mark ix. 12; John iv. 34; vi. 28, 29, 39, 40; xvi. 7; Gal. v. 17; Eph. i. 17; v. 33; Philip. i. 9, 10; Philem. 19; 1 John i. 9; ii. 19; iii. 1, 23; v. 16; 2 John 5, 8; 3 John, 4; Rev. vi. 11) which force is (not without exceptions) most strongly expressed by the phrase, *εἰς τό*, with an infinitive pointing to the effect to be aimed at, or the result to be attained (see, *e.g.* Rom. i. 20; iv. 11, 16, 18; viii. 29; Eph. i. 12, 18; Philip. i. 10; 1 Thess. iii. 13; Heb. viii. 3; vii. 25; ix. 14, 28; xi. 3; xii. 10; James i., 18; 1 Pet. iii. 7; iv. 2). When *ἵνα* and *εἰς τό* occur in connection, *ἵνα* (says Westcott) "appears to mark in each case the direct and immediate end, while *εἰς τό* indicates the more remote result aimed at or reached" (*On Heb.* v. 1, p. 118). Bishop Moule writes: "For you . . . 'Redemption' cannot be named, or thought of, apart from its first precious element, 'remission of sins,' justification of the guilty. It is steeped in ideas of Propitiation, it is red and glorious with the Redeemer's Blood, without which it could not have been. The all-blessed God with all His attributes, His character, is by you seen evermore as '*just, yet the Justifier of him that believeth in Jesus*'" (*On Rom.* iii. 26, p. 95).

But human law holds, and natural justice recognises, that two injustices (viewed apart) may become perfectly just, when viewed in connection with the voluntary substitution of one for another in certain respects.[1]

It is unjust to charge to A the debt of B. But A may voluntarily pay the debt of B, and in consequence B may justly be as fully released from the obligation of the debt as if he had paid it himself.[2]

Human analogies, doubtless, can but imperfectly interpret the whole truth of that which is divine. But they may help us to understand that which God would have our faith to apprehend in His divine revelation. It is written "Christ hath redeemed us (ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν) from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us" (Gal. iii. 13). Sin is set before us in the teaching of Christ Himself as a debt—a debt of ten thousand talents. David could say, "Would God I had died for thee (תַּחְתֶּיךָ, Ἐγὼ ἀντὶ σοῦ, LXX.), O Absalom, my son, my son" (2 Sam. xviii. 33). This was the utterance of a vain wish, but Christ declared His purpose to give His life a ransom for many (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν) (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45). And His apostle speaks of it as an axiomatic truth that He gave Himself a ransom for all (ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων) (1 Tim. ii. 6). It was the mind which was in Christ Jesus which moved the apostle to send this word with a runaway slave, now converted, to his master "If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account" (Philem. 18).[3]

Again in this connection, there is another truth which should be kept in view. When Christ gave Himself to pay the debt of death to sin for us, He was giving Himself for us into the hands of an enemy, by whose hands it was not possible that He should be holden. So that when He rose again, having paid our debt, He rose with power to convey His now redeemed and justified people through conquered death to the life of salvation. "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life" (Rom. v. 10).

But further, we are told that this doctrine is open to the objection that it is obviously liable to grievous abuse.

To this it must be answered first, that it would not be the true doctrine of the New Testament if it were not open to abuse. It is perfectly evident that the writers of the New Testament were conscious that the doctrine taught by the apostles *was* open to this charge. This fact calls for warning against the abuse, but will not justify any deduction from the marvels of the doctrine "which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."[4]

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[1] See Butler's Analogy, Part ii. ch. v. § vii., especially pp. 514–216. Oxford, 1844.

[2] The analogy between the payment of a debt and the atonement of Christ is prominent in the writings of Athanasius, and it may be that his influence tended to give prevalence to the idea in after ages. But it is a mistake to suppose that it was unknown to Theology in the ages before. See *Doctrine of the Death of Christ* (E. Stock), p. 78. See also Malan's *Armenian Liturgy*, p. 39, and Introduction, p. 10. Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 436.

[3] Was there nothing in primeval (see Professor Curtiss on "Primitive Semitic Sacrifice" in *Expositor*, August 1902) and patriarchal religion—especially was not the *substitution* of a ram for the offering of Isaac—in which offering the Jews saw the basis of all sacrifice (with the name "Jehovah Jireh," continually witnessing to the prophetic word, "God will provide a lamb for a burnt offering"); and afterwards, was there nothing in the law of condemnation in the terrors of Sinai (with its ever-accompanying ceremonial witness—the witness of a *shadow*—to the *reality* of an expiation to be expected); and in the unfolding of history, was there nothing in the sure word of prophecy with its awful warnings of the judgment of the law—the judgment of God according to truth—and in its clearer and yet clearer testimony to the coming Servant of Jehovah, the Lamb of God, on whom the Lord should make to meet the iniquities of all—was there nothing in all these things educating the people, who were God's school, to receive the truth of a divine Saviour, "who, His own self, bare our sins in His own Body on the tree, that we being dead unto sins, should live unto righteousness"?

[4] Very significant is the difference in the method of *guarding* the doctrine in the teaching of the Church of Rome and in that of the Church of England. Rome declares: "If any one saith, that men are justified either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and is inherent in them: or, even that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God; let him be anathema" (Council of Trent, Sess. vi. Canon 19). The Church of England teaches, "That faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying" (Homily *Of Salvation*, Part i.). It will be seen that the Tridentine teaching aims at defending the

It is not indeed to be denied that unscriptural language may sometimes have been employed by those who desired to magnify the grace of God—language which should stand as a warning against attempting to set out the truth of God's revelation in terms which may not unnaturally be suggestive of Antinomian heresy.

It also must be kept in view that this doctrine is to be seen in the light of God's truth taught by the Holy Spirit of Truth. It is truth taught to souls who, by the same Spirit of Truth, have been convinced of the reality of sin. That conviction would shut out every soul from hope and light and life were it not that this doctrine comes to the stricken heart which cries, "I have sinned against the Lord," and comes to say, "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die." And then the justified soul, led by the same Spirit of Truth, passes through this doctrine to walk in the truth, and to walk in the light. It is in the interests of *true* sanctification that we are bound jealously to guard the true doctrine, with all its marvels, of *free* justification.

The Holy Spirit of God is the Spirit of Truth, and sanctifies our souls by making the light of God's Truth to shine in our hearts. But how shall this light shine within, if we shut our eyes to the Truth which shows us the very reality of God's terrible condemnation of sin—a reality which requires the reality of free justification to open our prison doors, and strike off the fetters of our bondage—a reality which can do with nothing less than the reality of "no condemnation," if we are to arise and shake ourselves from the dust of our captivity, and go forth, passing through the gates from the darkness of death into the light of life, from the bondage of Satan into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God?

(3) And so this doctrine must ever be viewed in connection with the word "peace": "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. v. 1). This doctrine brings us at once into the apprehension of the *Personalities of Religion*. Justification is the free gift of God, the God against whom we have sinned. It has to do with a *restored relationship* to a Personal God. It comes to the sinner with a voice from heaven, a voice from a now reconciled Father in heaven, saying to each, "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins; return unto Me, for I have redeemed thee." It is the voice of Him "Who commendeth His love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." It is the voice of Him whose Litany comes down from heaven to earth, beseeching sinners: "Be ye reconciled to God"; and it is the heart's gracious answer to this voice which is the true obedience of the Gospel. Moreover, it is never to be forgotten that the Gospel, not less than the Law, is a call which must have its obedience (2 Thess. i. 8), an obedience which includes the putting on of "the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and the holiness of truth." Indeed, the disobedience of the Gospel exceeds in awfulness the disobedience of the Law, as much as the ministration of righteousness and life exceeds in glory the ministration of condemnation and death (2 Cor. iii. 9; Heb. x. 29; xii. 25). [N. D.]

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doctrine from abuse, by deducting from its marvels and obscuring its distinctness, while the Church of England is not less careful to defend the doctrine of the grace of God from misuse, but is supremely careful to guard its marvels and its distinctness.

The Scriptural doctrine excludes *all works* from sharing the glory which belongs only and all to the redeeming work of the Son of God, who said on the Cross, "It is finished" (*cf.* Ps. xxii. 31; Isa. xxxviii. 15; xliv. 23). In this view faith itself, *qua* a work, is as much excluded from the office of justifying as any other work. Justifying faith is indeed the parent of good works, which are the fruits of faith. But we are justified *per fidem*, not *propter fidem*. It is admirably said, "By this speech (that faith alone justifieth) we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined, as inseparable mates, with faith in the man that is justified; or works from being added as necessary duties required at the hands of every justified man; but to show that faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ unto justification, and Christ the only garment, which being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures" (Hooker, *On Justification*, 31; Works, vol. iii. p. 530. Ed. Keble).

JUSTIFICATION is the act of God whereby He looks favourably upon those that are in Christ as accepted by Him for the merits of Christ.

Are we to earn our acceptance with God by our good works, or are we to receive it as a free gift of God bestowed on those who are adopted in Christ? Human pride says, "I will earn it"; the Gospel says, "Receive it thankfully." Even in St. Paul's days there was a controversy on the subject, which had to be decided by Apostolic authority. In Rome and in Galatia there were converted Jews, who, bringing with them Jewish ideas, insisted upon the necessity of earning God's favour by the works of the law. "O senseless Galatians," exclaimed St. Paul, "who hath bewitched you?" His impassioned assault on the Galatian false teaching, and his majestic argument

addressed to the Romans, determined the question and closed it. He had not occasion again to refer to it except in a passing way in the Epistle to the Philippians. The doctrine of justification by faith, which is only a shortened expression for justification *by the merits of Christ grasped by faith*, took its place as the doctrine of the Gospel under the name of salvation by grace, and all doubt of its truth, and hesitancy in believing it, ceased.

But human nature was still the same. When we reach the Middle Ages, the Bible was a closed book, and the arguments of St. Paul in the two Epistles were not known except in shreds and pieces, the force of which could not be understood when isolated from the context. Again, men were not content without earning their right to a standing ground before God, and an ingenious scheme was worked out whereby man could earn for himself not only the *initiatory grace of justification, but his final salvation also.*

Let a man do natural good works, such as acts of temperance, courage, liberality. Then it became congruous or befitting to God's goodness to give him His grace in return. Thus by his own works of congruity he earned God's grace. Having received this grace, he could by its help do works of condignity, which deserved reward at God's hands; and the more he did the more reward he earned, till at length the sum of his merits deserved the salvation to which he attained.

This thing roused the fierce indignation of Luther. "If this be true," he cried, "then Christ is dead in vain, for man can earn his own salvation without Him, and has no need of Him." Again he brought to the front the forgotten arguments of St. Paul. Again he preached aloud the great doctrine of justification by faith, and pronounced it the test "stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae."

The Church of England laid down her doctrine with unmistakable clearness in Article XI.: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort." And for a further exposition of her teaching she refers to the *Homily on Justification*, or *The Salvation of all Mankind.*

The Church of Rome, in accordance with her action on other points of doctrine, drew herself back into the slough of mediævalism, from which she had neither the will nor the courage to emerge, and in consequence confounded justification and sanctification, making our sanctification the cause of our justification instead of the consequence from it.

Justification is, as we have said, an act of God alone, whereby He looks upon us with favour for Christ's sake. Sanctification is a joint act of God and man, or, to speak more exactly, is an act of God with which man cooperates by consciously yielding up his will to be moulded by the Holy Spirit. The difference between believing ourselves to be placed in a state of acceptance by God's free mercy in Christ and by our own righteous acts (though they be supposed to be done by the Holy Spirit's aid) is incalculable, and affects every part of the Christian's conduct in daily life. The man who feels that he is God's child, adopted in Christ, passes his life performing the good works that are prepared for him to walk in, but he does not dream that he is thereby earning merit before God and purchasing his acceptance by them. But if a man believes that the more good works he does the more he is justified before God, and the more deserving of recompense at His hands, he loses the freedom of a son of God, who does right just because he is a son, and he is busied with constantly imposing upon himself tasks by which to earn God's favour and his own reward. External works then become to him all-important. Does he attend Mass? or fast? or go on pilgrimage? or visit the poor? He is either "satisfying" for past sins, or "meriting" for the future. Hence his acts are really acts of selfishness done for his own benefit, not with a single eye to the good of his neighbour or the glory of God. He may multiply "good works," but they are only *materially* good works, that is, they are works which, if done in a right spirit would be good works, but if done selfishly, and with a view to earning reward, are no good works at all, but rather an offence to God.

No one has better shown the difference of the Romanist and the Protestant doctrine of justification than our great theologian Hooker. He writes:

"Wherein do we disagree? We disagree about the nature of the very essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. When they are required to show what righteousness is, whereby a man is justified, they answer that it is a Divine spiritual *quality*, which quality, received into the soul, doth first make it to be one of them that are born of God, and secondly, endues it with power to bring forth such works as they do that are born of Him; that it maketh the soul gracious and amiable in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, washeth out all the stains and pollutions of sins; that by it through the merit of Christ we are delivered, as from sin, so from eternal death, the reward of sin.

This grace they will have to be applied *by infusion*, to the end that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, so the soul might be righteous *by inherent grace*; which grace they make capable of increase, the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. If they work more and more, grace doth more and more increase, and they are more and more justified . . . This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread when they ask her the way of justification. They make the essence of it a *Divine quality inherent*; they make it righteousness which is in us. If it be in us then is it ours, as our souls are ours though we have them from God. But the righteousness wherein we must be found if we will be justified, is not our own, therefore we cannot be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in Him. You see therefore that the Church of Rome in teaching justification by inherent grace doth pervert the truth of Christ, and that by the hands of His Apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth . . . Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth works at their hands that shall be saved, but that she attributes unto works a power of satisfying God for sin, and a virtue to merit both grace here, and in heaven glory . . . If it were not a strong deluding spirit which hath possession of their hearts, were it possible but that they should see how plainly they do herein gainsay the very ground of Apostolic Faith!" (*Discourse on Justification*). [F. M.]

See SANCTIFICATION, ATONEMENT, RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Notes.—The *ground* of justification is not (1) as the Romanists hold, a new righteousness and love infused into us, which constitutes our moral character; nor (2) as Osiander taught, the essential righteousness of Christ's divine nature, which has become ours by faith; but (3) the satisfaction and obedience of Christ, as the head of a new humanity, and as embracing in Himself all believers as His members.

Justification and sanctification are confounded by the Romanists, who regard them as different stages of the same process of making the sinner actually holy. Protestants, on the other hand, hold fast to the Scripture distinction between justification as a *declarative act* of God, and regeneration and sanctification as those operations of God commencing in the soul and manifesting themselves in the whole man by which justification is accompanied and followed, and personal holiness is produced.

A more formal definition would be that justification is the judicial act of God by which on account of the redemptive work of Christ to whom the sinner is united by faith, He declares that sinner to be no longer exposed to the penalty of the law, but to be restored to His favour. More briefly, justification is the reversal of God's attitude towards the sinner, because of the sinner's new relation to Christ.—EDD.

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KEYS, POWER OF THE.—The Council of Trent affirmed that our Lord left "priests as His vicars, as presidents and judges, to whom all mortal crimes should be brought into which Christ's believing people may have fallen, in order that they, by the power of the keys, may pronounce sentence of the remission or retention of sins." The biblical texts assigned in proof of such teaching are Matt. xvi. 19, and John xx. 23. The power of "binding and loosing" spoken of in Matt. xvi. 19, simply consisted in declaring, under special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, those ordinances of the Mosaic Law which were, or were not, to be binding on Christians. To "bind" in Jewish phraseology, meant "to declare prohibited," while to "loose" signified "to declare lawful or permissible." That power was exercised by the apostles and the Church at the first Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 23–29), and by St. Paul in declaring that the Jewish law of meats was abrogated (Rom. xiv.; 1 Cor. viii.; Gal. v. 1, 2; Col. ii. 16, 17). The honour conferred upon St. Peter consisted solely in the privilege given to him of opening the kingdom of heaven by the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews first, and afterwards to the Gentiles. That power was exercised in his sermon on the day of Pentecost, when 3000 Jews were converted; and subsequently by preaching the good tidings to the Gentiles, who were first admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ in the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 34–48).

The power of remitting and retaining sins (John xx. 23) was simply a power to declare forgiveness to all who would believe in Christ. The retaining of sins is best explained by the apostle's words: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv. 12). The words used by our Lord were not addressed to apostles only, because one apostle (Thomas) was not present, and, on the other hand, because several persons were present who were not apostles, such as Cleopas and his companion (Luke xxiv. 33–36). Probably, too, the holy women formed part also of the company which was assembled in the Easter evening when Christ appeared

(Luke xxiv. 22; *cf.* Acts i. 14). See note on p. 2 under ABSOLUTION. It is important to note that in the Conference on Confession and Absolution held at Fulham Palace on Dec. 30 and 31, 1901, and Jan. 1, 1902, edited by Dr. Wace, now Dean of Canterbury, it was unanimously agreed "That our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel 'Whose soever sins ye remit, &c.,' are not to be regarded as addressed only to the apostles or the clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church, and as conveying a summary of the message with which it is charged." At the said Conference even such extreme Ritualists as Lord Halifax, Rev. V. S. S. Coles, Principal of Pusey House, Oxford, Canon Body of Durham, and others took part. The Report was published by Longmans, Green & Co, 1902.

KINGDOM OF GOD.—This is one of the great themes of the Bible; indeed, it may, in a certain sense, be said to comprehend them all. Nevertheless, Kant, Schleiermacher, Lepsius, Oosterzee and Maurice, gave a wrong turn to theology, and lost sight of the distinctively remedial character of the Christian revelation when they taught that "the kingdom of God is the supreme and controlling notion of Christian dogmatics as well as of Christian ethics." The divines in question, however, deserve thankful recognition for their exegetical and scholarly labours, which called more attention to the importance of the subject, and prepared the way for other writers, proceeding upon strictly scriptural and evangelical lines, to take a truer conception of the kingdom of God.

The kingdom of God in its widest sense denotes God's rule, the divine administration in the universe, and is so used in the Old Testament (Ps. ciii. 19; cxlv. 11–13; Isa. xxxvii. 16; Dan. iv. 34; vi. 26); and also in the Apocrypha (Wisd. x. 10; Tob. xiii. 1). This universal kingdom or dominion of God embraces all objects, persons, and events of individuals and nations, all operations and changes of nature and history. This idea of God's unlimited dominion or rule in nature and providence furnishes the basis on which a higher kind of kingdom — a moral and spiritual kingdom—is built up. It is with this ethical or spiritual kingdom of God, "the kingdom of God" of the New Testament, that we are chiefly concerned in this article.

The meaning and history of the phrase demand careful consideration. The "kingdom of God" (*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*) is equivalent to the "kingdom of heaven"—Gr. "the heavens" —(*ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*) used by St. Matthew.[1] That these expressions are used interchangeably is clear, if we compare Matt. xiii. 11 with Luke viii. 10. It is spoken of as "the kingdom" (Matt. viii. 12; xiii. 19; Luke xii. 32, &c.); "His [Christ's] kingdom" (Matt. xiii. 41; Luke i. 33; "Thy kingdom" (Luke xxiii. 42; Matt. xx. 21); "My kingdom" (John xviii. 36); "My Father's kingdom" (Matt. xxvi. 29; *cf.* xiii. 43); "kingdom of our father David" (Mark xi. 10); "kingdom of Christ and of God" (Eph. v. 5.); "kingdom of the Son of His love" (Col. i. 13); "His own [God's] kingdom and glory" (1 Thess. ii. 2, 12); "the eternal kingdom of our Lord" (2 Pet. i. 11).

The phrase "kingdom of God" (or, "kingdom of heaven") was a well-understood term among the Jews for the Messiah's kingdom, and the doctrine about it was derived from Dan. ii. 44; vi. 26; vii. 13, 14, 27, &c. The contemporaries of Jesus, however, took a worldly, circumscribed, material view of the kingdom of God. They regarded it too much as an empire contrasted with the great world-empires, more particularly the Roman which held them in its iron grasp. They pictured a Messiah who would deliver them from their subject position and make them rulers of the world. This was to be effected by a catastrophe which would usher in a new order of things, and so the kingdom in their thoughts took a shape which was eschatological. So deeply had this carnal view of the kingdom taken hold of the Jewish mind, that we find the Apostles themselves, notwithstanding all our Lord's teaching upon the subject, asking just before His ascension, "Dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i. 6; *cf.* Matt. xx. 20–28). It was not until after Pentecost that the disciples seem to have grasped the spiritual and more glorious nature of the kingdom.

John the Baptist, in preparing the way of our Lord, took up the conception which he found existing respecting the kingdom, but gave it a wider, deeper meaning, and laid emphasis on its moral and spiritual aspects (Matt. iii. 1-12). Our Lord, while discarding false current conceptions, accepted any elements of truth underlying the Jewish view of the kingdom. He preached "the gospel of the kingdom," a kingdom, however, not of this world, a kingdom spiritual and universal (John xviii. 36). The kingdom (as

[1] Heaven is a common metonymy for God (Luke xv. 18, 21; John iii. 27; *cf.* Matt. xxi. 25; Mark xi. 30; Luke xx. 4), and was used often by the Rabbins, influenced by an overscrupulous reverence, for the names of God Himself (*cf.* Schürer in the *Jahrbb. f. Protest. Theol.*, 1876, pp. 178, *seq.*). Ἡ *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* is used thirty-two times in Matthew.

foretold by Daniel) at least in its majesty and glorious manifestation, was something far off, something which belonged not to the first but to the second Advent (Matt. xvi. 27; xxvi. 64; Luke xxi. 27).

The kingdom of heaven is both a comprehensive and also complex idea. Each of its various aspects has a twofold character, and there is a constant shading off of thoughts the one into the other.

The kingdom means both *rule*,[1] the act of ruling, the exercise of dominion (LXX., 2 Kings xxiv. 12; New Testament, Luke i. 33; 1 Cor. xv. 24), and also *realm*, the sphere ruled, a kingdom proper (LXX., Esther i. 22; 2 Sam. iii. 28; in the Apocrypha, Wisd. vi. 4; x. 10; New Testament, Matt. iv. 8; vi. 13 (not in R.V.); xii. 25, 26; xvi. 28; xxiv. 7).

The kingdom is the reign of Messiah, the new dispensation of grace which Christ introduces, of which He is Ruler and Dispenser, and is both in its *present conception* and its *future consummation*, a something now to be in measure realised and enjoyed, but still a something in its fulness of blessing to be yet revealed. There is a kingdom of grace, and there is a kingdom of glory. Those Rationalists who would limit the kingdom to earth, and imagine that it can be fully realised in the present order of things, equally err with certain students of prophecy who regard the kingdom as wholly future, and the present period, from Christ's first coming to His second, as a break in its establishment.

The kingdom in its present phase is both *inward* and *outward*. It is "the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing His creatures" (Dr. Hort's *Life and Letters*, ii. 223). But it is also the writing of these laws, "which penetrate below the surface and are gradually progressive and expansive in operation. They are ever taking a concrete form in the history of the world. The spiritual forces of the kingdom take to themselves an outward form, they are enshrined in a vessel of clay, finer or coarser as the case may be, not only of men as individuals, but in men in community or communities."

The kingdom has its *divine* as well as *human* side. It is heavenly and supernatural in its origin and principles, "cometh" as a gift from God, is built up of the creative activity of God (Matt. vi. 10; xxv. 34; Mark ix. 1; Luke xvii. 20), yet is to be entered into by man when his will is renewed, and requires human effort to be vigorously exerted for its enjoyment and extension (Matt. xi. 12; vi. 33; Luke ix. 60; xii. 31). The kingdom is brought into existence through grace, but requires voluntary obedience to the known will of God on the part of all its subjects (Matt. vii. 21).

The kingdom is in its extent *ecclesiastical*, but it is also *extra-ecclesiastical*. The Church, as the organised congregation of the faithful, is the visible expression of the kingdom in the world, its proper (though often very imperfect) representative, whose function it is to manifest and extend by its worship and ministry Christ's rule on earth. But there are spheres of influence for the kingdom beyond those of the Church and its organisations. In every department of human life, whether in science or art, philosophy, commerce, the senate, the municipalities, and the private or public philanthropic enterprises, the principles of the kingdom, as Christianity progresses, have increasing prominence in the minds of thoughtful believers. But though Christ, as the rightful King of all life, has for society a law and ideal which must be declared, still, a watchful jealousy must be exercised lest the Church forsake its primary office—preaching the gospel of the kingdom (Acts xx. 25; xxviii. 23, 31)—and become absorbed in merely humanitarian and social movements.

There are several *details* respecting the kingdom mentioned in the Scriptures, which are extremely profitable to study.

The *Herald* of the kingdom (as had been predicted, Matt. iii. 1–3) was John the Baptist, who stood on the borderland, so to speak, of the Old and New Dispensations. The apostles were bidden by the Master to take up the herald-cry of John the Baptist, and cause it to re-echo all around (Matt. x. 7). For a season, after His forerunner's voice had been suddenly silenced, ere His work was finally completed, our Lord Himself took it up at the point where John had been withdrawn from it. He thus acted for a season as His own herald (Matt. iv. 17).

The *Founder* and *Head* of the kingdom (Matt. xiii. 41; xxiv. 31; xxv. 34–46) is the Saviour who is Son of man as well as Son of God—ideal man. He is not only appointed by God as the Leader, the Lord of the citizens in the divine kingdom, possessing all power in heaven and earth (Matt. xxviii. 18), but He also is the Ideal Citizen. He is the living embodiment of the principles of the kingdom, and the actual life of the new relation of sonship to God into which men enter through Him. In His life alone has a perfect pattern been given of how on earth God's will can be done as in heaven. But besides being Exemplar of the principles of the kingdom over which He rules,

[1] "Rule" is the commoner meaning in the Talmud (Edersheim's *Life and Times*, &c., i. 267, *f.*).

He is also "the vital germ of it." He is the living and life-giving Head to all its members.

The *Subjects* of the kingdom are admitted by being born again, by change of heart, breaking with the sinful past, reception of Christ's Person and message, formally entering the kingdom through submission to baptism (John iii. 3, 5). As their birth is heavenly, so is their life, in so far as it reaches its true ideal. The royal charter of their rights, privileges, and duties is given in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.–vii.; Luke vi. 20–49). A brief and graphic description of the essential features of the kingdom is given by St. Paul in Rom. xiv. 17. The kingdom is not in word, or mere outward observance, or æsthetic idealism, but in soul-subduing, life-transforming power. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness (in respect of God), peace (in respect of men), and joy in the Holy Ghost (*i.e.* joy in respect of ourselves)."

The *laws* for the guidance of its members come direct "from heaven," or from God; they consist of a few leading eternal principles, such as righteousness (Matt. vi. 33), truth (John xviii. 37), faith (Matt. xvii. 20), and love (Matt. xxii. 40; John xv. 12). The rules of Christian life cannot be completely embodied in any code of ethics. An unction from above is bestowed upon the heavenly citizens (1 John ii. 20, 27). They are guided into all truth by the Holy Spirit, and enabled to apply Gospel principles to their daily needs and requirements (John xvi. 13).

The *Privileges* of the kingdom are, in the present, forgiveness of sins (Matt. xxvi. 28), satisfaction of spiritual wants (John iv. 14; vi. 35, 58), and fellowship with God (John xvii. 21, 22); and in the future, the resurrection of the body (John xi. 23–26), and life everlasting (John iii. 16). Perhaps nowhere in the Bible more than in the eighth chapter of the Romans and in the first chapter of the Ephesians (vers. 3–14) are portrayed the present position and future prospects of the members of Christ, and the inheritors of the kingdom which is "eternal" (2 Pet. i. 11), and "that which shall not be destroyed" (Dan. vii. 14).

The *means* by which the kingdom of God is founded, sustained, and advanced, is primarily the Gospel—the message of God's redeeming grace to men. It is not to be promoted by worldly means of conquest and violence, but by humility, loving service, deeds of mercy, suffering and witnessing for the truth (Matt. xi. 4–6, 29; xviii. 1–4; xx. 20, 25–28; xxvi. 52; John xviii. 36, 37).

The *Consummation* of the kingdom is a subject upon which we have three definite statements in the Scriptures. First, there will be on our Lord's return, then and not till then, *the visible manifestation* of the kingdom. It begins, not as the carnal Jews thought, from *without*, but from *within*—spiritually; but when Christ shall return it shall be manifested outwardly (Col. iii. 4; 1 John iii. 2). The Papacy wrongly anticipates the visible leadership which Christ shall assume at the end of the present order of things, "reigning as kings" without Christ (1 Cor. iv. 8). As the Church of Christ begins at the Pentecost, so the visible kingdom at the Second Advent, and we cannot ante-date it, and all attempts to do so are futile and injurious. "When," as Bengel remarks, "Christianity became a worldly power under Constantine, the future hope was weakened by joy over present success." Our proper attitude during the present is to be looking for the visible manifestation of the King, and the Personal reign of Christ. Without entering upon the vexed question of the Millennium, whether it comes before or after the Second Advent, the Scripture plainly teaches that our Lord at His return will reign with the glorified saints in visible majesty over a renovated earth. How far the description of the Millennium is to be taken figuratively or literally, we have not time here to discuss. All we are here concerned with is the revealed fact that there will be a visible and glorious manifestation of the kingdom at the close of the present dispensation. Secondly, there will be a *final reckoning* with the members of the kingdom. From the parable of the Talents (Matt. xviii. 23–35) and that of the Pounds (Luke xix. 11–27), we learn that to the faithful the rewards will be given on equitable principles, and will be dependent upon the faithful use made of opportunities of service. On the other hand, neglect of spiritual gifts and opportunities ends in forfeiture and eternal disaster. Thirdly, there will be a *final separation*. In the parable of the Tares (Matt. xiii. 24–30; 36–43) we learn the impracticability of the separation of the evil from the good during the present dispensation; while in that of the Draw-net (Matt. xiii. 47–50) we have the assurance that such a separation will be ultimately effected.

Nowhere, perhaps, can the various aspects of the kingdom be studied better than in the Parables of our Lord, which seem to fall into four groups. There are those which treat of: (1) Preliminary principles relative to Christ's kingdom;[1] (2) its establishment in the heart,

[1] The Wicked Husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33–44); the Rich Fool (Luke xii. 16–21); the Marriage of the King's Son (Matt. xxii. 1–14); the Barren Fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6–9); the Great Supper (Luke xiv. 15–24); the Pearl of Great Price (Matt. xiii. 45, 46); the Hid Treasure (Matt. xiii. 44); the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19–31).

and the general laws of its growth;[1] (3) its manifestation;[2] and (4) its consummation[3] (see article on Parable by Prof. W. Milligan in Fairbairn's *Bible Dictionary*, and also Neil's *Teachers' Synoptical Syllabus*, p. 429). One of the first necessities for a right understanding of any of our Lord's Parables is to discover the exact aspect of the kingdom which the Parable is designed to illustrate. In connection with this part of the subject, it may be well to remark that "the kingdom of God" is often used by the trope of metonymy for the possession, enjoyment, privileges, and advantages, &c., of the kingdom (Matt. v. 20; xii. 28; xxi. 43, &c.).

The famous passage in which the expression "*the keys* of the kingdom" occurs demands a passing notice, as it has been adduced as a proof in support of the alleged priestly power of forgiving sins (Matt. xvi. 19, *cf.* xviii. 18). The passage when calmly considered, either by itself or in the light of other statements upon the subject in the New Testament, does not mean that the keys were given to St. Peter for the purpose of admitting into heaven those whom he chose and excluding those whom he rejected. Obviously, Peter did not receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, for the purpose of himself deciding who shall enter or be excluded. Nor were they intended to confer powers which would allow him to interfere with the fixed principles and spiritual relations of the kingdom of heaven. In fine, Peter was not given the kingdom of heaven, but *the keys* of it. The latter is very different from the former. In regard to what they open, the mastery over and possession of the keys may imply ideas ranging from absolute ownership down to a limited control. Although the keys did not confer such priestly power as is frequently claimed, yet they did bestow high special privileges. These were not neglected and explicit mention is made of how they were used. St. Peter used the power of the keys on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14, &c.), when he opened the gates of the kingdom to the Jews, and also, when at Joppa he opened the gates to the Gentiles (Acts x. 34–48), in both instances simply by preaching the gospel to them; and, having opened, refused to close them, notwithstanding the clamour raised against him (Acts xi. 1–18).

An exceedingly interesting question has been raised respecting the kingdom which occupies so prominent a place in our Lord's teaching, viz. "the kingdom" falling so completely into the background in the Epistles,[4] as is the case if we except its eschatological aspects, and the Church *generally* taking its place. Much difficulty has been felt upon this point. But, on a little consideration, it will be seen that this was quite the natural order of things. The *fundamental idea* of the new economy is that of the kingdom. It was well that this idea should be clearly stated, and definitely fixed in the minds of the believers at the commencement of the Christian dispensation. The kingdom, however, in its highest and grandest conception, was not to be set up till Christ's return, and meanwhile, its visible manifestation was to be the Church, by whose aid the kingdom in its preliminary stages was to be mainly extended. When speaking of the final issues of things, though the Church is not wholly lost sight of (Heb. xii. 23; Rev. xxi. 2; *cf.* Eph. v. 25–32), yet the fundamental conception of the kingdom finds its due place in the teaching of the Apostles (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10; xv. 24, 50; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5; 1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. 1, 5; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 18; 2 Peter i. 11).

In the one passage in the Bible that speaks in detail of "the end of all things," beyond which the vision of Christian eschatology does not look, we are told that the mediatorial kingdom is to be delivered up (1 Cor. xv. 24). The divine kingdom, however, "shall have no end" (Luke i. 33), and "shall not pass away" (Dan. vii. 14). The final thought left upon our mind is that of "the kingdoms of the world" becoming "the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ" in the far-off vistas of eternity (Rev. xi. 15).

See Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*. Candlish, *The Kingdom of God*. James Orr, *The Ritschlian Theology and Evangelical Faith*, chaps. v. and viii.; *The Christian View of God and the World* (1893), Appendix. Articles in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, by James Orr on the Kingdom of God, and by W. Sanday on Jesus Christ, pp. 619–622. [C. N.]

[1] The Sower (Matt. xiii. 3–8); the Seed Growing Secretly (Mark. iv. 26–29); the Wheat and the Tares (Matt. xiii. 24–30); the Mustard Seed (Matt. xiii, 31, 32); the Leaven (Matt. xiii. 33).

[2] The Two Debtors (Luke vii. 41–43); the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 30–37); the Two Sons (Matt. xxi. 28–32); the Unmerciful Son (Matt. xviii. 23–35); the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1–9); the Friend at Midnight (Luke xi. 5–8); the Unjust Judge (Luke xviii. 1–8); the Pharisee and Publican (Luke xviii. 9–14); the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1–16); the Lost Sheep (Matt. xviii. 12–14); the Lost Coin (Luke xv. 8–10); the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11–32); the Unprofitable Servant (Luke xvii. 7–10); the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1–13); the Talents (Matt. xxv. 14–30).

[3] The Pounds (Luke xix. 11–27); the Draw-net (Matt. xiii. 47–50).

[4] In Col. i. 13, James ii. 5, Rev. i. 9, the reference is to the kingdom in its present form.

KISS.—It is unnecessary here to notice at length the use of the kiss in salutations in early times, such as those mentioned in Gen. xxxiii. 4, 1 Sam. xx. 41, and many other places. The kiss as a token of love in common use among the civilised nations like the Greek and Romans was enjoined by St. Paul on four occasions (Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26), and the kiss of love in 2 Peter, v. 14. It was only natural that it should have been imported into the Church, and "the kiss of peace" be imparted at the Holy Communion, as mentioned by Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, i. 65). That this usage should be prevented in later days, and lead on to the unscriptural separation of the sexes at the Christian meeting-places, was only natural to fallen nature. The kiss of peace in the Roman Mass is imparted by the bishop, when present, and passed on to the officiating priests. A survival of the old usage was still extant in the thirteenth century, when the *osculatorium*, or a plate with the figure of Christ upon it (called also *tabella pacis*, or *pax*, &c.), was kissed by the priest and then handed on to be kissed by the congregation. The *pax* is now not given at Low Mass, and at High Mass an embrace is substituted, and that given only to those within the sanctuary. At baptism a kiss used also to be given, and at ordination, and at espousals. The kiss was also given to the dying, and in the Greek Church even to the dead.

In the Mass the priest repeatedly kisses the altar, in token of reverence and for other reasons. The Gospel is also kissed. The Pope's feet are kissed by those admitted to audiences, the kiss being given on the golden cross of the sandal of the right foot. This was really an Oriental custom. The Pope's hand and foot are also kissed by the cardinals after his election. See SALUTATIONS.

[C. H. H. W.]

KNOX, JOHN.—John Knox, the hero and the historian of the Scottish Reformation, was born at or near Haddington[1] in 1505, of respectable, although undistinguished parentage. He was educated, probably, at Haddington School, and in 1522 entered Glasgow University, where he had among his teachers John Major, a native like himself, of East Lothian, and then in the zenith of his fame. Major was a conservative Reformer, who united adherence to Roman doctrine with opposition to papal aggression and ecclesiastical abuse. From him the student would learn the Church's need of practical reformation, and also the advanced political doctrine which Knox afterwards strenuously upheld, that "the nation is above the king, who exists for the good of the people, not they for his."

While Knox was preparing for the priesthood, Patrick Hamilton inaugurated the Reformation conflict by preaching Lutheran doctrine at St. Andrews; and his martyrdom in 1528 issued, on the one hand, in a policy of stern repression and persecution under the successive primateship of James and David Beaton, on the other hand, in the wider propagation of Reformed doctrine; for "the reek of Patrick Hamilton" (so Knox records), "infected all on whom it blew." There is no reason to suppose that at this period Knox contemplated secession from Rome, for, at some date prior to 1540 he was ordained as priest. He may have begun, however, to have doubts as to Roman doctrine, for he does not seem ever to have sought a benefice, but occupied himself first as a notary and afterwards as a tutor. The earliest trace of Knox's sympathy with the Reformation movement belongs to the year 1543, when he was already in middle life; and, as in the case of Luther, spiritual experience was the precursor of ecclesiastical conviction. The Earl of Arran was then Regent, and still a supporter of the Reform cause. He had appointed as his evangelical chaplains John Rough, an ex-monk of Stirling, and Thomas William, formerly a Dominican friar of East Lothian. While listening to the latter preacher (probably a personal acquaintance) Knox first "received a lively impression of the truth" (D. Buchanan's *Life and Death of Knox*, 1644). The impression was deepened by intercourse with George Wishart, who in 1544 or 1545 began his itinerating ministry in Scotland as a Reformed preacher. Knox was at that time tutor to Francis and George Douglas, sons of the laird of Longniddry, and to Alexander Cockburn, son of the laird of Ormiston. He "waited"—so he tells us himself—"upon Wishart carefully" when the latter was preaching in East Lothian; and he was in Haddington church when the Reformer preached his last sermon there on the night of his arrest (January 1547). He was eager to accompany Wishart to Ormiston, where the latter was to pass the night, but the future martyr, foreboding what impended, refused his company with the words, "Nay; return to your bairns (*i.e.* pupils) and God bless you: one is sufficient for a sacrifice." In the spring of 1547, after Wishart's martyrdom and the subsequent assassination of Beaton, Knox, whose ardent love for the Reformer moved him to condone (although he was not implicated in) the conspiracy against the cardinal, repaired for

[1] The honour of being the Reformer's birthplace is now regarded as lying between Giffordgate, close to the town, on the other side of the Tyne, and Morham, four miles off within Haddington constabulary (Hume Brown's *John Knox*, i. 9).

safety to the castle of St. Andrews, accompanied by his three pupils at their fathers' request. The castle was then held by the conspirators and other adherents of the Reformation. There Knox, who, when urged to preach, had replied that he "would not run where God had not called him," received a call to the Reformed ministry by that *vox populi* which, in this case at least, was also *vox Dei*. The call was presented to him by John Rough, ex-chaplain of the Regent, in the name of the castle congregation. After some days' consideration it was accepted by Knox, and he inaugurated his ministry with a trenchant sermon in the parish church of St. Andrews—a sermon of which it was said at the time, "Others hewed the branches of the Papacy; but he strikes at the root." The Reform movement spread in the city, and Knox further signalised his ministry there by introducing for the first time (presumably in the castle) the public celebration of the Holy Communion with a Protestant ritual. The Reform cause was thus developed into a Reformed Church. In July 1547, the garrison of the castle surrendered after a French fleet had arrived to co-operate with the Regent's forces; and Knox, who had boldly warned the besieged that the corrupt lives of a portion of them would bring upon all a divine judgment, was sent, among others, to labour in the French galleys. After nineteen months of physical hardship, which seriously impaired his health and strength, he was at length liberated in the spring of 1549, his release being due, apparently, to negotiations for exchange of prisoners, initiated by the English Government with those of Scotland and France. Gratitude to his liberators, along with the conviction that his vocation to the Reformed ministry could not meanwhile be effectively fulfilled in Scotland, induced Knox to settle as a Reformed preacher in England under Edward VI. He ministered for about two years with marked success at Berwick, where he became acquainted with his future wife, Marjory Bowes, whom he married in 1553 (or 1555). In 1551 he removed to Newcastle, where he had already distinguished himself by a powerful address against the idolatry of the mass, delivered in April 1550 before the "Council of the North." His ecclesiastical standing and distinction in England at this period are attested by his appointment in 1551 as one of six Royal Chaplains, and by an offer made to him in 1552, at Northumberland's instigation, of the bishopric of Rochester. This offer he declined, partly from "foresight of trouble" and disapproval of English "prelates' great dominions," but also, we may be assured, because he looked forward eventually to service of the Reform cause in his native land. As a royal chaplain he had some share in the revision of Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book, and also of the "Forty-two Articles"; in particular, to Knox's influence was ascribed at the time what was afterwards called the "Black Rubric" of the Prayer Book, disavowing adoration of the bread and wine. (But see *Black* RUBRIC.) At Edward's death in July 1553, Knox was in no hurry to leave his post; but ultimately, yielding to the counsel of friends, he sailed from England early in the year after Mary Tudor's accession, and arrived in Dieppe, whence he proceeded to Switzerland. There he became acquainted with Calvin at Geneva, and with Bullinger at Zürich. In November 1554 he accepted a call to minister to the congregation of English Protestant refugees at Frankfort; but after a few months he resigned his charge, owing chiefly to contentions which had arisen as to forms of worship, and to strong personal opposition towards himself by a section of the congregation. In the spring of 1555 Knox was appointed to the ministry of the English Congregation in Geneva. He was in constant communication, however, with friends at home, and an account which he received from his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes, of an improvement in the ecclesiastical position of Scotland, induced him to visit his native land about the end of September 1555. By this time Mary of Guise had superseded Arran in the Regency, and, with a view of securing the help of the Reformed nobility in furthering a marriage between her daughter Mary and the Dauphin of France, was protecting Protestants from persecution. During the winter and spring of 1555–56 Knox preached evangelical doctrine in various parts of the country with much success. He persuaded the Reforming leaders to cease from attendance at mass, and to follow the example which he had set at St. Andrews eight years before, of celebrating the Communion according to a Protestant form of worship. He also made a bold, although vain, attempt to win over the Regent to the Reformation by a gracious acknowledgment of her clemency, and a conciliatory counsel to decide between the two forms of faith by "laying the Book of God before your eyes." The hierarchy, alarmed at Knox's success, cited him to appear before them in May, hoping probably that he would flee; but when Knox appeared fearlessly in Edinburgh to answer the citation, the bishops, unable to count on the Regent's support, departed from the trial on pretence of some informality in procedure. A summons from Geneva, however, to return to his charge there, along, probably, with the conviction that the

Reform cause in Scotland would be benefited by a period of quiet development after nine months of agitation, induced Knox in July to set out for Geneva, where he arrived, accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law, in September 1556. A year later, a letter from Lords of the Congregation led to his departure again for Scotland, but he was met at Dieppe by communications counselling postponement. By March 1558 he was back in Geneva, which he finally left early in 1559, and after a stay of six weeks in Dieppe, during which he largely increased through his preaching the Protestant community, he reached Scotland on the 2nd of May 1559.

During the three years which had intervened since his former visit, the way had been gradually prepared for the final conflict. The policy of the Reformers (largely owing to a tonic administered by Knox through correspondence) had become more firm in resistance; and a Covenant had been adopted by which the signatories bound themselves to mutual self-defence in the maintenance of the principles of the Reformation. On the other hand, the Regent's policy had been changed from outward friendliness to undisguised hostility. She had accomplished the marriage of her daughter to the Dauphin; the co-operation of the Reformers was no longer required; and she now felt free to carry out the anti-Protestant designs which characterised the policy of her family. Finally, the hierarchy, through more cordial relations with the Regent, had become more boldly aggressive, and persecution had been renewed culminating in the martyrdom of Walter Mill at St. Andrews in 1558. Immediately before Knox's arrival, four notable preachers, Methven, Christison, Harlaw, and Willock, had been cited to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May; a few days after Knox landed they had been proclaimed as outlaws for non-appearance. It was a virtual declaration of war, and the Reform party took up the challenge. A sermon by Knox at Perth against Romish idolatry was followed by a series of violent assaults on churches and monasteries, without his sanction—the work of what he calls the "rascal multitude"—by a gathering of influential Reformers at St. Andrews, where Knox, in spite of the Primate Hamilton's threats, preached significantly on the Cleansing of the Temple; and by the assembling at Cupar of a considerable Protestant army under the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart. The necessity of meeting the increasing Reformed forces with an adequate counter-force caused the Regent to employ French auxiliaries so largely that patriotic Scotsmen, even outside the Reformed party, began to be afraid of French political aggression. The Reformers were thus enabled, with less peril to their cause than formerly, to enter into open alliance with England, and to receive the support of an English army. The conflict was already in progress when in June 1560 the Regent died in Edinburgh Castle. On her death-bed she wisely advised the leaders of the two parties to arrange for the departure of both French and English troops; and on the 6th of July a treaty was signed at Leith, in accordance with which all foreign soldiers were to leave the country, and a Parliament was summoned at once for the peaceful settlement of ecclesiastical affairs without the trammels of foreign influence.

In all these proceedings, Knox had been a leading counsellor of the reforming nobility, as well as the chief instrument, through his sermons in St. Giles' and elsewhere, of enlightening and arousing the people. One of the first Acts of the Parliament now convened was the acceptance of a Confession of Faith, embodying Protestant doctrine, drawn up by Knox, with the aid of his chief colleagues. Simultaneously the papal jurisdiction was abrogated; all doctrine inconsistent with the Confession was condemned; and the celebration of mass was interdicted under penalty of confiscation for a first offence, banishment for a second, and death for a third.

The work of ecclesiastical demolition had been accomplished; the yet more arduous task of ecclesiastical reconstruction remained. Here also, Knox is the most prominent figure on the historical canvas; and his life continues to be one of constant conflict. (*a*) Least serious were his contendings with Roman controversialists. A public debate in 1561, arranged by the Estates, between Principal Anderson of Aberdeen, along with Lesley, afterwards "Bishop of Ross," representing the Roman Church, and Knox, Willock, and Goodman, representing the Reformed faith, issued, according to Lesley (*Hist.*, p. 293) in "nothing being concludit"; while, according to Knox, the nobility declared, "We have been miserably deceived heretofore." In the following year, a three days' discussion at Maybole in Ayrshire between Knox and Abbot Kennedy before forty gentlemen, drifted tediously into a disputation as to whether Melchizedek's bread and wine were meant to be a sacrifice to God, or only a feast for men. And the controversy between Knox and Ninian Wingate of Linlithgow (who, like Kennedy, adhered to Roman doctrine while protesting against Romish abuses), was cut short by civil proceedings against Wingate, who escaped

penalty only by timely flight to the Continent. (*b*) More serious was the opposition, partly active, partly passive, which Knox and his fellow Reformers encountered from a large portion of the population, especially in the northern counties and in the extreme south of Scotland. Multitudes, moreover, who submitted to the destruction of a corrupt and oppressive Roman Church and hierarchy, clung tenaciously to various superstitious usages. Such opposition and superstition Knox met by an appeal to the civil power to compel attendance on Sundays at Reformed worship, and more laudably by an educational organisation, which only want of funds (due, as we shall see, to the selfishness of landowners) prevented him from bringing to completion. (*c*) Along with widespread popular prejudice Knox had to struggle against the undermining influence of the Queen. Mary, who returned to Scotland in 1561, soon discerned in Knox the chief opponent of her policy to secure for Romanism present toleration with a view to eventual reascendancy; while Knox, after his first interview with the Queen, "espied in her such craft as I have not found in such age," along with an "indurate heart against God." Knox was as impervious to her fascination as Mary was to his plain-spoken remonstrances. In the earlier years of her reign the Queen had, on the whole, the best of the encounter. Through the influence of Moray and Maitland of Lethington she secured from her Council toleration for the mass in Holyrood Chapel, notwithstanding the recent statute, and Knox's protest in St. Giles' that "one mass was more fearful than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed to suppress the whole religion." She won over to her allegiance not a few Protestant courtiers by what Knox sarcastically calls the "Holy Water of the Court." During the first four years of her personal government she earned, in spite of Knox, what, from his point of view as a Reformer, was a perilous popularity. Her influence in Court and in country virtually constrained the Earl of Moray and her other Protestant Ministers of State to yield so much to her personal wishes that a prolonged estrangement ensued between Knox and Moray, very prejudicial to the Reform cause. After her marriage with Darnley, when she was strong enough to defy and to drive into exile leading Protestant nobles, Knox was first silenced for preaching significantly in Darnley's presence about Ahab and Jezebel, and subsequently constrained to retire into Ayrshire. Had Mary at this juncture followed up her success with moderate prudence, a counter-revolution might have ensued adverse to Knox and his fellow-Reformers. But, at the moment when victory seemed to be within the Queen's grasp, she lost all through a succession of follies or worse. Her unwise partiality towards Rizzio, through which her husband was exasperated and her nobility alienated; her quarrel with Darnley, and his subsequent assassination under circumstances that appeared to many to indicate connivance; finally, her mad marriage with the murderer Bothwell—combined to arrest the incipient Romish reaction, despoiled her even of Romanist favour, paved the way for her deposition, and became the occasion of thorough reconciliation and cordial co-operation henceforth between Knox and Moray. The Reformer preached at the Coronation of the infant James, and supported cordially the appointment of Moray to the Regency. (*d*) To Knox, the most disappointing, because the least expected, hindrance in the work of ecclesiastical reconstruction was the attitude of the lay leaders of the Scottish Reformation. In some particulars, indeed, Knox and his ministerial colleagues had a free hand. As we have seen, the Estates adopted at once the Reformed Confession. No opposition, also, was offered to the Book of Common Order which had been composed by Knox (on the basis chiefly of Calvin's liturgy), and which supplied forms of worship, while leaving to ministerial discretion some liberty of modification in details. At this first stage of its history, moreover, the Reformed Scottish Church, under Knox's guidance, was allowed to adopt freely, through the First Book of Discipline, a moderate form of ecclesiastical government, mainly Presbyterian, yet recognising, so far, the principle of episcopacy by the temporary or tentative institution of Superintendents; although these did not, like the bishops, constitute a hierarchy, but were subject to the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. In regard, however, to what Knox regarded as vital matters, his thorough-going policy was opposed by what he regarded as weak compromise and unworthy selfishness. On the one hand, as already indicated, the Protestant Lords sanctioned the Holyrood mass, and they also refused to put in effective operation the statutes which they themselves had enacted against Romanism. What they considered a needful concession to prevent civil war, Knox judged to be the cherishing of a snake which might by-and-by kill the Protestantism by which it was tolerated. On the other hand, the Reformer found that many who had been zealous in pulling down the old Church opposed any liberal and adequate provision for maintaining the new. In the First Book of Discipline it had been assumed that the ecclesiastical patrimony would be transferred to the Reformed Church, and a distri-

bution into three parts had been proposed—one for the maintenance of the ministry, another for the education of youth, a third for relief of the poor—subject, presumably, to temporary deductions for the subsistence of the surviving unreformed clergy. But to such a scheme the nobility, as a whole, were opposed; and the Book of Discipline (which Maitland described as a "devout imagination") was never legalised; mainly because in the pre-Reformation period, a large portion of the Church's patrimony had been illegally and unrighteously alienated from the Church, and had been transferred for various "considerations" to lay hands, so that justice to the Church would have meant for Protestant landowners extensive disgorgement. Eventually Knox and his colleagues had to be content with one half of an assessment of one-third imposed on Church property, the other half being assigned to the Crown. Even this residuary sixth was trenched upon, and the inadequacy of ecclesiastical revenue led to the "planting" of Reformed churches being imperfectly carried out, to the superintendentship never receiving a fair trial, and to Knox's educational system coming into operation only in a mutilated form.

Under the regency of Moray (August 1567 to January 1570), when the danger of a Roman Catholic counter-revolution had diminished, Knox was able to co-operate cordially with the Regent, who, notwithstanding national troubles, was less hampered by politics than before in his Protestant ecclesiastical policy. Knox was now restored to the position of power which he had occupied at the time of the Reformation, and he had the satisfaction of witnessing the full constitutional establishment of the Reformed Church in December 1567, as well as the inauguration by the State of a more considerate treatment of the Church's ministry. Moray's assassination clouded with anxiety for the religious future of Scotland the Reformer's declining years. That tragedy—so Knox declared—left the Reformed Church as a "flock without a shepherd, a ship without a rudder in the midst of the storm." At this crisis, however, under Knox's influence, the Church, amid much vacillation and considerable declension on the part of the Protestant nobility, declined all opportunities of alliance, however tempting, with the party which favoured Mary's restoration, and preferred to endure the grievance, under Morton's virtual rule, of the State's interference with the Church's government and inroads upon her revenues. Knox was living at St. Andrews, in poor health after an attack of apoplexy, when the General Assembly, in the summer of 1572, acquiesced in the Concordat of Leith through which episcopacy, in a modified form, was restored; the bishop, however, like the superintendent, being subject to the General Assembly. He made no express protest against the Concordat, but urged the introduction of certain safeguards against abuses. He declared, however, his misgivings as to the outcome, and declined to take part in the inauguration of Archbishop Douglas, whose appointment he anathematised as simoniacal.

When tidings of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Eve and Day reached Scotland, Knox was already back in Edinburgh, and from his pulpit in the Tolbooth thundered forth divine vengeance against that "cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France." It was among his latest pulpit efforts. His last public appearance was in November, when James Lawson of Aberdeen was inducted as his successor, and when Knox himself conducted the service. He praised God for giving to his flock one in his room, and prayed fervently that any gifts he had possessed might be bestowed on his successor a thousandfold. His voice was so weak that few could hear. He went home from the church to his death-bed, and fifteen days later—on the 24th November 1572—he breathed his last. Among numerous death-bed sayings recorded of him, none is more touching than his answer to a lady who thought to comfort the dying Reformer with warm eulogy of his great life-work: "Tongue, tongue, lady: flesh of itself is overproud, and needeth no means to esteem itself."[1]

The character of Knox is not perfect. A certain hardness of disposition, due in great measure to his experience and environment, rendered him repellent to Queen Mary, and generated that intolerance which characterises most earnest men in critical times. But a man of gentler mould could hardly have accomplished the signal work which was given him to do; and he stands forth as the greatest and noblest Scot of his age—heroic in his absolute fearlessness, sublime in his single-

[1] Recorded by Richard Bannatyne (Laing's *Works of Knox*, vi. 640). By his first wife, who died in 1560, Knox had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, born at Geneva in 1557 and 1558 respectively. They both became students of Cambridge University very soon after their father's death. The former died in 1580; the latter became Vicar of Clacton in the Archdeaconry of Colchester, and died in 1591. By his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Stewart of Ochiltree in Ayrshire, whom he married in 1564, the Reformer had three daughters, who all married, the youngest becoming the wife of the notable Presbyterian divine, John Welsh.

minded and disinterested devotion to duty; with a love of country subordinate only to his love of truth, and with even an underlying tenderness,[1] which was repressed only by the constant necessity of conflict and the stern sense of responsibility. To Knox might have been applied the words which Racine put into the mouth of the reforming High-Priest, Jehoiada, "I fear God, and have no other fear." "Here lieth," was Regent Morton's memorable utterance over his grave, "a man who in his life never feared the face of man."

Literature.—The *Works of Knox* (Laing's edition), especially his *History of the Reformation;* Calderwood's *Kirk of Scotland;* the Biographies of McCrie and of Hume Brown; Cunningham's *History of the Church of Scotland;* Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England;* Burton's *History of Scotland;* Froude's *History of England;* Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship;* Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation;* Moncrieff's *Infl. of Knox and the Scottish Ref. on England.* [H. C.]

KYRIE ELEISON.—This is the Greek for "Lord have mercy (upon us)." The Greek words are retained in the prayers of the Roman Church. Such phrases, indeed, are survivals of ancient practice at a time when Greek was the language of even the Roman Liturgy.

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LABARUM.—The labarum, and probably even its name, were familiar to the Roman army from a much earlier period than the age of Constantine the Great. The celebrated labarum of Constantine was the ordinary "vexillum," or standard of the cavalry, a Christian character being then for the first time (A.D. 312) given to its symbols and decorations. It was a piece of textile material of square shape, elevated upon a pole, and suspended from a cross-bar, by which it was kept expanded. In the upper part was a sacred monogram consisting of the first two Greek letters of the name of Christ intersected together in the form of a cross. This was enclosed within a chaplet, and took the place formerly occupied by the Eagle of Victory.

The labarum thus Christianised was for a long time borne at the head of the Roman armies, and was treasured as a sacred relic at Constantinople. Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his Life of Constantine (chaps. xxvii.-xxxi.), gives a full account of the circumstances which led to its adoption, viz., the vision which Constantine alleged to have been seen by him of the luminous cross in the sky, bearing the inscription "Conquer by this." Constantine declared that Christ appeared to him the same night, and commanded him to procure a standard made in the likeness of that sign, and to use it as a safeguard in battle. This event, if historical, took place either in the beginning of Constantine's decisive struggle with Maxentius, or on the eve of the final battle of Saxa Rubra under the walls of Rome. It may be noted that (1) Lactantius confirms the story in all essentials; (2) Constantine related it to Eusebius at the close of his life, when he could have had no motive for deception; (3) Eusebius is not at all a credulous writer; (4) if ever a miraculous intervention was to be expected, it would be on the eve of the final struggle with Paganism. Dean Milman remarks that while modern inquiry has destroyed the authority of the vision, it has found no satisfactory explanation of its origin. See article LABARUM in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, and Milman's *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. pp. 284-288. See CROSS. [C. J. C.]

LADY DAY.—The feast of the Annunciation, March 25, is known as Lady Day. This is presumed to have been the date of the visit of the angel Gabriel to Mary at Nazareth. Tillemont and other writers tell us that this date was chosen because it is nine months before Christmas. Benedict XIV. asserts that the 25th of March was known by ancient tradition to have been the actual day of the angel's visit. Yet the Council of Toledo in the seventh century ordered the feast of the Annunciation to be kept on January 18th. The Bollandists, more daring than Benedict, say the date may have been of Apostolic institution. Among the common people the 25th of March is not regarded as a festival of special importance. The 15th of August, the supposed date of Mary's translation to heaven, and the 8th of September, the feast of Mary's nativity, are always known as "the two Lady Days." These are always observed as high festivals, and in Ireland a great amount of so-called devotions at "patrons," holy wells, and such-like, are crowded into the interval between the two dates. In the Greek menologies, and the calendars of the Copts, Syrians, Chaldeans, and other Eastern Churches, Lady Day is celebrated, as in the Latin Church, on March the 25th. [T. C.]

LAMB.—See GREEK CHURCH.

LAMBETH ARTICLES.—See ARTICLES, THE LAMBETH.

LAMMAS.—The word Lammas (*Hlaf Mæsse*) is Anglo-Saxon, and most probably denotes Loaf Mass, because on that day (August 1) a thanksgiving was made for the fruits of

[1] His correspondence with Mrs. Bowes, his account of Wishart, and the impression produced by his sermon at the Regent's funeral afford ample evidence of this trait of character.

the earth, and offerings were presented. In the Sarum Manual, Lammas Day is called *Benedictio Novorum Fructuum*. Some think Lammas to be a corruption of Lamb Mass, on the ground that lambs were presented at that time. The tenants of the chapter of York Minster formerly paid a tribute of a live lamb on August 1. An ancient Welsh name for the day signifies "lamb tithing day." The festival is also called that of St. Peter's Chains, and commemorates the release of that Apostle. It is observed on August 1st in the Roman Church, on January 16th in the Greek Church, and on January 22nd in the Armenian Church. None of these dates can well represent the actual time of the deliverance, which was that of Easter (Acts xii.). There is much doubt whether the "chains" refer to the Herodian persecution in Jerusalem, or to the persecution under Nero at Rome (A.D. 64). The *Catholic Dictionary* states that from the beginning of the seventh century, "and how long before that it is impossible to determine," the festival of St. Peter *ad Vincula* was celebrated at Rome on August 1st. The festival is not found in the Sacramentary of Pope Gelasius, nor in the Gallican nor Mozarabic Liturgies; it occurs in the Gregorian Sacramentary, where the reference points to the Herodian persecution.

There are *two* churches in Rome, and not one only, connected with this subject: (1) that of *San Pietro in Vinculis* on the Esquiline Hill; (2) that of *San Pietro in Carcere*, on the Capitoline. This certainly points to a double stream of tradition. [C. J. C.]

LAMPS.—See LIGHTS.

LANCE or SPEAR.—See GREEK CHURCH.

LAPSE (*lapsus*) is defined by Phillimore "as a slip or departure from a right of presentation to a void benefice, when the proper patron has neglected to present within six months next after the avoidance, and that benefice is commonly said to have lapsed, to which he that ought to present has lost his opportunity to." In such a case the patronage devolves from the patron to the bishop, from the bishop to the Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitan to the King. When the vacancy of the benefice is occasioned by deprivation, or resignation into the hands of the bishop, the six months date from the time that the bishop gives notice to the patron. If the living becomes vacant by the incumbent taking another (cession), or death, no notice need be given. [E. B. W.]

LATERAN COUNCILS.—See COUNCILS.

LATRIA.—The term Latria (λατρεία) means service, whether offered to God or man. St. Augustine (*Contra Faust.*, xx. 21) adopted it as a convenient technical term for that supreme worship which can lawfully be offered to God alone. But Latria is used classically of *service done to man*. Since Augustine's time the word has become familiar in Latin theology. Roman theologians, when pressed on the point that Roman Catholics broke the Second Commandment in making and worshipping images, discovered two other terms which have become familiar in the schools. Hyperdulia, they assure us, is the worship which Roman Catholics render to the Virgin. That word, however, does not occur in biblical Greek. Hyperdulia, Roman theologians affirm, is incomparably inferior to the worship rendered to God, but is also a higher veneration than that given to the saints. The latter they designate by the term *Dulia* (δουλεία). *Dulia* is, however, never used in the New Testament of any *religious worship*. Nothing is said in Scripture of the Hyperdulia or Dulia of the Roman theologians. [T. C.]

LAUDIAN THEOLOGY.—The theology of the historical High Church school in the Church of England.

Laud is generally regarded as the head and chief of English High Churchmen. Having been Archbishop of Canterbury, he is naturally selected from among the Caroline divines as their representative, and it was the Caroline divines of the seventeenth century who carried High Churchmanship as far as is admissible in the Church of England. The object of the present article is to show that Laudian theology, be it right or wrong, does not justify the modern Ritualist school.

The first characteristic of the Ritualist school is a depreciation of the Reformation. Laud, on the contrary, describes it as a "reformation of an old corrupted Church," "their part remaining in corruption and our part under reformation; the same Naaman, and he a Syrian still, but leprous with them, and cleansed with us" (*Epist. Dedic. to Conference with Fisher*). Would a Ritualist regard the Roman Church as *leprous* and the Anglican Church as *cleansed from leprosy* by the Reformation?

Ritualists are also in the custom of condemning, or sneering at the way in which the Reformation was conducted. Neither in this are they the disciples of Laud. Laud says, "The Church of England cast off the Pope's usurpation, and as much as in her lay, restored the king to his right. That appears by a book subscribed by the bishops in Henry VIII.'s time, and by the records in the Archbishop's office, orderly kept, and to be seen. In the Reformation which came after, our princes had their part, and the clergy theirs, and to these two principally the power and direction for reformation belonged. That our princes

had their part is manifest by their calling together of the bishops and other of the clergy to consider of that which might seem wanting of reformation. And the clergy did their part, for being thus called together by regal power, they met in the National Synod of 1562, and the Articles, there agreed on, were afterwards confirmed by Act of State and the royal assent. In this Synod the positive truths which are delivered are more than the polemics, so that a mere calumny it is, that we profess only a negative religion. True it is, and we must thank Rome for it, our Confession must needs contain some negatives, for we cannot but deny that images are to be adored, nor can we admit maimed sacraments, nor grant prayers in an unknown tongue; and in a corrupt time or place, it is as necessary for a religion to deny falsehood as to assert and vindicate truth. Indeed this latter can hardly be well and sufficiently done but by the former, an affirmative verity being ever included in the negative to a falsehood" (*Conference*, § 24).

Ritualists charge Reformers, whether of the sixteenth century in England or of the nineteenth century on the Continent, with schism. Laud repels the charge, and throws it back on Rome. "The cause of the schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses. For a schism must be theirs whose the cause of it is" (*Conference*, § 21).

While depreciating the Reformation and its methods, and charging it with schism, Ritualists make light of the corrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome. But this is what Laud says about them: "There is peril, great peril, of damnable both schism and heresy and other sins, by living and dying in the Roman faith, tainted with so many superstitions, as at this day it is, and their tyranny to boot." He allows "the possibility of salvation" to Romanists, not as Romanists, but as Christians, "though they hazard themselves extremely by keeping so close to that which is superstition, and in the case of images, comes too near idolatry" (*ibid.* § 35). "In some instances they have erred in the foundation or very near it" (*ibid.* § 38). "That there are errors in doctrine, and some of them such as must manifestly endanger salvation, in the Church of Rome, is evident to those that will not shut their eyes" (*ibid.* § 24). "I pray whose device was transubstantiation, and whose, communion under one kind, and whose, deposition and unthroning, nay killing, of princes, and the like, if they were not yours? . . . Is there no superstition in adoration of images? None in invocation of saints? None in the adoration of the sacrament? Is there no error in breaking Christ's own institution of the sacrament by giving it but in one kind? None about Purgatory? About common prayer in an unknown tongue, none? These and many more are in the Roman religion; and it is no hard work to prove every one of them to be error or superstition or both" (*ibid.* § 39). "A man may believe the whole and entire Catholic Faith, even as St. Athanasius requires, and yet justly refuse for dross a great part of that which is now the Roman Faith" (*ibid.* § 38). Laud proceeds to condemn invocation of saints, adoration of images, Purgatory and other definite Romish doctrines, and scoffs at the idea of Trent having been an Œcumenical Council.

The dogma which makes Ritualism to be what it is, is the objective presence of Christ *in the elements*, for from it follow the doctrines of the mass and all the practices and ceremonies appropriate to the mass. The objective presence in the elements is merely an unscientific form of transubstantiation (or possibly consubstantiation). Condemning transubstantiation and the mass, the Caroline divines condemned the objective presence in the elements, and that condemnation was firm and unhesitating. "It cannot be proved by Scripture, and taken properly, cannot stand with the grounds of the Christian religion," says Laud of transubstantiation (*Conference*, § 33). "It is safest to leave the Church of Rome, in this particular, to her superstitions, that I may say no more," he writes about the mass (*ibid.* § 35). Andrewes says that "Zion would shudder at, and utterly repudiate the idea of worshipping the Deity hiding there under the species and formed in a flour-mill" (*Sermon before Frederick Count Palatine*). Cosin says that it was to exclude this notion that "the words *fiat nobis corpus et sanguis Domini* were altered into what they now are" (*Notes on the Prayer Book*). Taylor says, "He is not there according to His human nature" (*Letter*). Bull declares the tenet "bids defiance to all the reason and sense of mankind" (*Corruptions of the Church of Rome*). Beveridge says that from the truth that worthy receivers of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper partake of the body and blood of Christ, "the devil took occasion to draw men into the opinion that the bread which is used in that sacrament is the very body that was crucified upon the cross, and the wine, after consecration, the very blood that gushed out of His pierced side" (*Discourse upon the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 470). The tenet was first introduced into the Church of England by Robert Isaac Wilberforce shortly before he joined the Church of Rome about fifty years ago. No previous authority can be found for it, though

Dr. Pusey's teaching, a little earlier, had pointed in that direction.

In short, no justification of Ritualism, its special doctrines, practices, and ceremonies, can be derived from the old historical High Church party, represented by Laud and the divines of the seventeenth century. It is a product of the last half of the nineteenth century, an exotic without ancestry in the Church of England. [F. M.]

LAUDS.—Part of the "hours" or services for each day in the Roman Church. "Lauds" (*Praises*) is generally included in "Matins."

LAVABO.—Literally, "I will wash." Occurs in the Latin Version of Psalm xxv. 1. The word is used to designate the washing of the priest's hands in the "Mass." The Church of England does not direct any such ceremonial.

LAY COMMUNION.—This term is frequently made use of in dealing with offences committed by the clergy for which they were deprived of office, and reduced to "lay communion." The beginnings of the phrase are to be found in the so-called "Apostolical Canons." Cyprian speaks of the same, as does Eusebius, and others. The matter is well discussed by Scudamore in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*

LAYMAN.—A marked distinction between the people and the priests prevailed during the time of the Old Testament. But, although Israelites who were not priests could give no "attendance at the altar," it is worthy of note that they acted in some respects as sacrificers. In the case of the Passover the father of each family slew the paschal lamb, while circumcision could be performed by any Israelite, and did not require the presence of a priest. The sprinkling of the blood upon the altar (and also on the mercy-seat on the Day of Atonement) seems to have been the function reserved in all cases for the priests (see Lev. i. 5; iii. 8; xvi. 14, 15, 18). In the days of our Lord the rule was that the blood of the victim should be received by the priests in consecrated vessels (see Edersheim, *The Temple and its Ministry*, pp. 133, 191). But the fact is significant that even under the old dispensation the presence of priests was not *essential* in the case of the two great sacraments of the Mosaic Law. The distinction in the New Testament Dispensation between the ministers and the laity to whom they ministered was simply a matter of convenience or order, though it soon began to be interpreted in a manner which led ultimately to the establishment of that unscriptural position assumed in the Church of mediæval times.

LAZARISTS was one of those Orders in the Roman Catholic Church, which had for its main object to counteract the work of the Reformation on the Continent. It was founded by St. Vincent de Paul, the son of a Gascon peasant born in 1576. The Society was called *Priests of the Mission*, or Lazarists, from St. Lazare in Paris. It worked especially amongst the poor, and in the rural communities. It was constituted a regular and legitimate Society in 1632 by Urban VIII. To fulfil the designs of their founder, Lazarists must attend especially to three things. First, to improve and amend themselves daily by prayers, meditation, reading, and other duties; secondly, to perform sacred missions among the people living in the country towns and villages, eight months in the year in order to imbue the country people with religious knowledge and quicken their piety (from which service they derive their name of Priests of the Missions); and lastly, to superintend seminaries, in which young men are educated for the priesthood, and to train up candidates for the sacred office. Under the counsel and patronage of the Priests of the Mission are the Virgins of Love, or the Sisters of Charity, whose business it is to minister to the indigent in sickness. They originated with a noble lady, Louisa le Gras, and received the approbation of Clement IX. in 1660. See Mosheim. [T. H. L. L.]

LECTIONARY.—The use of regular Lessons to be read in the services of the Church can be traced back to a very early date, and a great deal of interesting matter on the subject of the Lectionary in use in the Greek Church, and among the Western Churches, is given in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* On the portion of Scripture read in the English Church, see under LESSONS.

LECTOR.— A title applied to one in inferior orders whose duty it was to read the Scripture lessons read in the Church. Lectors form one of the minor orders of clergy both in the Greek and Latin Churches. Lectors were occasionally assigned other duties besides that of reading.

LEGATE.—See NUNCIO.

LENT.—The word is derived either from the A.S. *lencten* (spring), or from the Dutch *lenten* (to make mild), the severity of winter being then relaxed. Lent is a period of forty days in the spring, immediately before Easter, prescribed as a time of fasting. The Greek and Latin names for Lent simply indicate the number of its days. Lent is asserted to have been of early, and even of Apostolic origin, but, had the latter been the case, some allusion would have been made to it in the New Testament. But in the New Testament there is no fast prescribed, nor even a positive exhortation to fasting (see FASTING). Our Lord's declaration in the A.V. concerning the boy possessed with an unclean spirit, is often quoted that "this

kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting" (Matt. xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29). All the best MSS., however, omit the entire verse in the account in St. Matthew, and the word "fasting" in that of St. Mark (see R.V.). The same omission is made by the R.V. on MS. authority with regard to the word "fasting" in two other verses, viz., Acts x. 30; 1 Cor. vii. 5. That the oldest MSS. should agree in omitting all reference to fasting in four passages in the New Testament, where fasting was supposed to be mentioned, is highly suggestive of interpolations made in the sacred text to suit the ideas of a non-Apostolic Age.

The forty days of Lent are often said to have been instituted as a fast in memory of our Lord's "fast" of a similar period in the wilderness. But the Lord passed that period in a state of exalted spiritual meditation or ecstasy, for St. Matthew distinctly states that Christ's hunger was subsequent to the forty days, "When he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred" (Matt. iv. 2). Lent had originally no real connection with the forty days' fast in the desert. Lent seems to have been first established by a Pope, about A.D. 130, to be *a tithe of the year* (thirty-six days only), and was for centuries confined to that period. When the additional four days were added is not certain, probably not till the time of Pope Gregory II., who died in 731.

Our Lord, in Matt. ix. 15, indicated that the providential circumstances of life were the true guide as to seasons of fasting. Cassian, a disciple of Chrysostom in the fifth century, contrasting the Primitive Church with that of his own day, said, "It ought to be known that the observance of the forty days had no existence so long as the perfection of that Primitive Church remained inviolate." Lent helped in later times to increase the power of the priests. For in the Roman and Eastern Churches dispensations which permit the eating of meat on fast days may be obtained for a money payment, and fines are levied on those who break the Church law by eating meat on such days without a dispensation. See FASTING. [M. E. W. J.]

LESSONS, THE.—Portions of the Old Testament and New Testament appointed to be read in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. By 34 & 35 Vict. cap. 37, 1871, new tables of lessons were substituted for those before in use, and power was given to the bishop to alter the appointed Psalms and lessons on all occasions on which he might consider such alteration to tend to edification.

LIBERIUS.—Liberius was ordained Bishop of Rome A.D. 352. He is notorious as one of the heretical Popes of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims papal infallibility. It is only fair, however, to observe that for a long time he resisted the threats and declined the bribes of the Emperor Constantius, who was the champion of the heretical Arians and the persecutor of St. Athanasius, the defender of the Orthodox Catholic Faith. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Eusebius of Samosata, were also supporters of the Semi-Arian heresy, although the Church of Rome has canonised both of them as saints in her Calendar. Before the Emperor would permit Liberius to return to Rome from exile, he insisted on the bishop's satisfying him by renouncing orthodoxy and St. Athanasius. With this demand Liberius weakly complied, as is clear from the letters written by him, and quoted and commented on by St. Hilary, who accuses him of "Arian perfidy," and brands him as an "Apostate." The evidence of the geniuneness of the letters of Liberius, as quoted by Hilary, is exceptionally strong, though rejected as we might expect by some Roman Catholic writers. Not only do the most authoritative Protestant critics and historians accept the evidence but the most eminent Roman Catholic writers accept it, such as Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin, Montfaucon, Möhler, and in recent times Cardinal Newman (see *Arians of the Fourth Century*). "'Two ways have been resorted to of excusing, in some degree, the compliance of Liberius. One, taken by Baronius and Hefele, is that the formula he subscribed was capable of being understood in an orthodox sense, and so subscribed by him, though otherwise intended by the emperor: that, in fact, Liberius renounced the formula ὁμοούσιος, not because he had fallen from orthodoxy, but because he had been made to believe that formula to be the cloak of Sabellianism and Photinism' (Hefele). Baronius, however, condemns him so far as to say, that his envy of the fortune of Felix, and his longing for the adulation to which he had been used at Rome, were the Delilah that deprived this Samson of his courage and strength. The other way of saving a Pope from the imputation of error on matters of faith is with Bellarmine to acknowledge his *external* but deny his *internal* assent to heresy—a view which saves his infallibility at the expense of his morality. The fact remains that in his letters from Berœa he proclaimed to the world his renunciation of Athanasius, and his entire agreement and communion with the Easterns, and that at Sirmium he signed a confession drawn up by Semi-Arians, which was intended to express rejection of the orthodoxy for which he had once contended. It has been observed that Athanasius, Sozomen, Hilary, and Jerome all allude to his temporary compliance with heresy in some form as a known

and undoubted fact. Athanasius, however, unlike Hilary, speaks of it in a spirit of noble tolerance. He says, 'But they (*i.e.* certain great bishops) not only supported me with arguments, but also endured exile; among them being Liberius of Rome. For, if he did not endure the affliction of his exile to the end, nevertheless he remained in banishment for two years, knowing the conspiracy against me.'" Further, he states that Liberius assented to heresy under dread of threatened death. See Wace and Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*. [T. H. L. L.]

LICENCE, MARRIAGE.—By the 62nd Canon a minister is forbidden to celebrate a marriage without having first published the banns of matrimony on three several Sundays or holy days, unless he shall have obtained a faculty or licence. The Marriage Act of 1823, sec. 2 & 9, seems to have altered this canon by making it necessary that the banns should be published on three several Sundays; therefore publications on holy days will not count as one of these days. Canon 101 provides that no one should grant licences except the officers of the bishops and archbishops. The canons contain a number of requirements before a licence can be given, such as the consent of parents or guardians, and for the taking of a bond to secure the licence not having been improperly obtained. These conditions have been abolished by the above-mentioned Act of 1823.

The power to grant marriage licences without complying with the condition of banns was expressly reserved to the archbishops and bishops by the Act of 1533, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21, which abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope, and did away with his power to grant such licences, or any dispensations. The right to grant licences is limited by the Act to "causes not being contrary or repugnant to the Holy Scriptures and laws of God," which now confines the bishop's powers to persons not within the prohibited degrees published in the Table of Affinities of 1563. Before a licence can be granted, one of the parties to the contemplated marriage must take an oath that there is no impediment in law; that he or she has lived fifteen days preceding the giving of the licence within the parish within which the marriage is to be solemnised. The marriage must be solemnised within three months for the licence to be of any effect. The licence seems to be in substance only a licence to marry without publication of banns. Its wording is as follows: "To the end that this marriage may be publicly and lawfully solemnised . . . without the publication or proclamation of banns of matrimony . . . we for lawful causes graciously grant this our faculty." The ordinary licence has to be issued in conformity with the statutory requirements as to hours and place in a parish church or chapel licensed for marriages. As before the Reformation the Archbishop of Canterbury exercised, as *legatus natus* of the Pope, a power of dispensing not only with banns, but of allowing the marriage to take place at any time or place; he has been allowed to retain that power. These licences are called special licences, and are sparingly given and expensive.

The Superintendent Registrar can now also grant marriage licences by a statute of Will. IV. (6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 85); but these licences do not enable the parties to be married in a church, but only before a registrar, or in a Nonconformist place of worship. The exact conditions that have to be complied with in order to satisfy the law are here immaterial. The ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England have therefore a monopoly of granting licences for marriages in the Church of England. [E. B. W.]

LIGHTS.—For utilitarian purposes lights were needed in the worship of the early Church (Acts xx. 7, 8). Pliny describes the Christians as meeting "before it was light," and Tertullian speaks of their assemblies "held before dawn." In the Catacombs artificial light was always necessary. But it was not till the fourth century after Christ that lights began to be employed for ritual or symbolical purposes. The Christian Apologists ridiculed the practices of the heathen in this very matter. Tertullian, A.D. 192, denounces the practice of "exposing useless candles at noon," and by that means "encroaching on the day." "Let them," he says, "who have no light, kindle their lamps every day" (*Apol.*, xlvi. xxxv.). "They kindle lights to God," says Lactantius, A.D. 303, "as if He dwelt in darkness . . . . Is he then to be thought in his right mind, who offers for a gift the light of candles and wax tapers to the Author and Giver of light? But light of another kind He does require of us, and that not smoky, but, as the poet sings, liquid and clear, to wit, that of the mind" (*Div. Inst.*, vi. 2, and *Epitome*, cap. 58). Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 370: "Let not our houses blaze with visible light . . . for this is indeed the custom of the Greek Holy Moon . . . but with . . . lamps that light up the whole body of the Church, I mean with divine contemplations and thoughts" (*Orat.*, v. 35). Yet, on occasions of jubilee an illumination seemed appropriate as the mere expression of rejoicing and festival. The last-named writer mentions as the custom of his day for the newly baptized to light lamps, which he couples with the parable of the Virgins meeting the Bridegroom. Baptism itself was called φωτισμος, the "Illumination," the light of the Holy Spirit being given

to the adult convert on his admission into the "household of God." In the East, St. Jerome tells us, they had a custom, then unknown in the West, that "*when the Gospel is about to be read*, lights are lit at noonday, not to disperse the darkness, but to show gladness . . . so that under the type of a corporal light, that light might be shown concerning which we read in the Gospel, 'Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my paths'" (*Contra Vigilant.* 467). This Oriental usage was adopted in Spain in the seventh century. Isidore of Seville wrote, "Those who in Greek are called acolytes, are in Latin called ceroferarii, from their carrying wax candles when the Gospel is to be read, or the sacrifice to be offered;" the practice being for light-bearers to precede the bishop on his going to the Lord's Table, the lights being afterwards set down on the floor, or in the case of the gospel lights, extinguished at the close of the reading. For convenience, the extingnished lights were set behind, or at the back of the "altar." "In course of time," says Romsée, "it seemed more convenient to set the candlesticks with the candles on the slab of the altar, and to burn the candles." In this way the modern altar-lights originated.

At funerals, from the time of Constantine at least, processional lights were used: the day of the Christian's death being regarded as his birthday into life and immortality. Hero-worship soon sprang up, for the immense influx of adult pagans into the (now fashionable) Church brought with them the habits and modes of thought of their previous lifetime. Cardinal Baronius admits (*Annals*, p. 551) that the *cultus* of images by means of lights burning before them was taken directly from the idolaters—"the venerable ecclesiastical antiquity brought it to pass that what used to hang before the idols should be providently converted to the worship of God." A clergyman named Vigilantius complained to St. Jerome that, "Under the pretext of religion we see a custom *introduced* into the churches which approximates to the rites of the Gentiles, namely, the lighting of multitudes of tapers while the sun is yet shining. And everywhere they kiss in adoration a small quantity of dust folded up in a little cloth, and deposited in a little vessel. *Men of this stamp* give great honour, forsooth, to the most blessed martyrs, thinking with a few insignificant wax-tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, enlightens with all the brightness of His Majesty."

St. Jerome in reply *denied* that it was the practice of the Church. He said: "We do not light candles in the daylight as you falsely accuse us, but we do so that we may alleviate the darkness of the night by this comfort."

Yet he admitted that the Ritualists were beginning the practice complained of: "But what if *some* do so, in honour of the martyrs through the ignorance and simplicity of secular men or even of religious women (of whom we may in truth say, 'I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but *not according to knowledge*'), what loss do you thereby sustain?" (*Epist. contra Vigilantium*, xxxvii.)

Yet he ends by admitting the pagan origin of the custom, saying, "That was done to the idols, and therefore to be detested: this is done to the martyrs, and therefore may be received." In vain had the laws of Theodosius forbidden under severe penalties to "light candles, burn incense, or hang up garlands to senseless images."

Not only did these pagan observances become more and more fashionable, but at length the Second Synod of Nicæa, A.D. 787, decreed as of faith that "To these (*i.e.* the likenesses of our Lord and His blessed ones) as to the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross, and to the Book of the Gospels, and to other holy objects, incense and lights may be offered according to ancient pious custom, for *the honour which is paid to the image passes on to that which the image represents*, and he who reveres the image reveres in it the subject represented" (Mr. Athelstan Riley's translation).

This was just what the heathen had always pleaded, and as the Buddhist now pleads, in defence of idolatry. The apostate Julian said, "We do not think them gods, but that through them we may worship the Deity: for we being in the body, ought to perform our service in a way agreeable to it." Canon Robertson, the historian, says. "There was too much foundation for the reproach with which the Manichean Faustus assailed the Church: 'The sacrifices of the heathen you have turned into feasts of charity: their idols into martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices'" (*Hist. Christian Church*, ii. 43–45). The condition of Christian society which made this possible is depicted in Kingsley's *Hypatia*, and in Dean Farrar's *Gathering Clouds*. The character of the so-called Seventh General Council is described in Palmer's *Treatise of the Church*, ii. 151–161, and by Robertson (*Hist.*, iii. 55). In Perceval's *Roman Schism*, p. 418, is given a long list of the Fathers who are anathematised by this "Seventh General Council." Bishop Stillingfleet says, "Christianity became at last to be nothing else but reformed paganism as to its worship" (*Works*, v. 459). Baruch vi. 18, 19, Hislop's *Two Babylons*, chap. v., or Middleton's *Letters from Rome*, p. 27, illustrate the universal prevalence of candle-worship among

all nations. For centuries the struggle went on within the Church to resist this deterioration. The Synod of Elvira, A.D. 306, condemned the use of pictures in the churches, and decreed "that candles be not burned during the day in cemeteries, for fear of troubling the spirits of the saints." This canon was only one of a series directed against heathenish rites then calling for repression; yet Mr. Dale, in his interesting *Essay on the Synod of Elvira* (published by Macmillan), has shown (pp. 207–22) that the "Fathers" who condemned these rites were themselves infected by a belief in necromancy. So soon had "the fine gold become dim"! Dupin honestly says, "that the Fathers of this Council did not approve of the use of images, no more than that of wax candles lighted in full day light."

Our English Bede, A.D. 730, tells us that the Feast of Candlemas merely replaced the pre-Christian lustrations—"this custom the Christian religion did well to change when in the same month," of February, the feast of the purification was celebrated (*De Temp. Rat.*, 10).

This "relative worship" of inferior deities by means of tapers and lamps and torches naturally culminated in the worship of the Host when the doctrine of transubstantiation had been formally adopted, and Innocent III., the promulgator of that dogma at the Fourth Lateran Council, was the first to order two lights to be set burning upon the altar itself. Cardinal Langton, who took part in that Council, promulgated the Lateran Decrees at the Synod of Oxford, A.D. 1222, directing that "two candles, or at least one together with the lamp" (hanging before the reserved wafer), should be burning at mass, and ordering the laity to kneel to the *corpus Domini* as to "their Creator and Redeemer" (Wilkins, i. 593).

All the Lateran Decrees were made binding as parts of the Canon Law duly published in this country. In addition to the recognition of the divinity of the wafer, it was claimed that "sacrificial fire" was indicated by the same symbol. Lyndwood, John de Burgh, Polydore Vergil, and Suarez, all give this, and refer to Lev. vi. 13 for scriptural warrant. In 1541 the Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII. ordered that "no offering or setting of lights or candles should be suffered except To the Blessed Sacrament." In 1547 Edward's Injunction repeated his father's direction that, "no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set AFORE any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, *before* the sacrament" (*Doc. Ann*, i. 7). It is important to remember that at that date (July 31, in the first year of Edward's reign) the bloody act of the Six Articles was still in full force—no reformation of doctrine having been as yet even attempted. But so soon as the First Prayer Book had been enacted, the Royal Visitation Articles of 1549 ordered these Injunctions to be no longer read (*Doc. Ann.*, 2nd edit., p. 25), and Ridley and Hooper accordingly forbade the (now illegal) lights to be anywhere placed upon the Lord's Table, and "that the ministers, in time of the Communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer." From that day forward, save during the reaction under Mary, no lights "before the sacrament" were anywhere seen in the Church of England; though Queen Elizabeth, for reasons of Statecraft, introduced a crucifix before which two candles were burned at evening service in her own chapel. Both the image and its attendant lights were unique, and designed to create an impression that the Queen was then hesitating whether to abandon the Reformation or not; but when they had served the purpose of mystifying the Spanish ambassador, the crucifix was broken and its lights allowed to stand idle. As Bishops Grindal and Horn reported in 1567, "the Church of England has entirely given up the use of a foreign tongue, breathings, exorcisms, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of that kind which by Act of Parliament (*ex legum prescriptô*) are never to be restored" (*Zurich Letters*, i. 178).

Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, ii. 993. Scudamore's *Notit. Eucharistica*, 2nd ed., p. 121. Dimock's *Christian Ritual*, p. 34. Tomlinson's *Historic Grounds of Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 75–104, and *Tract on Altar Lights, their History and Meaning*. [J. T. T.]

LIMBO.—Limbo (from *limbus*, a fringe) has a twofold signification in the works of Roman Catholic theologians.

1. The *Limbus Patrum* means a fringe or outskirt of *sheol* or hell, in which the saints or righteous of the Old Testament dispensation were confined awaiting the coming of Christ.

2. The *Limbus Infantium*, the place or state assigned to infants who die without baptism.

The views of the Church of Rome on this subject have an intimate relation with her doctrines regarding the sacraments. Holding that the sacraments are the only channel by which the blessings of redemption are ordinarily conveyed to men, she was bound to hold that those who died before Christ were not saved. The best that could be hoped of them was that they were not lost; hence she retained them in a salvable state awaiting the coming of the Redeemer. But although Rome holds that Christ descended into Hades, she does not teach (as to be consistent she should), that He baptized there the saints of the Old Testament dispensation before accompanying

them into heaven.[1] The Maynooth Catechism teaches that Christ descended "to preach to the spirits in prison, that is, to announce to them the glad tidings of redemption." As to the condition of unbaptized infants, Rome teaches that neither at death, nor ever after, are they admitted into the kingdom of heaven. Perrone (*Prælectiones Theologicæ*, vol. i. p. 494) distinguishes between the certain and the uncertain. What is certain, yea, a matter of faith, is, as taught by the Second Council of Lyons and the Council of Florence, that infants and idiots incur damnation, but suffer a different punishment from that inflicted upon adults. But, as to the nature of the punishment inflicted, Perrone tells us nothing is certain. The Latin Fathers represent infants as suffering a pain of sense, while the Greek Fathers represent them as suffering a pain of loss. This teaching is founded upon the doctrine of original sin, and the theory that baptism is the only means appointed for deliverance from the sin of our first parents.

The existence of the *Limbus Infantium* has never been defined by the Roman Church, but when the Council of Pistoia sneered at the doctrine as a Pelagian fable, Pius VI. censured the Council. Infants who die without baptism are buried in unconsecrated ground. [T. C.]

LINCOLN JUDGMENT.—The trial of Bishop King for ritual nonconformity by Archbishop Benson in 1890 is remarkable, perhaps even "epoch-making," on account of the adoption of certain principles as the basis of its judgment, every one of which had been decisively rejected as unsound by the Supreme Court of Appeal. The importance of these fundamental principles has never yet received the attention which is due to the far-reaching results which were thus foreshadowed as possible.

Two preliminary questions had to be decided: (1) That a diocesan bishop is subject to the jurisdiction of his metropolitan; (2) that a bishop is subject, like every other "minister," to the rubrics and canons of the Church of England when officiating in divine service. The former of these points was decided by the Privy Council itself, which held that "the archbishop *has jurisdiction* in this case. They are also of opinion that the abstaining by the archbishop from entertaining the suit is matter of appeal to her Majesty."

Nevertheless Bishop King lodged a formal protest "that the Provincial Synod is the *only* Court before which a bishop can be tried," and that "bishops are not included among the 'ministers' to whom the provisions of the Act of Uniformity apply." The archbishop, however, gave judgment on May 12, 1899, in favour of his own sole jurisdiction; and it is erroneously stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that he was supported in this by his suffragan assessors. Such was not the case; their lordships dissented, yet were compelled to listen to the very able judgment in which Archbishop Benson ruled that he was competent to sit in judgment upon them all! A report of this judgment, with illustrative notes, is published by the Church Association (Tract 104).

Bishop King thereupon decided to appear by counsel, but under protest, as not acknowledging the jurisdiction claimed. Nor has the English Church Union, of which he was a member, and which supported the Bishop of Lincoln throughout, ever admitted the jurisdiction of the primate to be well founded. The archbishop further ruled that a bishop, when officiating in any service contained in the Prayer Book, is bound by the same rules as any other "minister." In this ruling he was supported by all his assessors except Bishop John Wordsworth.

These preliminaries having been decided, the hearing on the merits was reached in February 1900, and judgment was delivered on November 21 in the same year. It introduced the novel claim that a Court of first instance is entitled to review and set aside the previous judgments of the Court of Appeal—a principle in itself sufficiently revolutionary. But the decisions ultimately reached did not greatly alter the legal position, except as regards the singing of the "Agnus Dei." The following summary exhibits the changes actually effected:—

1st Charge.—Mixing water with the wines *during* the service. *Before* the Lincoln Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal; the "Judgment" given being on a point *not* raised in the articles of charge.

2nd Charge.—Hiding the Manual Acts. *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal.

3rd Charge.—Making the sign of the Cross. *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal.

4th Charge.—Ministering wine which had been mixed with water *during* the service. *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal; the "Judgment" given being on a point *not* raised in the suit.

5th Charge.—Using lighted candles, "before the sacrament." *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal; the Judgment in the Supreme

[1] Hermas, in his *Shepherd Sim.*, ix. 16, distinctly teaches that the apostles and teachers baptized in the Unseen World the saints of the old dispensation.

Court in *Martin* v. *Mackonochie* being unaffected by the appeal. On this point the Privy Council merely said that the bishop was not responsible, but they did not legalise the use of lighted candles.

6th Charge.—Drinking the ablutions *during* divine service. *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it still remains illegal. On this point the judges declared the drinking of the rinsings *after* the close of the service to be lawful.

7th Charge.—The eastward position during the entire ante-Communion service. This was a new point, and therefore could not affect any previous judgment.

8th Charge.—The singing of the "Agnus Dei." *Before* the Judgment this was illegal. *After* the Judgment it is permitted to be done with impunity. This, therefore, though a most important point, is the only one on which a judgment was given at complete variance with former decisions.

But the really grave feature of this Judgment was that it discarded the *rationes decidendi*, upon which all former judgments in ritual suits had been based. The Privy Council had laid down the dictum that canons and constitutions relating to divine service prior to the Reformation, and even royal Injunctions of any earlier date, "must be taken, if of force at the time of passing of any of the Acts of Uniformity, to have been repealed by those Acts" (*Martin* v. *Mackonochie*, L.R. 2 P.C. 389). In *Westerton* v. *Liddell*, the first of these suits, it was held that "the word 'ornaments' applies, and in this ['the ornaments'] rubric is *confined* to those articles the use of which in the services and ministrations of the Church is PRESCRIBED BY the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth" (Moore's separate report, p. 156). The importance of these elementary bases of Church Law (which were adopted and followed in all subsequent judgments), arises from the fact that ritual mainly centres around the doctrine of the sacraments and the worship supposed to be due (or to be prohibited) in reference to the supposed indwelling Deity within the consecrated species. In other words, it involves the question of the "continuity" of sacramental doctrine before and after the "Reformation" in England.

The Privy Council had solved these questions by saying, "The Prayer Book, in the Preface, divides all ceremonies into these two classes: those which are retained are specified, whereas *none are abolished by name;* but it is assumed that all are abolished which are not expressly retained" (*Martin* v. *Mackonochie*, *ut supra*). This elementary principle was fully adopted by the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York in their published "Opinion" on Incense and Processional Lights, July 31, 1899, when the ceremonial use of either was held to be prohibited under section 27 of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which renders "void and of none effect—*all* laws, statutes, and ordinances whereby any other service . . . is limited, established, or set forth to be used within this realm."

In open defiance of this principle, Archbishop Benson actually adduced such "authorities" as Pope Leo IV., who directed that "Nullus cantet sine lumine . . . et casula" in A.D. 847, and Pope Honorius III., who ordered a priest to be deprived because "sine igne sacrificabat et aqua" (L.R. 1891, P.C., p. 95). This same Pope instituted elevation of the Host and its adoration, according to Fleury (xv. 663). See Cranmer's *Remains*, p. 154, and *Lord's Supper*, p. 238. These "authorities" were cited in support of the decree of the papal legate, Langton, in the Synod at Oxford in 1222, at which he formally promulgated the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council ordering the punishment by death of "heretics" who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (*first* decreed at Lateran), and had himself taken part in that "General Council." Another "authority" cited by Archbishop Benson (L.R., p. 96) is John de Burgh, A.D. 1385, who warned English priests to put out the light if the wafer had been consumed, lest "idolatry" ensue, and that if the priest gave an unconsecrated wafer, the communicant must needs commit idolatry because "manducans adorat quod manducat." He adduced Lev. vi. 13, "fire shall ever be burning on my altar," as the reason for altar lights! Whereupon the archbishop observes, "It would be contrary to the history and interpretation of the two lights on the Holy Table to connect them with erroneous and strange teaching as to the nature of the sacrament."

Edward's Injunction of 1547 was also adduced, ignoring the fact that the "Six Articles" Act was then in full force, and that the statute which gave "the authority of Parliament" to these Injunctions was repealed before the "second year of Edward VI." had commenced. Lord Cairns had pointed out that the Royal Visitation Articles of 1549, published by Wilkins, Cardwell, and Burnet, forbidding the "setting any light on the Lord's Board at any time" as being a "counterfeit of the Popish mass," were evidence of the meaning of the First Prayer Book, and were acted upon by the Ordinaries under that book (*4th Report Rit. Comm.*, p. 220, col. 2); whereas this Judgment assumed that these were (unlike all other Visitation Articles) not enforcements of existing law, but irregular attempts

at *legislation*. In the same spirit they mention that Ridley merely "exhorted" churchwardens in June 1550, to "remove" altars, and urge that this was *ultra vires* (*Judgment*, Macmillan's, p. 20); but are careful *not* to mention that after the Order in Council of November 23, Ridley at once "required and commanded," in the king's name (Fox, vi. 744), this (no longer doubtful) alteration. The so-called "historic" treatment is throughout of the same one-sided character, having always this uniform object, viz., to "dissemble and cloak" the notorious fact that an enormous alteration of ritual had *designedly* resulted from the doctrinal changes which took place in 1548–52, and that the inculpated ritual was regarded by everybody, on both sides, as the recognised expression of the distinctive belief of the "Romanensians." In pursuit of this object, the draftsman of the Judgment was guilty of very numerous misquotations, of glaring suppressions of evidence, and of downright misrepresentations of fact. For detailed evidence of this, see *Historic Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment*, published by J. F. Shaw. The very points on which the Judgment turned, *e.g.* the alleged fact that the communion tables were placed lengthwise down the church at the time when the north-side rubric was devised, is quietly assumed as though it were indisputable, though it is contrary to all the contemporary evidence. Nor was the Judgment even consistent with itself. For example, mixing water with wine during the service was disallowed because the rubric directing this to be done had been struck out in 1552, and had never been restored. Yet the "Agnus," which was not merely struck out, but was, at the last revision, again deliberately rejected by Convocation when its restoration was proposed, was held to be perfectly legal! But perhaps the chief objection to this extraordinary farrago of sham "learning" is, that if papal decrees, pre-Reformation precedents, and foreign bishops may be adduced as evidence of the existing "law" of the Reformed Church of England, there can be no limit to the application of this Romanising process until the Established Church has been screwed up by clerical judges to the Italian standard. The Judgment of the Privy Council on appeal is hardly worth referring to. Little or no trouble had been taken to assign any reasons for accepting the conclusions of the Court below. The reasoned judgments previously laid down by judges like Lords Kingdown, Cairns, and Selborne were set aside whenever necessary, and without any attempt at confutation; nor was the smallest particle of evidence adduced to supply the lack of relevant vouchers in the Archbishop's Judgment. The Lord Chancellor seemed determined at any cost to avoid a collision with the priest-party, and willing to accept any way of escape which the Primate's ingenuity had suggested, as a pretext for avoiding the duty of enforcing the law as laid down by a long succession of the foremost judges in the land. [J. T. T.]

LITANY, THE.—The origin of the word Litany is Greek. The Latin equivalent is "Rogatio." In the East, accordingly, we find that it is in early times applied to various solemn Services of Prayer. In the Apostolic Constitutions (not later than the fourth century), there is a responsive form of intercessory prayer, with the reiteration of the Kyrie Eleison at every clause. In the various ancient liturgies, what are substantially litanies of deprecation, obsecration, and intercession, are found as integral parts of the service. But the name, originally general in sense, came to be technically applied in the fourth century to a form of supplication in times of special need. The two main distinctions between the Romish Litany and that of the Church of England are that the English Litany is in language "understanded of the people," while the Romish Litany is in Latin, contrary to the Apostolic injunction (1 Cor. xiv. 19). In the next place the Romish Litany introduces invocation of saints and angels, unwarranted by Holy Scripture and apostolic usage. Such prayers to the saints led to an undue exaltation of the saints, and arose from a mere commemoration of them, and being abolished by the Reformers have rightly no place in the English Litany. [T. H. L. L.]

LITURGIES, ANCIENT.—Formularies used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The prayers originally used over the bread and wine placed before the presiding minister in the meal called the Agape were extemporaneous. "The president," says Justin Martyr, "offers up prayers as well as ever he is able" (*Apol.*, i.), and the treatise named "The Teaching of the Apostles," which seems to have been composed about fifty years before Justin Martyr (about A.D. 100), says expressly that "prophets," meaning there little more than well-educated teachers, are to use what words they like in setting apart the consecrated elements. The forms provided for the less learned are as follows: they are the first liturgical forms used in the Christian Church; we now term such prayers Consecration prayers, but they were then known as Thanksgiving or Eucharistical prayers.

"About the broken bread," says the treatise, "thus give thanks: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which

Thou makest known unto us through Jesus Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever! As this bread which we break was once scattered over the hills, and gathered together it became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for ever.'" "About the cup: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy child (or servant), which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever!'" The above were the prayers before reception; the thanksgiving prayer after reception was as follows: "After ye are filled" (that is, at the end of the meal of Agape, during which the memorials of Christ had been received) "thus give thanks, 'We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou makest to dwell in our hearts, for the knowledge and faith of immortality, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever! Thou, Almighty God, didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they may give thanks unto Thee; and on us Thou bestowest spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Child; and above all we give thanks to Thee for Thy power. To Thee be the glory for ever! Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in Thy love, and to gather it from the four winds, the sanctified Church, into Thy Kingdom, which Thou didst prepare for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David. If any be holy, let him come; if not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen'" (ch. ix. x.).

It was impossible that forms could be very elaborate in the first century, when the celebration of the Holy Communion took place towards the end of a social meal, the final thanksgiving being both for the reception of the symbolical elements and for the whole meal. When, about A.D. 110, the Eucharist was transferred from the evening to the forenoon, the form would naturally become more lengthy and more definite, and yet the liberty granted to educated teachers to use their own words instead of the assigned form, was continued, as we see from Justin Martyr, down to the latter part of the second century at the least. But extemporaneous prayers and thanksgivings for a particular object, again and again offered, are sure after a time to fall into a stereotyped shape. By the beginning of the third century it is probable that a precomposed form of setting apart the sacred elements was universally used. But it was not the same form in every place. Each congregation at first had its own formula; then each bishop had a special form for his diocese, which the various congregations under his charge were invited, but not compelled, to adopt; when Metropolitans were instituted, it was but natural for the suffragan or provincial bishops to give up their forms for those of the Metropolitan Cathedral, and in like manner, the forms used by the Metropolitans were naturally assimilated to those used by primates or patriarchs, when those dignitaries had come into being.

When sufficient time had passed for this system to mature itself, all the various liturgies coalesced into five types. (1) The Liturgy of the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem; (2) the Liturgy of the Patriarchate of Alexandria; (3) the Liturgy of the Patriarchate of Rome; (4) the Liturgy of the Churches of Asia Minor, which preserved the tradition of St. John's use; (5) the Nestorian Liturgy, prevailing in the far East. Of these the first was called the Liturgy of St. James; Ritualist Manuals (*Ritual Reason Why* and *Congregation in Church*) try to pass it off as a composition of St. James, but the title means simply that it was the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, called the Church of St. James in later times from the name of its first bishop, St. James, the Lord's brother. The second was called the Liturgy of St. Mark, meaning no more than that it was the Liturgy of the Church traditionally founded by St. Mark. The third had the name of St. Peter given to it from a mistaken idea, once entertained, that Peter had been Bishop of Rome. The fourth was carried in germ from Asia Minor into Gaul by Irenæus, and from it sprang the Gallican or old French Liturgy, the Mozarabic or old Spanish Liturgy, and the old British Liturgy.

As soon as Rome consciously aimed at supremacy over the Church, she exerted herself to abolish all liturgies except her own. She could not touch the liturgies of the Eastern Patriarchates, much as she would have desired to do so. On the contrary, liturgies were composed by Basil, and in the name of Chrysostom, on the basis of the Liturgy of Jerusalem, for the Patriarchate of Constantinople, thoroughly Eastern in their character, which are still in use in the Oriental Church. But in the West the Pope resolved to sweep away all variations from the Roman type. For this reason the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies which, far from being identical with the Roman Liturgy, had not even sprung from it, were the objects of his implacable hostility. By papal instigation and urgency, Charlemagne was induced, in the ninth century,

to forbid the use of the old Gallican Liturgy in France; and Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) drove King Alonzo VI. against his will, and against the will of his people, to abolish the Mozarabic Liturgy, in the eleventh century, on the threat of separating him from his wife and "unsheathing the sword of St. Peter over his head," which he had explained as follows: "I will excommunicate him, and will raise his subjects against him; and if they are disobedient to me and are unfaithful to St. Peter, I will go myself to stir up his kingdom, and to prosecute him with fury as the enemy of the Christian religion." Alonzo VI. was no match for Gregory VII., who claimed the "ownership of the kingdoms of Spain for St. Peter and the holy Roman Church," on the ground that they had been conquered for St. Peter by Count Ebolo de Roceyo—a man who never even existed. Archbishop Roderick describes "the tears and lamentations of all" at losing their national liturgy, quoting sadly the proverb which originated from this unwilling act of royal violence, *Quo volunt reges, vadunt leges.*

Thus the Popes contrived to spread their own Roman Liturgy (of which the Ambrosian and the Mediæval English were variations) through the whole of the West. The original character of the liturgy we are unable to discover. The earliest Western formulas connected with the Eucharistic Office are three so-called Sacramentaries, the first of which is attributed, without reason, to Leo I., the second, with little more reason, to Gelasius I., and the third was compiled by Gregory I., who revised the existing liturgical forms at the beginning of the seventh century. Since that time such additions and interpolations have been made as new doctrines springing up required, but the veneration with which Gregory's handiwork was regarded, has preserved more of the comparatively ancient character of the liturgy than might have been expected.

[F. M.]

LOLLARDS, THE.—For several years before his death (Dec. 31, 1384) Wycliffe seems seldom to have left his parish of Lutterworth. He was far from idle—as a long series of English pamphlets and Latin treatises remain to show. He was busy, too, with his translation of the Scriptures into English.[1] But he left the work of propagating his views to others. Itinerant preachers, whom he named his "Poor Priests," carried them far and wide. They were an imitation of the Seventy Evangelists whom Jesus sent out "two by two"; but the idea of them was immediately suggested (perhaps) by the "friars"—those degenerate sons of an originally noble movement, whose baneful influence on the people it had grown to be one of his chief objects in life to counteract. Clad "in russet-coloured gowns[2] with deep pockets" they soon became well known and welcome. They could be recognised not only by their dress, but by "their peculiar speech interlarded with phrases of Scripture, the sanctity of their demeanour, their habit of basing every argument on some injunction found in God's law, and their abhorrence of the common oaths of the day—for which they substituted 'I am sure,' 'It is sooth,' 'Without doubt it is so.'"[3]

Lollards was the nickname for these and their sympathisers. Whether it was derived from Walter Lollard—founder of a "heretical" sect in Germany, "who began to disperse his errors about 1315;"[4] or from the habit practised by that sect of singing or humming in a low plaintive tone (Ger. *lollen* or *lullen*);[5] or from the preaching of a friar at St. Paul's against the doctrines of Wycliffe, which had for its text the parable of the Tares (*lolia*),[6] has been a matter of dispute. Anyhow, the name won speedy acceptance like others of contemptuous origin, as Christian, Puritan, Methodist.[7]

In 1382 (May) Wycliffe's heresies were brought up by Archbishop Courtenay before a Synod of the province of Canterbury at Blackfriars, and formally condemned. This was the first definite act of war against Lollardry on the part of the Church. The great Peasant Rising had taken place in the previous year, and it has often been asserted that the Lollards were partly, or mainly, responsible for it. But though Wycliffe's teaching on the subject of property might be, and by some enthusiasts would be, applied to favour communism, it is remarkable that neither in 1382, nor at any time, was this cited among the

[1] As to Wycliffe's share in the translation, see article WYCLIFFE.

[2] "*Vestibus de russeto utebantur pro majore parte*," Knyghton, ii. 184; *Chronicon*, Rolls Series (82).

[3] G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, p. 317.

[4] Du Pin's *New Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v. p. 113, translated by Timothy Childe (1699); *cf.* Fuller's *Church History*, vol. ii. 406 (Brewer's edition).

[5] Capes, *History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 179.

[6] Brewer's note, Fuller, ii. 406.

[7] Fuller (*ibid.*) says that since the Reformation "Lollard" seemed to be "a general name to signify such who in their opinions oppose the settled religion of the land."

charges against him or his followers.[1] These charges were purely doctrinal, *e.g.*—

1. That in the sacrament of the altar the material substance of bread and wine remains after consecration.

5. That if a man be properly repentant all outward confession is superfluous or useless for him.

7. That God ought to obey the devil.

15. That it is lawful to any deacon or priest to preach the Word of God without the authority of the Apostolic See, or a Catholic bishop, or some other (authority) sufficiently sure.

23. That Friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by mendicancy.[2]

Courtenay had the king and the Lords on his side—as is shown by an ordinance which they agreed upon without the Commons' knowledge, or, at least, consent (during the short Parliament of 1382, May 7–22), charging the king's officers and sheriffs to arrest any heretic against whom the bishops lodged complaint. Letters patent in the king's own name granted authority and licence to the archbishop and his suffragans to arrest and imprison "all and singular those who should wish secretly or openly to preach or maintain the aforesaid conclusions so condemned." And that these measures might not turn out a dead letter, the archbishop followed them up with a private letter of his own, urging the suffragans to be alert and zealous. Yet practically they came to little. Only a few of Wycliffe's leading disciples seem to have been proceeded against during his life-time. In fact, whatever king, Lords, and bishops might do, the prevalent sentiment of disgust at the corruptions of the Church was too strong for them. Wycliffe's exposure of the "Cæsarean Clergy" evoked sympathy even where his special doctrines made no converts. A sign of this was the revocation by the House of Commons in October of the ordinance of May. "Let it be annulled," they said, "for it was not the intention of the Commons to be tried for heresy, nor to bind over themselves or their descendants to the prelates more than their ancestors had been in time past."[3] On the other hand, the Lollard cause suffered a severe blow at Oxford—the place of its birth, and, for a time, of its greatest strength. By an unnatural union with the bishops, the friars, or regular clergy of Oxford, just when their case seemed desperate, were able to bring about (July 1382) a royal mandate,[4] which forced the University, on pain of forfeiting all privileges held from the Crown, to banish Wycliffe, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repyngton, and John Aston. There followed a triumphant entry of the bishops in November—leading to humiliating submission on the part of Aston and Repyngton.[5]

Henceforth Oxford became a stronghold of "orthodoxy," and the effect on the new movement was to withdraw it almost entirely from that intellectual atmosphere of which Oxford had long been the centre. Wycliffe himself did not apparently regard this as an unmixed evil, nor was it. But neither was it an unmixed good that thus his cause must needs be left more and more to the advocacy of "unlicensed" preachers. For this meant an increasing loss of restraint on fanatic tendencies, and a sure loss of influence with the educated and upper classes. But such a result did not appear at once. During the years which immediately followed the death of Wycliffe, Lollardry grew apace. The recruits came chiefly from the neighbourhood of Leicester, the west of England and London.[6] In and around Leicester the preaching of the Poor Priests had extraordinary success. Every second man, it was said, might be accounted a Lollard. Protected by powerful local magnates like Sir Thomas Latimer, and by powerful officials like John Fox, Mayor of Northampton, the preachers had nothing to fear from hostile clergy, and could defy even the bishop. Crowds attended them, and armed knights of the shire stood by them when they preached—sometimes in a churchyard, sometimes in the church itself—and listened eagerly to their outspoken attacks on the worship of images or the sanctity of shrines. The chronicler relates with horror how they called "our Lady of Lincoln and our

[1] "... I have been able to find, between the years 1382 and 1530 only one case of a Lollard holding communistic theories, ..." Trevelyan, p. 340 (*cf.* Appendix, p. 370).

[2] The condemned "conclusions" number twenty-four (ten heresies and fourteen errors). Only the 10th (that it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastical men should have temporal possessions), and the 17th (that temporal lords can, at their will, take away temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually sinful, or that the public may at their will correct sinful lords) touch on property, unless the 18th (that tithes are *puræ eleemosynæ*) be added. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 275–282 (Rolls Series).

[3] Trevelyan, p. 311.

[4] *Fasc. Zizan*, p. 312 and pp. 272–333 for whole proceedings against Oxford.

[5] At a Convocation held in St. Frideswyde's Nov. 18th. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 172.

[6] See Trevelyan, pp. 313–331.

Lady of Walsingham the witch of Lincoln and the witch of Walsingham."[1] Still more shocking was it to hear that one of the iconoclasts had actually used a local "Mary" for firewood![2] But "Nemesis" appeared on the scene in 1389. In the October of that year the Primate held a visitation at Leicester. William Smith, who had burnt the image,[3] was one of nine "hot Gospellers" arraigned before him. Their courage vanished in the presence of trial. Five lay hid; four recanted, Smith being one of them. He submitted to do penance with a crucifix in one hand and an image of the insulted saint in the other. This failure to stand fast caused general discouragement, and the heretics, we are told, thenceforth carried on their work with greater privacy. There was, in fact, a deficiency of the martyr spirit in the first generation of Lollards. A few years after Courtenay's visit to Leicester, the Archbishop of York examined (in London) four tradesmen of Nottingham, each of whom renounced on oath the teaching of the Lollards. The leaders were no braver. Aston, Nicholas of Hereford, Purvey, Swynderby, Repyngton,[4] enthusiasts for a time—all gave way in the end. The new faith did not take deep root, though widely diffused, till it was felt to be worth dying for. In the west, particularly about Hereford, Worcester, Reading, and Salisbury, Lollardry flourished as rapidly as in the Midlands, and with greater impunity. Aston, Purvey, Hereford, Swynderby, were its most active apostles, with a notable Welshman named Walter Brute, who left behind him a MS. which shows what he, at least, thought of the Pope. He is "the beast ascending out of the earth having two horns like unto a lamb, who compels small and great, rich and poor, to worship the beast and take his mark in their forehead or on their hands," while the Papacy he regarded as the centre whence most evils emanated.[5] Such language is one of several signs that in the west the Lollards moved fast. Another is the fact that "here the Poor Priests first made the audacious experiment of creating their own successors."[6] This points distinctly towards "separation" from the existing Church—a result not contemplated by Wycliffe any more than by John Wesley centuries later. London, the third "cradle" of Lollardry, contained many adherents. "Nearly a hundred of the Lollards" backed up an ex-friar, Walter Patteshall, when he posted charges of murder and other crimes against his late associates on St. Paul's door in 1387. Still more significant was the action of certain powerful Lollard laymen, including two Privy Councillors, in 1395. They boldly laid the case for Lollardry before Parliament, as if sure of its support, and their statement is a fair measure of the Lollard position at this date.[7] The pretended miracle of the mass, image-worship, pilgrimages, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, exorcisms, vows of celibacy, are among the things denounced. Exception is taken also to superfluous luxury in dress and food; and all war is said to be unchristian. However friendly the attitude of Parliament might be, the bishops could count upon the king. Hurrying back from Ireland at their urgent entreaty, he compelled the leader of the enterprise, Sir Richard Stury, to forswear his opinions on pain of death, and vowed to hang all Lollards. Richard II. was not at all inclined to be tolerant of heresy, though the Lollards of a later and darker time sighed for the comparative mildness of his reign. He was only comparatively mild because he was comparatively helpless. There was, as yet, no statutory power to arrest, try, far less to punish with death.[8] But the revolution which brought Henry IV. to the throne effected a change in this respect. The new king was too dependent on the clergy to be lenient towards heresy, even had he wished. When, therefore, Convocation, and also the Commons, petitioned for something which should strike terror to the heart of Lollardry, the king readily agreed. Hence the Act *De heretico comburendo* (1401), which continued (with interruptions) to deform our Statute Book till the reign of Charles II.[9] Before this Act came actually into force, William Sawtre, chaplain of St. Osyths, or St. Syths, Wallbrook, was being tried by Convocation on seven counts (*e.g.*, that it is

[1] Knyghton, ii. 183.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 182.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 182.

[4] For Aston, Nicholas, Purvey, Repyngton, see articles in *Nat. Dict. Biogr.*; and for Swynderby, see Trevelyan, pp. 314, 315, 323, 326. Nicholas ("chief leader of the Lollards after Wycliff's death") recanted in 1391, and was appointed Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral. He translated the Old Testament in conjunction with Wycliffe as far as the Book of Baruch. Repyngton became bishop, cardinal, and persecutor.

[5] Trevelyan, 325 (Bale's *Scriptores*, p. 503).

[6] *Ibid.* 326.

[7] Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church of England*," No. xli. (*Fasc. Ziz.*, 360–369).

[8] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 383–93 (Legislation against Heresy).

[9] Repealed by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14; by 1 Eliz. c. 1; finally by 29 Charles II. c. 9.

not lawful to adore the cross, but only Christ; that priests and deacons are more bound to preach than to say the canonical hours; that after consecration in the Eucharist there remains bread of the same nature as before), and, of course, was condemned.[1] He was the first for whom the fires of Smithfield were kindled. John Purvey, who had shared the home and literary labours of Wycliffe in his last days, appeared before the same Convocation, but could not face the flames. Three days after Sawtre's death he stood at St. Paul's Cross reading forth his retractation.[2] The archbishop (Arundel) gave him a benefice, and he is said to have died in prison long after. Prosecutions often ended, alas! in retractation, but not always. Thus John Badby, a tailor (or blacksmith) of Evesham in Worcestershire, did not recant his belief that "Christ sitting at supper could not give His disciples His living body to eat," though urged to do so by "two archbishops, eight bishops, the Duke of York, the Chancellor of England,"[3] and even by Prince Henry. The Prince was present at the scene of his death, and tried hard to turn him. "At last the pile was lit. The man's agonies and contortions were taken for signals of submission. Henry ordered the faggots to be pulled away, and renewed his offers and entreaties, but again to no effect. The flames were lit a second time, and the body disappeared in them for ever. Henry V. could beat the French at Agincourt, but there was something here beyond his understanding and beyond his power, something before which kings and bishops would one day learn to bow."[4] This happened in the spring of 1410. It is said to have been the bishops' answer to the House of Commons, which, in the same year, had petitioned the Crown to confiscate the Church's property and to modify the statute *de hæretico comburendo*. The Commons for the nonce was anti-clerical. Its mood varied according to its political complexion. Six years before, it had advised the king to take the whole of the estates of the clergy into his hands for a year;[5] while four years before, it had petitioned him for increased strictness against the Reformers, and secured a new statute to that effect.[6] But the bishops held the upper hand. Arundel's Constitutions (agreed upon at Oxford, Oct. 1409) "to strengthen the common law" in respect of heresy, had more force than the Commons' petition. After burning Badby he flew successfully at higher game. With Henry V. to aid him, he summoned the king's old friend, Sir John Oldcastle, in St. Paul's Chapter House (Sep. 23, 1413), and had him "proclaimed a heretic, and handed over to the secular arm." The brave knight escaped from the Tower, organised a rising "in defence of conscience"—which cost thirty-seven of his co-religionists their lives—and three years later suffered himself a martyr's death (1417).[7] Churchmen said that Oldcastle's "sudden insurrection," by estranging the "knighthood," "turned to confusion the sorry sect of Lollardry"; and certain it is that this, with other causes,[8] tended to its apparent extinction. But, in fact, it was only driven underground. It never really died out. Again and again during the next hundred years signs of a vigorous life are met with. We find it in the East, where, "in the neighbourhood of Beccles, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, great congregations were formed, Lollard schools started, and arrangements made with a certain parchment-maker for smuggling in the latest heretical tracts from the capital.

[1] Degraded Feb. 24; burnt Feb. 26. He had been priest at St. Margaret's Lynn, Norfolk (1399), and is said (*Fasc. Ziz.*, "Examination," 411) to have abjured his heresies before the Bishop of Norwich (Henry le De Spenser). It is evident from the "Examination" that his doctrine of the Eucharist was the great heresy.

[2] See *Fasc. Ziz.*, 400–7. He revoked what he had said about the Eucharist, confession, holy orders, evil lives of priests, unlicensed preaching, &c. For particulars of his career see article in *N.D.B.* He was vicar of West Hythe, Kent, for two years (Aug. 1401 to Oct. 1403). It is doubtful if he ever really conformed. Imprisoned (probably for heresy) in 1421, he seems to have been still living in 1427. His great achievement was to revise or render into pure English Wycliff's and Hereford's translation of the Bible.

[3] He was first condemned in the diocesan Court at Worcester. He is reported to have said that "the Host is in no sense the body of Christ, but something inanimate and less worthy, therefore, of honour than a toad or a spider, which, at least, has the gift of life" (Wilkins, iii. 325–28).

[4] Trevelyan, p. 335.

[5] 1404, at Coventry, hence stigmatised as the *Parliamentum indoctum*.

[6] Not acted upon. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 388.

[7] See *N.D.B.* for particulars. His alleged *abjuratio* is given in *Fasc. Ziz.*: 414–16. The *processus* against him is given in pp. 433–50.

[8] *E.g.* the Act of 1414 (2 Hen. V.), which greatly intensified the severity of the statute of 1401, and became the final instrument of persecution. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. p. 391.

This was about the time of the accession of Henry VI." We find it in the West, "as at Langport, where, in 1447, the tenantry of the Earl of Somerset drove their priest from his office, stopped all his services, buried their dead for themselves, refused to do penance, beat the bishop's officers when they interfered, and rid themselves of all ecclesiastical influence and jurisdiction." We find it "at Newbury, in Berkshire, and Amersham in Buckinghamshire," where (previous to 1518) "there had been congregations of Wycliffites" in continuous existence for sixty or seventy years. A preacher of that district, before going to the stake in that year, "told his judges that he believed he had converted seven hundred persons in the course of his life."

We find it even in Scotland, where, "in 1425 the sect was large enough to attract the attention of the Scotch Parliament, which directed the bishops to suppress it"—so ineffectually that "three generations later, we come upon their successors, known in history as the Lollards of Kyle. Their home was Ayrshire, and they numbered in their congregations several lords and ladies of good family."[1] Their habitat was limited. There is no trace of them in Wales; or in the northern counties; or in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Surrey (beyond the London area), Kent (except in and near Canterbury); or in Oxford (generally), Hertford, Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Warwick (except Coventry and neighbourhood); or in Scotland outside Ayrshire.[2] But within an area which largely contained the most active life of the nation, there can be no doubt that they were a leaven of Protestant thought and feeling perpetually at work right up to the Reformation; and Tunstall, Bishop of London, was right when he wrote to Erasmus (1523) of the new Lutheranism that "it is no question of some pernicious novelty, it is only that new arms are being added to the great band of Wycliffite heretics." With the equivocal exception of Reginald Pecocke, who, in his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (*circ.* 1455), essayed to dislodge the Lollards from their entrenchment in the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice by a species of Rationalism which (to his cost)[3] was discovered to prove too much, the sole argument employed by the Church was persecution. This never ceased. Between 1401–1532, a list of forty-seven Lollard martyrs has been compiled,[4] including seven priests, one noble, one lawyer, one lady of rank, one woman "of low degree," sixteen artificers; and this, surely, notwithstanding the numerous cases of "recantation," which have sometimes been made a reproach to their memory, is a noble witness to the Lollards' strength of faith and grandeur of endurance. A further reproach—that they were an "illiterate" people—must be laid at the door of their enemies, who carefully destroyed Wycliffe's theological writings, not omitting to do their best to destroy all copies of his Bible as well. Parts of that invaluable work, and his *Wicket*, a popular tract against transubstantiation, were all that the poor Lollards, as time went on, were able to retain. It has been alleged that the bishops did not proscribe the use of the Bible in English. But the evidence to the contrary is too strong. Thus, *e.g.*, one of the reasons for a Lollard's condemnation was: "*Item.* Nicolas Belward is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament which he bought at London for four marks of forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament."

Or this—that Richard Hun (died 1514, in Lollards' Tower) had "in his keeping divers works prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, the Epistles and Gospels in English, and Wycliffe's damnable works."[5]

True enough, the Lollards were on the whole a poor, simple, unlettered, as well as greatly afflicted people, but they kept a true faith clearly burning through the long night

[1] Trevelyan, 340 *ff.*, 353–54. One might mention the Lollards who went from Oxford to Bohemia, especially Peter Payne (see article in *N.D.B.*), said to have stolen the seal of the University and affixed it to a document declaring (to the Bohemia reformers) that all England was on the side of Wycliffe, except for some false mendicant friars. From 1417 to his death in 1455 he lived in Bohemia and took a prominent part in Hussite controversies.

[2] *See* map of "Lollardry in England and Scotland" (Trevelyan, p. 352).

[3] See *N.D.B.* His work throws great light on the Lollard "positions," of which he undertakes to deal with eleven. As against the appeal of the Lollards to Scripture, he places the "seat of authority" in Reason—so, too, in his *Book of Faith* (1456). He had to make both a private and public recantation (1457), and to resign his bishopric (of Chichester) Sept. 1458, and was imprisoned till death in Thorney Abbey.

[4] Boultbee's *History of the Church of England* (1879), p. 328.

[5] Trevelyan, 342, 349. What, too, of the licences to particular people to have English Bibles? For this and further evidence see Trevelyan, App. 361, 370.

which began to end at the "Reformation," and this is their glory.[1] [F. G. P.]

LORD'S DAY, THE.—The first day of the week, Sunday. The name was given to the day on account of our Lord's Resurrection from the dead upon it, and was in use in Apostolic days (Rev. i. 10). One of the greatest blessings enjoyed by the people of Great Britain and other Protestant countries, is the due observance of the Lord's Day, with the benefit of rest which such proper observance procures. The "Continental Sunday," prevalent in Roman Catholic countries, must ever be a cause of offence and grief to a religious mind. Business and amusements pursued much as on any other day of the week, cannot but desecrate the Sabbath. The Sunday opening of museums and picture galleries entails much work, together with the enforced presence of attendants, &c. The liberty, rest, and facilities for worship secured by the English Sunday, should be jealously guarded. The law at present is strict in this direction. No persons (except innkeepers and milkmen in certain cases) may work at their daily calling on any part of the Lord's Day, unless in works of charity and necessity. No child, young person, or woman may be employed on this day in a factory or workshop, except in the case of Jews employed by a Jew, and then only if the workshop or factory is closed on Saturday, and not open for traffic on Sunday. Sunday entertainments, open to the public for money, are forbidden, though the Crown may remit the penalties. Any place duly and honestly registered as a place of public worship, where nothing hostile to religion is advanced, is not within the Act. Public or secular business (such as vestry meetings), which fall due to be performed on any Lord's Day, must be transacted on the preceding Saturday, or the following Monday, and terms of office expire in like manner. In computing time, Sunday is considered as no day.

LORD'S PRAYER, THE.—The Lord's Prayer was not given as the only prayer to be made use of by Christians, but as a pattern or model of what true prayer should comprise. It was given, firstly, publicly in His great inaugural Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 9–13); and afterwards privately to His disciples in response to a request of theirs that He would teach them how to pray (Luke xi. 1–4). The prayer itself consists of an opening address, three petitions regarding God's glory, four petitions concerning man's needs, concluding with a Doxology, or ascription of praise. The last, which is found only in St. Matthew, is omitted by the R.V., because that Doxology is wanting in the best MSS. of the Gospel. But *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (see APOSTOLIC FATHERS), a small book ascribed to the first century, discovered in recent years, gives the Lord's Prayer with a similar Doxology. It is also given in Tatian's *Diatessaron*. See T. & T. Clark's edit., p. 58.

Although given to us by Christ Himself, some Christians have objected to the use of the prayer for various reasons. (1) It is said that the Lord's Prayer is a "form." But surely a "form" of the Lord's might pass without this objection being raised to it, more especially as it is admitted that it was not set forth as the *only* prayer for Christians to use. (2) The frequent use of the prayer is often objected to. Our Lord warned us "when ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking" (Matt. vi. 7). But the repetitions spoken of are such as are "vain," or empty. Our Lord Himself used repetition in prayer in the most agonising moments of His life, in Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 44). There is, indeed, a repetition of the Lord's Prayer which is vain, namely, the utterance of a number of "Paternosters," as the Lord's Prayer is called (from its two first words) in the Latin Version, by Roman Catholics, who fancy that by repeating the Prayer (though never so thoughtlessly) a certain number of times, they perform a meritorious act. (3) It is objected that the Lord's Prayer, having been given to the disciples before the gift of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, is not fully appropriate to the use of the Church since Pentecost. But although the Prayer was given *before* Pentecost, it was put on record after that day by the Evangelists as of permanent value to believers.

LORD'S SUPPER, THE.—See ADORATION

[1] "In process of time the power of truth in the Lollard teaching would have brought about a national Reformation, but it was hastened by the influence of the Lutheran Reformation and by political events in England. Unquestionably the suppressed, but by no means extinguished Lollards, prepared the way in thousands of homes for the great religious reforms of the sixteenth century. In the darkest night of religious superstitions the "Lollard Bible-men" were witnesses to the truths dear to all Protestants. Brave, heroic men and women they were, for the most part of the middle classes, of the traders in the towns, of the farmers in the country, who in their travails, their earnest seekings, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, laid the spiritual foundations of the great Reformation, and prepared the public mind to eagerly welcome Tindale's Testament, and the rapid succession of versions of the Scriptures that followed" (W. H. Beckett's *English Reformation*, p. 96).

CHANCEL, LANGLEY. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE VII. (1)

CHANCEL, LYDDINGTON. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE VII. (2)

OF THE EUCHARIST; AGNUS DEI; ALTAR; BLACK RUBRIC; BODY OF CHRIST; BREAD; CELEBRANT; CHASUBLE; COMMUNION, EVENING; COMMUNION, FASTING; FREQUENCY OF COMMUNION; COMMUNION IN ONE KIND; COMMUNION OF SICK; CONCOMITANCE; CONSUBSTANTIATION; "DO THIS"; EASTWARD POSITION; ELEVATION; EUCHARIST; EXPOSITION OF SACRAMENT; HOST; INFANT COMMUNION; LAUDIAN THEOLOGY; LINCOLN JUDGMENT; LORD'S TABLE; MASS; MISSA AND MISSÆ; MIXED CHALICE; NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE; ONE KIND; REMEMBRANCE; RIDLEY'S THEOLOGY; SPECIES; SPIRITUAL PRESENCE AND FEEDING; TRANSUBSTANTIATION; VESTMENTS; VIATICUM.

LORD'S TABLE, THE.—It is expressly stated in the New Testament that the Lord's Supper was instituted at a table (Luke xxii. 21, 30). The use of such a table was for the partaking of a meal in common, as is shown in Acts xvi. 34, where the Greek "prepare a table" is idiomatically rendered "set meat before them." Nor did it lose this meaning when the meal happened to include a partaking of the sacrificial victim, the "fire-portion" of which had been previously "offered" on an altar. Neither heathens nor Jews ever used their altars to cook food for the worshippers; nor did they dare to eat anything which had once been laid on the altar, and had thus been presented to the Deity, who consumed the whole of it by fire as His own portion before any worshipper could presume to think of sharing the remaining portions of the victim which were left. Hence St. Paul, in comparing the idol feast with the Lord's Supper, in 1 Cor. x. 21, was most careful to avoid using the name "altar," as in verses 18, 19, which he could not have helped doing had the Lord's Table been regarded as the analogue of the Temple altar. It has been well said that the Lord's Supper was not instituted at a *time* of sacrifice, nor in a *place* of sacrifice, nor was the President at the Paschal Supper anything more than the lay head of a family distributing a domestic meal to the "household of faith." Long after the sacrificial slaughter in the Temple, the body of the paschal lamb was removed to a private dwelling, far from the sacred precincts, and there cooked like an ordinary meal. The Paschal *Supper* did not represent either the blood-shedding or the sprinkling with the blood, but only the commemorative *festivity* in which redeemed Israel rejoiced to hold communion with its reconciled God, in the safety and happiness of a God-protected home. Hence the Supper-table of the New Testament was called the "Lord's Table" in a sense widely different from that in which the "altar" had in the Old Testament been called "the Table of the Lord." The latter was regarded as the table from which and off which God Himself accepted what was offered to Him as "the bread of God" (Lev. iii. 11, 16; xxi. 6, 8, 17; Num. xxviii. 2). But no worshipper ever ate off that table. On the other hand, the "Lord's Table" of the New Covenant was instituted and ordained by the Incarnate Son of God exclusively for *man's* benefit. The guests thereat were to "eat" and "drink" every one of them (Matt. xxvi. 27), and by these sacramental acts were to keep "in remembrance" the dying of their Lord and their fellowship with Him, and thereby with His "members." This sacred meal, which was to commemorate "the sacrifice of the death of Christ," was itself in no sense a "sacrifice," and therefore the table at which it was celebrated could be in no sense an "altar." Bishop Fitzgerald warns us against loose thinking in this matter, by saying, "The altar might be thought of as God's table; but *not conversely*, a table as God's altar." When the One sacrifice for sin had been "once offered," all offering for sin was "finished" for evermore (Heb. ix. 28; x. 2).

But other offerings still remained to be offered, viz., the spiritual self-surrender of the worshipper's own heart and will, embodied vocally in confession, thanksgiving, praise, and prayer, with the "free-will offerings" of his substance for the support of divine worship and the charitable works of the Church. Such "gifts" in kind were wont to be presented in the sight of the congregation, until by their mere bulk the inconvenience rendered it necessary to pass canons (like the 5th of the so-called "Apostolic Canons") to limit the ritual "offerings" and the "gifts" to corn, and wine, with "oil for the lamps," as being things directly employed in the service of the Sanctuary. Still these were held to represent the remaining "gifts" which were not formally presented during the service, and in some sort were held to symbolise the heartfelt devotion to their Lord of the "offerers." Hence it was that the pure "offering" of Malachi i. 11 was held to be fulfilled in the Thanksgiving Service (*Eucharist*) of the Christian Church. "The sacrifices, offerings, and gifts therefore are the prayers and thanksgivings, the alms, the contributions to the Agape, and so forth," says Bishop Lightfoot when commenting on St. Clement's language (in *Ep. ad Cor.*, xliv.) as to the Christian clergy "offering the gifts." The bread and wine selected from the choicest of these "offerings" (which were then commonly made "in kind") were regarded as first-fruits of God's providential gifts in "Nature" to mankind for the nourishment and support of

man's natural life, and a disproportionately long prayer was devoted in all the early liturgies to this feature of what might be called "natural religion." One reason for laying such stress on what we should now term the "Offertory," was that no endowments then existed, and no public charities or hospitals were then known, while the Christians were at first mainly poor people. Hence the duty and importance of the "Offering" were magnified and dwelt upon, and the "Great entrance" of the *unconsecrated* elements was (and still is by the Greeks, Copts, Syrian, and Æthiopian Christians) marked by the utmost pomp; and thus sacrificial language, such as adult converts had all their lives been familiar with, came to be freely used with a view to stimulating their charitable zeal. But in the earliest liturgies this phraseology about "oblations," and "offerings," and "gifts" *preceded* the "consecration," and was listened to and shared by catechumens and others who were not permitted to remain for the Holy Communion itself. In a well-known rhetorical passage, Hippolytus (A.D. 230) speaks of "His precious and undefiled body and blood which are consecrated on each mystical and divine Table, as being slain for a remembering of that first and ever-memorable Table of the mystic divine Supper" (Migne, p. 265). "Mystical" is used in the sense of figurative or symbolic (see Bishop Fitzgerald's *Lectures on Eccl. Hist.*, i. 183). So late as A.D. 1222, we find Germanus explaining the meaning of this metaphorical language—"the awful altar: *that is to say*, the sacred Table" (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 111).

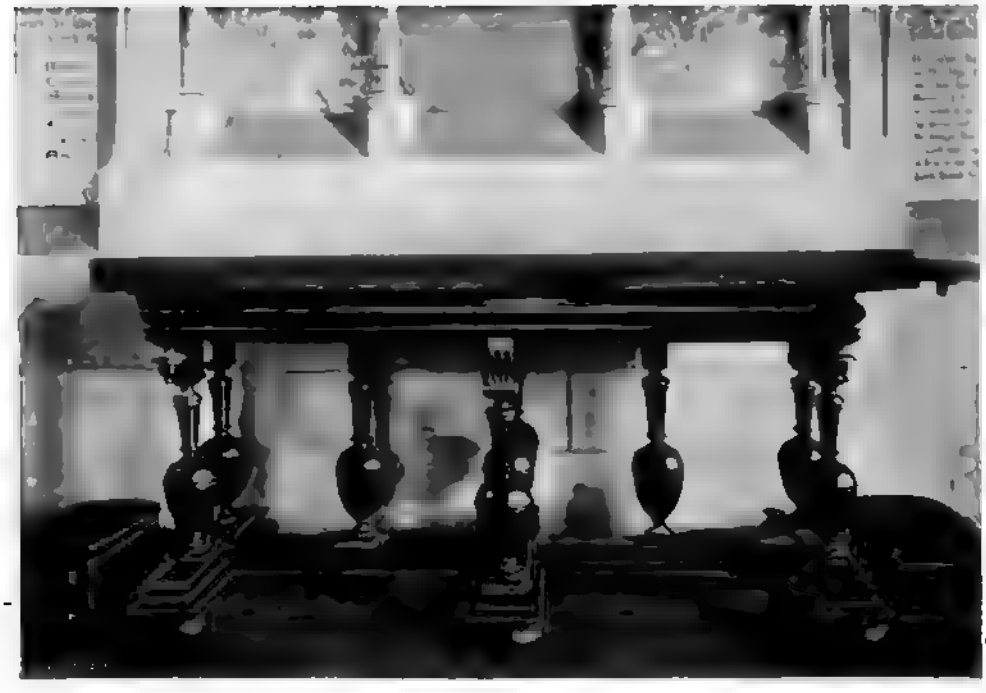
It is easy to understand how confusion would arise in men's minds between the sacrificial aspect of the elements regarded as man's self-chosen "offering" to God (in the sense above explained), and the sacrificial terms used to designate those same elements *after* their consecration, when they had become in symbol, what our Lord called them, the Body and Blood as in the very act of being "given to God," and as being "poured out" in sacrificial slaughter. The "thing signified" was a veritable "sin-offering" of blood "shed unto a remission of sins." And hence, by little and little, the rite unhappily came to be regarded as the sacrificial presentation of a *sin-offering*—thus supplanting the unique sacrifice of Calvary, the offering of which could neither be continued nor repeated.

In Western Christendom the very name "table" had ceased to be used in popular language, just as the prescribed "eating" and "drinking" had given place to the solitary "communions" (?) of the priest. Naturally, therefore, the wooden and movable tables of the Primitive Church began to be supplanted by fixed stone altars, just as the very notion of a sacrament had been ousted by belief in the pretended "sacrifice" of the mass. When this last had been fully established, it expressed itself everywhere by the priest interposing his body between the people and the "altar," to express the thought that no man cometh unto the Father but by the priest. The stone altar became a fixture against the wall, because, of course, no congregation could thrust itself beyond the mediating priest. Jewish and heathen altars needed to be of stone in order to resist the action of fire; so, to resemble these, the new "altars" must be similarly indestructible by fire, and "fire" must be lighted in the daytime on the sham "altars." Lastly, the worshippers must be taught to grovel and prostrate themselves in front of the "hidden deity." Thus the transformation of "the Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion" into the Mass became complete. It was a veritable apostasy, and neither "primitive" nor "catholic." A mosaic still remaining on the choir wall of St. Apollinaris' at Ravenna, dating from A.D. 549, shows the celebrant facing the people at a wooden table draped table-wise. It shows also the curtain or "veil" by which the Lord's Table was hidden out of sight of the non-communicants, at whose departure the "mysteries," *i.e.* symbols, were for the first time displayed to the "faithful." The side figures represent the sacrifice of Abel, and that of Abraham, whose son points to the Christian Supper-table as representing in symbol what his own vicarious offering had foreshadowed in type.

The illustration on p. 373 is from the Church of Nekresi, founded A.D. 393–405 (?) by King Tirdat-Chosroides, who is depicted in one of the frescoes as holding in his hand a model of the church. Plate 258, in M. de Fleury's *La Messe, Études Archeologiques*, is taken from Pitsounda, a Basilican cathedral on the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea, built by Justinian, A.D. 558, and gives a similar representation; but our Lord is there standing behind the table, and giving with His right hand a fragment broken off from the loaf in His left hand to a standing communicant who approaches the table on (what we should call) the south side.

In the illustration on p. 374, the left hand group at the top is from a psalter of the ninth century, preserved at Mount Athos: the group on the right being copied from the apse of the Cathedral[1] of St. Sophia at Kief, A.D. 1037,

[1] Neale (*Hist. Eastern Church*, i. 270) call these "the only ancient frescoes in Russia." The vessels hanging overhead in the picture on p. 374 are probably chalices. See Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, i. 341.



DRAWING-OUT, OR TELESCOPIC TABLE, CANTERBURY. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE VIII. (1)

TABLE, SOUTHWOLD, SUFFOLK. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE VIII. (2)

and there is a very similar one at St. Michael's, Kief, A.D. 1108, figured also by M. de Fleury, in his Plate 260. Prince Gagarine says that the same representation is common to all churches of the Caucasus, Greece and Asia Minor, older than the thirteenth century. One such of the thirteenth century is figured in Plate 261, taken from the wall of the apse over the rows of benches for the clergy which are still placed behind the altar. The practice (shown in two of the representations) of the communicant "taking" the cup, was probably based on St. Luke xxii. 17, and it was both early and general. See the *Church Association Tract* 102, pp. 5–7. The larger erect figures at the extreme ends of the lowest plate represent Abraham and Melchisedec, to the former of whom wine was "brought out" by Melchisedec for the refreshment of Abraham's soldiers.

17) that, in both representations, "the altars, like the offering tables actually in use in the Levant, are sustained by one foot only." The inscription in Greek, "Drink ye *all* of it," as well as the evidence of communion in *both* kinds, maintain their silent protest within the Vatican itself against two corruptions of the Latin communion which are actually more modern than is this ancient dress.

Many other instances showing the "MANWARD" ministration of the Supper are given in the Tract, *The Liturgy and the Eastward Position*, published by the Church Association, to which we are indebted for the above.

It was physically impossible to approach many of these "altars" in front; and access could be gained to them only by flights of steps at the north and south "sides." In Rome itself many of the ancient churches show an

NEKRESI— FRESQVE dans l'Abside de L'EGLISE

Another witness preserved at the Vatican is the richly embroidered Dalmatic (see p. 375). It is of Byzantine work, and dates from about A.D. 1200. On the shoulders of this dress are embroidered two separate representations of the Saviour distributing Holy Communion "in either kind" to His disciples. Each shows the celebrant standing "westward"; in each the communicants approach what Archbishop Benson calls the north and south "ends" of the table. The "cup," a two-handled vessel, resembling the "grace-cup" in use at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, is being handed by one handle to an apostle, who, with veiled hand, is about to take it.[1] M. de Fleury observes (iv. altar lifted up high above the heads of the people and quite inaccessible in front, as depicted in Bunsen's plates of the churches of St. Maria Maggiore, St. Praxede, St. Clemente, St. John Lateran, St. Mary beyond Tiber, and many others (*Die Basiliken der Christlichen Roms.*, Pl. X. XXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. &c.).

This is well shown on p. 377, copied from a piece of carved ivory in the Public Library at

[1] This is shown much more clearly in Valentini's *Basilica Vaticana*, vol. ii. plate 74; and in Bock's *Kleinodien der Heil-Römischen Reiches*, p.

98. In the Syriac Liturgy of Ignatius, we read: "Take and drink each from one another's hand" (*Not. Euch.*, p. 630). In St. Chrysostom's the clergy "seem to have passed the paten and chalice to each other" (Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 147). The earliest known chalices were of this two-handled pattern. See Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, i. 338.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and representing an archbishop celebrating mass. "This carving is probably of the ninth century," says Mr. Nesbitt, in Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, p. 1572. The large size of the communion cup suggests lay communicants, whereas just before the Reformation the chalice had dwindled into a tiny vessel intended only for the celebrant's use.

The earliest tables were of wood, and movable, as Cyprian's phrase *altari posito* (*Ep.*, xxix., ed. Wallis) illustrates, and were not placed against the wall. Even in the Catacombs, where it might be thought "necessity would know no law," there are traces of the pillars supporting the table in the centre of the church, the main entrance being at the east, as seen in the ancient Romano-British church at Silchester, a model of which is now in the museum at Reading. At certain points in the service the deacon called out "To the east," showing that they ordinarily faced the other way. Possibly this was to remind them of the baptismal covenant, in making which it was customary to "renounce the devil" facing toward the sunset, after which they turned round toward the sunrising to profess their adopted faith. "Orientation" was then so far from being identified with "the worship of the Host" that the people turned their backs upon the table itself. Naturally, therefore, when

of the apse (*Dict. Christian Antiq.*, p. 62). Cardinal Wiseman, in his tale *Fabiola*, describes the raised chair of the bishop cut out of the solid wall with a stone bench running round on either side from it, and adds, "a portable altar must therefore have been placed before the throne, in an isolated position in the middle of the Sanctuary." Even when tombs came to be used as "altars," Bourassé tells us: "Les ministres sacrés étaient rangés tout autour, tandis que la foule remplissait la salle" (*Arch. Chrétienne*, p. 64).

The clergy were ranged behind the table, the celebrant descending from his raised seat in the centre so as to face the congregation. He also faced eastward, because the sanctuary was then placed at the west end

the clergy came to be regarded as mediators in sacrifice, and the worship itself came to be directed toward the consecrated elements, the position of the Holy Table was reversed by placing it against the east wall, and the priest interposed himself between the people and their "hidden deity." Many Anglican writers of the eighteenth century were misled by the current tradition which had lasted some centuries before their time, and when they read of altars or churches "looking towards the east," imagined that the back and not the front of the structure faced that way! Even in England we have remains, as at Lyminge in Kent, and Canterbury itself, showing that the original sanctuary was at the west (Scott's *English Church Architecture*,

p. 20). Bede is a witness how at Canterbury the altar was placed "in medio pene suo," and Eadmer tells us, "ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina misteria, faciem ad populum, qui deorsum stabat, ad orientem versam habebat." At Norwich Cathedral the bishop's throne still remains visible behind the altar, and at Stow and Little Bytham in Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, seats behind the altar formed part of the original structure.

At the Reformation in England, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the main subject of the "Reform." After suppressing all the side altars so as to get rid of solitary masses, the next step was to supplant the remaining "high" altar by a movable table of wood, which the churchwardens were directed to place anywhere within the chancel at the discretion of the "curates, churchwardens, and

questmen," who thus formed a sort of Parochial Council (Ridley's *Works*, p. 320). But the only rubric then in force directed the minister to "stand afore the midst of the altar," which had now ceased to be a fixture; and the change of environment led to much confusion—"some standing at the west side of the altar with their faces turned towards the people, others at the east, &c.," says Bishop Cosin; so they decided to abolish the eastward position altogether, and directed the minister thenceforth to stand "at the north side of the table," whatever might be its shape, and wherever or however it might happen to be placed. The place for saying Morning and Evening Prayer (which at the first was near the chancel screen, within the chancel itself) was left by the rubric to the discretion of the Ordinary; and under Elizabeth the number of Ordinaries who sanctioned or directed the prayers to be read in the nave rapidly increased. So early as 1562, the Ordinary at Sedgefield in Durham directed the table to "stand in the body of the church," and in 1567 came a further order appointing "certain forms or desks" to be provided for the table so placed. The churchwardens did, notwithstanding, "take up and remove the said table, forms, or desks," and were accordingly excommunicated by order of the Bishop's Court at Durham (Surtees Society, *Depositions*, &c., p. 118). The Royal Order appended to the Injunctions of 1559 had attempted to restrict the removal of the table to some point within the chancel itself; but when the place of "Morning and Evening Prayer" moved westward, it brought this Order into collision with the statutory rubric which expressly legalised "the body of the church" in that connection. For the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, the table stood as now, with its ends north and south, with but one known exception.

Elizabeth herself preferred to keep the table standing in its ancient place without removing it at all, and so strongly did she feel on the subject, that when she went to Cambridge in 1564, the Chancellor (who was also Prime Minister) required the authorities beforehand to see that this was done (Tangye's *Two Protectors*, p. 46), the table standing with its ends north and south (Hume's *Great Lord Burghley*, p. 147). This latter mode of placing the table was also observed when the table was moved, unless for reasons of local convenience it became needful to place it otherwise. (The proofs of this are given in Tomlinson's *Historic Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 18–35.) But when high pews had become general, and the reading-desks almost universally placed half-way down the central alley of the church, this was no longer possible, so

that the table came to be ordinarily placed "lengthwise," and, in despite of rubric, injunction, and canon, it was customarily left just where it had stood "at the communion time." Much irreverent usage resulted, and Laud set himself to change the entire face of worship, which indeed at that time, it must be admitted, needed some reform. Sheltering himself behind the royal prerogative, which he treated as absolute, he compelled the parishes to place their tables sideways, under the east window, and to rail in the enclosure so as to prevent the table being taken down into the church any more. To effect this, he suspended his Suffragans, and Williams, his rival, was even cast into prison and heavily fined. Intense exasperation was produced by these arbitrary proceedings, and the Church of England suffered proportionately in the alienation of many of her otherwise loyal sons. But it is a mistake to suppose that altar-rails originated with Laud, or that the actual removal of the table at the communion time had ever been a universal custom. At Beckington, in Somersetshire, the Table had been "enclosed with a very fair wainscot border, in which there is only one wainscot door" for the minister to enter by, placed in the middle of the chancel about

1575 (*Canterburic's Doom*, p. 98). In 1628, the churchwardens of Wapping were summoned in the Bishop of London's Consistory Court, having been "formerly enjoined to make a rail about the communion table" (*Hale's Precedents*, p. 15). Udal, in 1641, testifies that rails had been in use from the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 174). He himself adopted the Beckington plan of having his rail "square about the table," *i.e.* on all

HOLY TABLE, OMBERSLEY. (*See p.* 377.)

PLATE IX. (1)

STOTTESDON, SHROPSHIRE. (*See p.* 378.)

PLATE IX. (2)

les of it when set in the middle of the
l; whereas the Laudian plan of having
a three sides only, or merely in front,
d the number of communicants who
artake at the same time at the same

St. Martin's Orgars, Cannon Street, for
se, was attacked by Laud, although the
"stood in the midst of the chancel,
ised on all its sides
a very fair rail"
Pamphlets, No. 11,
The truth is that
in Laud's time nor
as there ever been
law requiring the
nicants to receive
rails. The Church
ely left the matter
discretion of the
authorities, subject
the control of the
ry, "if the parties
or diversely take"
rections given. Dr
testifies that when
nt to Leeds the
t custom was to
ster to the people
ir pews. Newman
the same custom at
ary's, Oxford, and
d it. At Trinity
, Cambridge, and
Cathedral, similar
remained within
memory, and other
es could be readily
d. There still re-
me examples of the
ement once so com-
showing the seats
he communicants
round about "God's
"

Buckland Monacho-
Devon, the table
n the midst of the
l, and was railed
communicants knelt
the four sides. That
ement existed in
cent times. See Fuller, *Life of Bishop*
ns, p. 420.

iews given in the various plates are from
taken by Mr. R. H. Murray, of Wor-
They show the older arrangement of
ncels, as at Hayle, Gloucestershire, as it
before 1855, and as it still exists with
lterations (Plate 2, No. 1, p. 97); Winch-
Gloucestershire, as it appeared before
Plate 2, No. 2, p. 97); Langley Chapel,
Shropshire, as arranged in 1601 (Plate 7, No. 1); and Lyddington, Rutlandshire, 1635 (Plate 7, No. 2), both still remaining.

Four tables are figured: one from Canterbury (Plate 8, No. 1), for the sake of showing the "Drawing Table" arrangement, which Mr. Murray was the first to describe, by which the table could be lengthened by drawing out the lower slab at either end so as to nearly double its extent at "great feasts of receivings," when the table was often placed in the crossing just outside the chancel entrance. The table at Southwold, Suffolk, seen in Plate 8, No. 2, is now lying disused in the belfry; it illustrates the absolute liberty as to shape which was allowed from the very first. Hence standing at the "north side of the table" meant merely standing *northward* of the table, irrespective of whether the table itself were round, square, or polygonal. The ideal aimed at was to symbolise the meal-table of disciples publicly partaking together of the "one loaf" at one and the same time; or, as the 82nd Canon expresses it, "that the communicants . . . more conveniently and IN MORE NUMBER, may communicate with the said Minister." These words were taken from the "Order" appended to the Injunction of Elizabeth in 1559, thus showing the continuity of the teaching of the Reformed Church, which has nothing in common with those sham "altars" of sacrifice, which the imitators of Rome are now seeking to substitute for the Table of the Lord.

"LA MESSE"

Plate 9 gives views of two other tables, No. 1 being in the disused chancel of Ombersley, Worcestershire, probably about 1572. Bishop Sandys (of Worcester) had a country house near, and died in 1588. A paten belonging to that church, dated 1571, may have been presented by him. There is an inscription running round the table, "Whosoever shall

eate this bread · and drinke t || his cup of the Lor || d · vnworthily : shal be gvilty of the body and bloo || d of the Lord || ." The spelling and wording are as here given. The marks || added indicate the inscription as found on the four sides of the table. The table is over 7 ft. long and nearly 3 ft. wide, very massive ; the legs have suffered from dry rot. Plate 9, No. 2, shows the table in Stottesdon, Shropshire, which is carved on all four sides, showing that it was intended when in use to be seen from all sides. It has the date of 1595. The top is loose, as in all the Elizabethan tables. The Elizabethan and Jacobean tables were often handsomely ornamented with carving, and the ornamentation was carried all round the four sides of the table, showing that it was intended to be brought out and "spread" in the midst of the congregation. Sometimes the text ran round the four sides. In height (about 2 ft. 6 in.), as well as in general character, these tables resembled the handsome domestic tables which at the same period adorned the houses of the upper classes. So much so, that it is at times questionable whether some of the tables which still remain in manor-houses, &c., may not at one time have been used for tables at which the Lord's Supper was in old times actually administered in village churches. [J. T. T.]

List of church chancels with seats on north, south, and east, in existence now or within a few years back :—

Wiggenhall St. Mary, Norfolk ; Shillingford, Berks ; Warnegay, Berks ; Shrivenham, Berks ; Wimborne ;[1] Shotswell, Warwickshire ; Brill, Buckinghamshire ; Waltham, Leicestershire ; Dartmouth, Devon ; Langley, Salop (Plate 7, p. 371) ;[1] Over Whichendon ; St. Michael's, Coventry ; Mallwydd, Montgomeryshire ; Puddleton, near Dorchester[1] (with the addition of rails on four sides); St. Martin's Orgars, Cannon St. (see *King's Pamphlets*, "E. 173," No. 17); Orford (see Dean Howson, *Before the Table*; p. 43); Ermington, Devon (see Bloxam, p. 177).

Double rows of rails were formerly found at Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol ; St. Peter's, Bristol ; All Saints, Bristol ; Milverton, Somersetshire ; Folke, Dorsetshire (with the addition of rails on three sides) ; Hayle, Gloucestershire (Plate 2, p. 97) ;[1] Deerhurst, Gloucestershire ;[1] Wynchcombe, Gloucestershire (Plate 2, p. 97) ; Austen Fryers, London. Dean Howson mentions (*Before the Table*, p. 167), that till the beginning of this century the Mayor and Corporation of Dover used to have their seats east of the Communion Table.

Chancels with rails on four sides are found at: Lyddington, Rutlandshire[1] (see Plate 7, p. 371), 1635, 12 ft. × 12 ft. enclosure ; Bloxam, Branscombe, Devonshire ;[2] Puddleton, Dorsetshire.[3] [R. H. M.]

[1] In existence now.

LORETO.—The Virgin Mary was called in French, Notre Dame de Lorette, from the site of a building at Loretto in Italy called *Santa Casa* (The Holy House), whither the Virgin's dwelling at Nazareth is said to have been miraculously transported. In 1291 it was threatened with destruction by the Turks, and was carried by angels first into Dalmatia to a hill at Tersato, where its sacredness was attested by miraculous cures and an appearance of the Virgin, as well as by investigations caused to be made at Nazareth by the Governor of Dalmatia. In 1294 angels carried it to a wood near Recanati, and from this wood (*lauretum*), or from the name of its owner (Laureta), it derived its name "the house of the glorified Virgin in Laureto." In 1295 it was removed to its present hill. Bulls in favour of the shrine at Loreto were issued in 1491 and 1507. The latter alludes to the translation of the house with some caution "as is piously believed and as the popular report is." Innocent XII., at the end of the seventeenth century, appointed a "mass with a special office" for the Feast of the Translation of the Holy House, and the Spanish Breviary still enjoins the keeping of the feast (December 10). [T. H. L. L.]

LOTTERIES.—A lottery is a game of hazard in which small sums are risked for the chance of obtaining larger ones. Readers of Dickens' *Pictures from Italy* will remember his graphic description of a lottery at Naples. The box containing the numbers is placed upon a table in full view of a crowded house. Then a small boy is hoisted up beside the box. His right arm is bared to the shoulder ready for plunging down into the mysterious chest. Then the Church comes on the scene.

"There is a murmur of irrepressible agitation. In the midst of it the priest puts his head into the sacred vestments, and pulls the same over his shoulders. Then he says a silent prayer; and dipping a brush into the pot of holy water, sprinkles it over the box and over the boy, and gives them a double barrelled blessing."

The lottery is the ordinary mode of raising money in the Church of Rome. She may call it a bazaar, or a drawing of prizes, but it is essentially a game of chance. A new church has to be erected. A meeting is called and prizes invited. Then books of tickets are printed off. A carriage and pair may be won by the purchaser of a sixpenny ticket. A fat sheep, "a cameo presented by our Holy Father the Pope," a case of brandy—these are speci-

[2] In existence now.

[3] Three out of the four rails only remain now.

mens of the prizes offered. Who will not purchase a ticket? Friends at home send books of tickets to friends in America and the Colonies, and the business is protracted over a couple of years. Then the day for the drawing of prizes arrives. A whisky bar is one of the chief attractions, where ardent spirit is retailed at four times its ordinary price "for the glory of God." Generally speaking, a fortune-teller, or an expert in palmistry, is also one of the special attractions. The drawing of the winning numbers is carried out exactly as Dickens described it. It generally happens, however, that most of the valuable prizes fall to the share of priests, or of benevolent old ladies who decline to accept them. Lotteries, it would seem, are illegal in England, but not in Ireland. Dickens describes the appearance of the disappointed at Naples, and the picture is just as true at present.

"Where the winners may be nobody knows. They certainly are not present; the general disappointment filling one with pity for the poor people. They look as miserable as the prisoners in the gaol (it forms a part of the building) who are peeping down upon them from between their bars." [T. C.]

LOYOLA, IGNATIUS.—Loyola was the founder of the Jesuit Order. He was of noble birth, and his family held a distinguished position in Spanish society. Ignatius was born in the castle of Loyola, near the town of Azpeytia, in the province of Guipuscoa, in the year 1491, and was baptized in the name of Eneco. He was as a youth a page in the court of "Ferdinand the Catholic," where he seems to have given himself up to all the worldly pleasures and vanities by which he was surrounded. While there he fell in love with a young lady in a higher social position than his own. If she had returned his affection there is no reason to doubt that they would in time have been married. Rome would thus have lost a canonised "Saint," and also an Order which has rendered to her signal service for three and a half centuries. But the lady rejected his advances, and Ignatius left the Royal Court to take up the profession of a soldier. At the siege of Pampeluna on May 20, 1521, he was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. While recovering from his wounds he spent his time in thinking about his lost lady love, and reading the *Lives of the Saints*. By a noteworthy coincidence Martin Luther, the great champion of the Protestant Reformation, was, at about the same time, shut up in the Wartburg, spending his time in the more profitable work of translating the Bible into the German language.

Loyola's illness was the turning-point in his career. Desires of becoming himself a great saint entered his mind, and led him to determine on devoting himself to the monastic life. Genelli, one of his modern Jesuit biographers, assures us that, "It pleased God to give him a sign that He accepted his offering," for "Our Blessed Lady appeared to him one night with the Child Jesus in her arms," an alleged fact which we may be pardoned for rejecting, on the ground that for nearly fifteen centuries before that time the Saviour had ceased to be a human child. Many wonderful miracles are said to have happened to Ignatius soon after this, but most of them were of so extravagant a character that no reasonable person could possibly believe in them.

At that period it was commonly supposed that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem would confer on the pilgrim great spiritual blessings. Fired with spiritual ambition, young Ignatius determined that he also would go to Jerusalem, and that he would walk the whole way there and back—excepting the sea voyages—barefooted. So, early in 1522, he set off on his journey. On the way he spent a night in the monastery of Montserrat, praying before a shrine of the Virgin, not, however, in the dress of a Spanish nobleman, but in the garb of a poor pilgrim, with a hair shirt next his skin, and an iron-spiked chain around his waist to make his body miserable. Moving forward, he spent four months at Manresa, part of the time living in a cave, lying at night on the damp floor, and varying his acts of penitential folly by the occupation of beating his breast with a stone! As a result, he naturally saw devils and all kinds of horrible things, and nearly went mad. As a reward for his devotion it is said that a statue of the Virgin actually spoke to him, though what she said is not reported. In January 1523 Loyola left Manresa, and at last reached Rome. There he obtained a pilgrim's licence from the Pope, and having started again on his travels, on August 31st he landed at Jaffa, and soon after entered Jerusalem. He had come to the Holy City hoping to spend his life there in efforts to convert the Turks to Christianity, but the Franciscan monks, who had then the spiritual charge of Jerusalem, were not at all pleased to see him, and, in fact, ordered him to go back home again! It was a cruel disappointment to the young pilgrim, but he could not help himself, and therefore, after a brief stay of six weeks, he started back on his way to Europe, and eventually arrived at Barcelona. Loyola was at this time thirty-three years of age, and as ignorant as he could well be for one in his social position. But he had the common sense to feel his ignorance, and at length he determined to commence his education. A lady of Barcelona paid the cost of

his first tutor, and gave him a decent suit of clothes to wear. The shoes with which she provided him he thought altogether too luxurious, but as he did not wish to offend his patroness, he compromised matters by cutting off the soles! Two years later he moved to Alcala, where he became a student of the University. There the Inquisitors actually thought he was a Lutheran, and consequently shut him up in one of their prisons for forty-two days. It would have been well for the world had the charge been true. He was declared not guilty, and was consequently released. Soon after he moved to the University of Salamanca, but trouble awaited him there also. Once more he was shut up in the walls of the Inquisition, but after twenty-one days was released. Ignatius, after this double experience of the Inquisition, naturally began to feel uncomfortable in his native country, and thought it wise to move to Paris. He arrived in that city early in 1528, but only to find himself for a third time an object of attention on the part of the Inquisitors. But, fortunately for him, he persuaded the Chief Inquisitor that he was a sound Romanist, and thus avoided being actually placed under arrest. At Paris University Ignatius studied for seven years, and at length took the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor. During this period he paid a brief visit to London: of that visit little is known.

While residing in Paris Ignatius Loyola formed the design of founding a new Religious Order. His first disciples were Peter Favre (or Lefevre), Francis Xavier, James Laynez, Alphonsus Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, and Nicholas Bobadilla. On August 15, 1534, Ignatius, with his six companions, met in a small chapel on the hill of Montmartre, Paris, and after hearing mass, which was "celebrated" by Favre, the seven took vows of poverty and chastity, and bound themselves to go to Jerusalem, there to labour for the salvation of souls. It therefore seems certain that at this period Loyola had not formed the idea of labouring specially to resist the Protestant Reformation in Europe. On the last day of 1535 Ignatius met his young companions (who now numbered nine) at Venice, where, on June 24, 1537, he was promoted to the priesthood. The war then raging between Venice and the Turks made it impossible for the young enthusiasts to fulfil their vow to go to Jerusalem. Ignatius, however, set to work to secure the blessing of the Pope on his proposed new Order, to whom he submitted its Constitutions. His efforts were rewarded with success, for on September 27, 1540, Paul III. issued his bull approving and establishing the Society of Jesus. The Pope limited the number of its members to sixty, but nearly three years later he issued another bull, dated March 14, 1543, by which he removed the restriction as to numbers and allowed the new Society to enrol an unlimited number in the list of its members.

On April 13, 1541, Ignatius was elected as the first General of the Society of Jesus, to whose interests he devoted the remaining fifteen years of his life. The new Order spread rapidly, gaining great favour from many of the great ones of the earth. Before many years had passed by, its members had been sent on mission work to many foreign lands. Only a few months after his election as general, Loyola sent two of his Jesuits, named Codure and Salmeron, to Ireland, to encourage the rebels there, who were at the time in arms against their lawful sovereign, Henry VIII. The celebrated Francis Xavier he sent on a mission to India, and Rodrigues was sent to work in Portugal. Peter Favre was ordered to visit Germany for the special purpose of opposing Protestantism. Favre found the German Roman Catholic priests more corrupt than he had anticipated. From Worms he wrote: "The apostasy of so many countries, the rebellion of so many cities and provinces, is to be attributed, not to the garbled Scriptures, but to the scandalous lives of the clergy. Would to God that there were in this city of Worms but two or three priests not living in concubinage, or guilty of other public and notorious crimes!" Other agents of Loyola were sent to work in Spain, Venice, and Naples. At Rome, Pope Innocent III. had, in 1215, forbidden all physicians to attend the sick, when the illness was dangerous, until a priest had been called in to hear the sick man's confession. The custom had fallen into abeyance, but Ignatius determined on reviving it. His action led to great discontent, for it was asserted that many sick persons died, whose lives would have been saved had the physician been called in first, and the priest afterwards. It was also felt to be wrong to allow a man to die without medical aid, merely because he would not confess to a priest. Ere long colleges connected with the Society were founded in several of the chief cities of Europe, amongst the earliest being those at Paris, Louvain, and Alcala. At Paris the disciples of Loyola met with a great deal of opposition from prominent Roman Catholics and the University of Paris. To found the college at Alcala, Ignatius sent a young Jesuit named Francisco de Villanueva, who, though thirty-four years of age at the time, was so ignorant that he had not yet learned his grammar! He became rector of the College. Here also many voices were raised against the Order.

In 1546 Loyola had the pleasure of seeing two of his subjects, Laines and Salmeron, appointed as "Theologians of the Holy See" at the Council of Trent. Holding this office these Jesuits had the privilege of speaking first and last at all the discussions. In everything they acted under instructions sent them by Ignatius himself. In the same year Loyola sanctioned the secret admission into the Jesuit Order of Francis Borgia, the rich and powerful Duke of Gandia, who subsequently became General of the Jesuits, and is now a canonised saint of Rome. "He was now," writes the lady who assumed the name of "Stewart Rose," in her most sympathetic *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*, "Brother Francis in the Society, but he continued in the eyes of the world such as he was before; administered his large revenues, and provided for his children." Four years later, says the same writer, Borgia was "still dressed as a gentleman of the world," the fact that all the time he was a real Jesuit having been kept as a profound secret. As General, Loyola proved a stern, and frequently a tyrannical ruler. His famous "Letter on Obedience" proves that he wished all his subjects to be practically, though not in name, his slaves. Several of his biographers report incidents showing how harsh was his rule at times. "Stewart Rose" writes that Loyola "dismissed an Infirmarian who had led an exemplary life, though all the Fathers pleaded his cause, only for an unbecoming jest. The poor man was sent away without his habit, or any money, to travel 1200 miles home." In 1549 he sent Le Juy to Bavaria to oppose the Protestant movement in a country where Jesuit influence eventually promoted not a little strife. Under the guidance of Francis Borgia, subject in all things to Loyola, the Jesuit Order obtained great influence in Spain; but John III., King of Portugal, was the first sovereign to ask for a Jesuit Director. At the Conclave held after the death of Pope Paul III. in 1550, Loyola was actually nominated as one fit to fill the papal chair, but as only five cardinals gave him their votes, success did not attend his nomination. In 1555 John, King of Portugal, wished to make Miron, his Jesuit Confessor, head of the Inquisition of Portugal. Miron referred the king to Ignatius, who wrote to his disciple in reply:—"We have at last decided, in our Lord, to remit the affair to his Highness [*i.e.* the King of Portugal], and do what he may consider useful to the service of God our Lord. For since *this charge is not opposed to our Institute*, we ought not to refuse to labour in a matter which concerns so nearly the service of God and the purity of religion in that kingdom." For some unknown cause the Jesuit Confessor was not appointed head of the Portuguese Inquisition, although, as we have just seen, Ignatius was quite willing for him to accept the office on behalf of the Jesuit Order.

Ignatius Loyola died on July 31, 1556, aged sixty-five. On July 27, 1559, his beatification took place, but it was not until March 12, 1622, that he was proclaimed a canonized saint. The chief literary work of his life was the writing of the Constitutions of the Jesuit Order, and the well-known *Spiritual Exercises*, both of which are described in the article on JESUITS.

Stewart Rose, *St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits* (1891). Father Genelli, S.J., *The Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (1871). Dominick Bonhoms, S.J., *The Life of St. Ignatius, Founder of the Society of Jesus* (1686). *The History of the Wonderful Don Ignatius Loyola* (translated from the French, 2 vols., 1754). [W. W.]

LUNETTE (from the French *lunette* denominative of *lune*, the moon).—In architecture the term denotes certain small openings in a vaulted ceiling for the admission of light; such are found in the naves of St. Peter's at Rome and St. Paul's in London. The term is also used for the circular crystal case which fits into the Monstrance. See *Catholic Dictionary*.

LUTHER AND LUTHERANISM.—Martin Luther was born at Eisleben on Nov. 10, 1483. His father, Hans Luther, a peasant from Möhra, had come to find work in the mines started many years before by the Counts of Mansfeld, who owned all the region lying round the town. These nobles had the habit of building and letting out on lease small smelting furnaces; and Hans Luther soon leased one, and then three of these furnaces, and, after an early married life of much hardship, became a fairly prosperous man. The boy was educated in the school at Mansfeld. He was sent for a year to the high-school at Magdeburg (1497); then to the famous school at Eisenach (1498). In 1501 he entered his name in letters which can still be read in the album of the University of Erfurt —"Martinus Ludher ex Mansfelt." Erfurt was then the most famous University in Germany, and young Luther was one of its most distinguished students. He had finished his Arts course with almost unique distinction, and was about to begin his special law studies, when suddenly he abandoned everything and entered the convent of the Augustinian Eremites in Erfurt (1505). The special causes which led to this sudden resolve are absolutely unknown. Disjointed explanations of friends have been woven into legends which appear in many of the lives of Luther. His inner religious life at this time is a sealed book.

He entered the convent to save his soul;

and for long years he believed that he could have done nothing else. He threw himself with ardour into his vocation. He practised obedience, he fasted, he prayed, he kept his body under by scourgings and loss of sleep. "If ever a monk could win heaven by monkery, I must have reached it," he said long afterwards. Yet he felt no nearer God; had no sense of pardon, in spite of confessions and absolutions; shared in no upspringing of a new religious life within him. He found a whole Bible in the convent; read it feverishly, but got no help from it. His soul had come to the dead-lock to which formal mediæval theology conducted those who trusted it most implicitly. That theology was a stern preacher of the righteousness of God and of the heinousness of sin. It insisted on the inexorable demands of the law of God, while it uttered despairingly that man could never fulfil them. Help came to him gradually. At last he found the peace he sought for in the old, old way which is always new—by simply taking God at His word and trusting to His promises. Then he experienced that the overwhelming righteousness of God was not a frowning battlement barring the sinner from His presence, but something within which, and as belonging to him, he could really feel that his sins were pardoned. He had not needed to come into the convent to find this out, yet his entrance there had not kept him from the knowledge. But this vision and appropriation of the pardoning grace of God did not make him then and there a reformer. It was simply the foundation on which he, a single human soul, could take his stand as on a rock. He was still a faithful son of the mediæval Church, with its Popes and its cardinals, its masses, its pilgrimages, and its monastic life. The very fact that his salvation had come to him within the convent seemed to show him that he had done right to enter it.

Meanwhile he was ordained. He began to preach. He said mass and listened to confessions. In 1508 he was called to a larger sphere. The Elector Frederick of Saxony had founded a new University, and Luther was called to lecture on philosophy. His talents for business were recognised and in 1511 he was sent on a mission to Rome, and the mixture of superstition and profligacy he saw there was of use to him afterwards. When he returned to Wittenberg he was instituted Doctor of Theology — his graduation oath making him swear to defend "evangelical truth vigorously" (*viriliter*). Then began that wonderful series of lectures which in a few years drew to the obscure University students from all parts of Germany and from the lands beyond.

Luther's work as a Reformer began with an attack on what was called an Indulgence, farmed from the Pope by Albert, Archbishop of Mainz, whose commissioner was John Tetzel, a Dominican monk of indifferent character. So far as the common people went, this Indulgence meant that on the payment of certain specified sums of money, spiritual privileges including the pardon of sins, could be obtained by the purchasers. (See TETZEL INDULGENCE.) The Elector of Saxony had refused to allow the Indulgence to be sold within his territories, but as the sale was permitted within Ducal Saxony, the Commissioner could approach Wittenberg, and people under Luther's spiritual care could go and buy the Indulgence tickets (1517). After much hesitation, Luther determined to interfere. His protest took the form of an academic "Disputation for the purpose of explaining the efficacy of the Indulgence," and contained ninety-five propositions which "Dr. Martin Luther, theologian," offered to make good against all comers. A duplicate was made in German, and the Wittenberg printing-press could scarcely meet the demands which came from all parts of Germany to get possession of these ninety-five sledge-hammer blows against what was coming to be recognised as the most flagrant ecclesiastical abuse of the time. The immediate effect of these theses was to diminish, and in some places to extinguish, the sale of the Indulgence tickets. Counter theses were published; papal theologians pressed the Pope to interfere; and Luther was summoned to Rome to defend himself (1518). It was arranged, however, that instead of going to Rome, he was to have an interview with the papal legate. This took place at Augsburg, and left both parties unsatisfied. Luther roundly declared that the effect of the interview was to make him see "that it was money, and not doctrine, that they cared about at Rome." The Pope was unwilling to act hastily, and sent his chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz, to Germany to make inquiries (1519). Miltitz soon discovered that any violent action would kindle Germany, and contented himself with making Luther promise to write no more on the subject, provided his opponents were silent. His opponents were not silent, and the famous Leipzig Disputation was arranged (1519), which came to its height when Luther was forced by John Eck, the papal champion, to confess some sympathy with what the latter called the "Bohemian heresy." In this Leipzig Disputation Luther found that his doctrine of justification by faith led to that of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, *i.e.* to the central doctrine of Reformation theology. The effect of the Disputation was to

make Luther the central figure in Germany, round whom gathered every element of revolt against the papal despotism. A bull was issued against the monk—a document which carefully avoids Luther's evangelical principles, but condemns the practical deductions he had drawn from them. The bull was published in some parts of Germany; Luther published an appeal to a General Council and solemnly burnt the bull (December 10, 1520). That same year he published his three most important writings. The tract *On Christian Liberty* is a brief statement, free from all theological subtleties, of the priesthood of all believers which follows from that experience within the believer which is called justification by faith. This little tractate and Luther's *Small Catechism* contain the evangelical principles of the Reformation put in the simplest and briefest way. *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* contains the application of these principles to the reformation of the Church, and especially of its doctrine of the sacraments; while the *Address to the Nobility of the German Nation* applies them to a national renovation.

Rome having shot its last bolt, determined to crush Luther through the civil power. The papal nuncio to the Diet of Worms (1521), Alexander, demanded that Luther should be destroyed as a pestilent heretic. It was resolved to hear the Reformer before condemning him. He was brought before the Diet, made his memorable defence there, and was by a decree, fraudulently obtained, placed under the ban of the Empire. His Elector got him safely hidden away in the Wartburg, where Luther made his translation of the New Testament — his greatest gift to the German people. The translation of the Old Testament was made afterwards at Wittenberg, where Luther was assisted by a number of scholars.

Disturbances at Wittenberg, the appearance there of the Zwickau "prophets," compelled Luther to leave his retreat (1522). He mastered the unruly elements; gained the thorough confidence of the Elector; and the Reformation promised to progress smoothly. Suddenly two events occurred which had a most disastrous effect—the revolt of the noble and the deplorable Peasants' War. This tragical year, 1525, destroyed all hopes of a peaceful Reformation which would include the whole of Germany. The terrors of the time were eagerly seized upon by the adherents of the Roman Curia to divide Germany into two hostile camps—the one accepting and the other rejecting the ecclesiastical Reformation proposed by Luther. It had also the effect of separating the Lutheran Reformation from many of the popular aspirations which had given it such an appearance of strength. The more radical religious elements appear henceforth under the name of the Anabaptists (BAPTISTS)—a name applied to a host of differing parties. The Peasants' War had also a deep effect on Luther himself. It created in him a distrust of the "common man," led him to do his best to prevent Germany having anything like a democratic Church government, and was largely responsible for his inability to treat his fellow-reformer, Zwingli, with common fairness.

In spite of these hindrances the Lutheran movement had spread, and was becoming consolidated in Germany. East Friesland accepted the Reformation in 1519; Pomerania, Livonia, Silesia, East Prussia, Mecklenburg, in 1522–23; and with these provinces a number of the largest Imperial cities. It became the established religion in Sweden in 1523. In the same year Luther published his first order of Public Worship, and the first German Hymn Book in the following year. Norway received the Reformation in 1528, Dessau in 1532, Wurtemberg and Anhalt in 1534; Denmark and Iceland in 1536; and Ducal Saxony and Electoral Brandenburg in 1539.

The years following the Peasants' War saw Protestant and Romanist Leagues formed; and varying decisions about religion at different Diets—decisions favouring the Reformation at Speyer (1526), at Nürnberg (1532), at Speyer (1544); against it at Speyer (1529), the decision being met by the famous *Protest*, and at Augsburg (1530), when the *Augsburg Confession* was read in the Emperor's hearing. These years also saw various religious conferences —at Marburg (1529), between Luther and Zwingli; at Wittenberg (1536), between Luther and the S. German theologians; at Hagenau and Worms (1540), and at Ratisbon (1541, 1546), between Romanists and Protestants.

Luther died at Eisleben in 1546 (Feb. 18). He had married Catherine v. Bora in 1525 (June 13); four children, three sons and a daughter, survived him.

Shortly after his death the long-dreaded civil war began. The Emperor was at first victorious, but in the end he was beaten. Neither Protestants nor Romanists were to be completely victorious. In 1555 the Diet at Augsburg issued the Edict which brought the religious peace. The land was divided between the two confessions on the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*. The Reformed, in distinction from the Evangelical or Lutheran Church, was not recognised; but it soon began to show itself the stronger. After 1555 the Lutheran Church lost to the Romanists Bavaria (1558), the Austrian Duchy (1578), the Bishop-

rics of Wurzburg, Bamberg, Salsburg, and Hildesheim (1584), Steiermark and Carinthia (1594), and Donauwerth (1607); and to the Reformed Church (Heidelberg Catechism) the Palatine (1560), Bremen (1568), and Anhalt (1596).

The Lutheran, or to give it its technical name, the Evangelical Church, has nine symbolical Books, which together make what is called the *Book of Concord* (1580). They are the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed (with the *filioque* clause), and the Athanasian Creed; the *Augsburg Confession* (which exists in two forms, the Variata and the Invariata), the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (1530), the *Schmalkald Articles* (drafted by Luther in 1537), Luther's two Catechisms (1529), and the *Formula of Concord* (1577). The modern Creeds, however, have a varying authority, and it may be said that the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechisms are the only symbols which are universally acknowledged. The *Formula of Concord* was drafted by six Lutheran divines to put an end to the controversies which distracted the Church during the twenty-five years after Luther's death. Its adoption led to a large secession to the Reformed Church. Attempts were made in conferences at Leipzig (1631), at Thorn (1645), at Cassel (1661), to unite the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches in Germany, but unsuccessfully. The union of the two confessions was effected in Nassau and in Prussia (1817), in Hesse (1823), and in Anhalt-Dessau (1827), to the extent that each congregation was permitted to use at pleasure either the *Augsburg Confession* or the *Heidelberg Catechism* as the test of the doctrine of its pastor. These unions were sometimes (as in Prussia) accompanied by the secessions of the stricter Lutherans, who formed nonconformist Churches. The flourishing Lutheran Church of the United States is also divided—the *General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the U.S.A.* requires subscription to the *Augsbury Confession* only; the *Synodical Conference of North America* (1872) makes its ministers subscribe the whole *Book of Concord;* the *General Council* accepts the *Augsbury Confession* (Invariata), but holds that the remaining Lutheran symbols are useful as explaining the sense of the Confession.

The foundations of Lutheran theology were laid by Melancthon in his *Loci Communes*. The book, first published in 1521, underwent many revisions by its author, and the edition of 1543 represents its completed form. Its presentation of the Lutheran theology is somewhat fragmentary. The construction of a systematic Lutheran theology was due mainly to four men: Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), who showed in his *Loci Communes*, published posthumously (1591), that there was a distinctive Lutheran theology; Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616), in his *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* (1610), gave that theology a systematic representation; John Gerhard (1582-1637) showed its roots in mediæval and patristic theology in his *Loci Theologici* (9 vols., 1610–1621); and Andrew Quenstedt (1617–1688) tried to prove in his *Theologia Polemica Didactica* that it was the only Catholic theology. (See CONSUBSTANTIATION.)

Sixteenth-century authorities. — Melancthon, *Historia de Vita et Actis Lutheri* (1546, first published as the preface to the second part of Luther's writings; to be found in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, vi. 155 *ff.*); Cochlæus (Rom. Cath.), *Historia de Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri* (1549); Caspar Cruciger, *Tabulæ Chronologicæ Actorum M. Lutheri* (1553); J. Mathesius, *Historien von des Ehrwürd. D. M. Lutheri Anfang, Lehre, Leben und Sterben* (1566, a good edition published in 1898); Fr. Myconius, *Historia Reformationis von Jahr Christi*, 1517 *bis* 1542 (ed. from MS. by Ernest Salomo Cyprian in 1718); *Lutherbriefe*, 6 vols., ed. by De Wette and Seidemann (1825–1856); *Luthers Briefwechsel*, ed. by Burkhardt (1866); *Luthers Tischreden*, ed. by Förstemann and Bindseil in 4 vols. (1844–1848); *Luthers Tischreden*, ed. by Preger (1888); *Luthers Colloquia*, ed. by Bindseil, 3 vols. (1863–1866); Luther's *Table Talk*, trans. by Wm. Hazlitt (1848); Luther's *Letters to Women*, trans. by Mrs. Malcolm (1865). The best complete edition of Luther's Works is that of Erlangen in 67 vols. (1826–1857, an improved edition of portions 1862–1885); the new critical edition published at Weimar (begun in 1883), has reached its 20th vol. Dr. Wace and Professor Bucheim have published *Luther's Primary Works*, 2nd edition (1896), consisting of translations of the Ninety-five Theses, the Larger and Short Catechism, and the three treatises of 1820. The older Lives of Luther have been superseded, owing to the amount of contemporary evidence collected during the last twenty-five years. The more recent are J. Koestlin, *M. Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 2 vols. 4th ed. (1889); J. Koestlin, *Martin Luther, der deutsche Reformator* (1883), translated into English in the same year; Th. Kolde, *Martin Luther*, 2 vols. (1884–1893); H. E. Jacobs, *Martin Luther* (1899); T. M. Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation* (1900). For particular periods of Luther's life compare: Th. Kolde, *Die Augustiner Congregation und Johann v. Staupitz* (1879); Th. Elze, *Luthers Reise nach Rom* (1899); Kapp, *Sammlung einiger . . . zum Ablass . . . gehörigen Schriften* (1731); Dieckhoff, *Der Ablassstreit* (1886); Brieger, *Aleander und Luther* (1884); Kalkoff, *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander*, 2nd ed. (1897); Schaff, *History of the Creeds of*

Christendom (1877); Schaff, *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches* (1877); Richter, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16ten Jahrhunderts* (1846). [T. M. L.]

Note on the Death of Luther.—During the course of 1890, the Rev. Paul Majunke, Roman Catholic Pfarrer of Hochkirch, near Gross-Glogau on the Oder, in Eastern Prussia, published a work on "Luther's Lebensende" (Mainz, Kupferberg, 1890). Herr Majunke, then a priest, was formerly editor of the *Germania* and other Roman Catholic papers, and for a time member of the Prussian House of Deputies, and of the German Reichstag. In the pamphlet referred to he has tried to prove by "historical investigation" that Luther did not, as ordinarily believed, die a natural death, but committed suicide, and that the fact was concealed by those who knew the truth of the matter. The pamphlet of Herr Majunke caused much jubilation in Ultramontane circles, and drew forth many pamphlets and articles. Professor Köstlin of Halle, Professor Kawerau of Kiel, and Professor Kolde of Erlangen, with others, however, successfully demolished the "house built upon the sand," and exposed the "cunningly devised" story. Majunke published a reply to Prof. Kolde and his other assailants, entitled *Die Historische Kritik über Luthers Leben Ende* (Mainz, 1890). The rejoinder of the Erlangen Professor, *Noch einmal Luthers Selbstmord*, was crushing.

The death of Luther took place on the morning of February 18, 1546. The event was unexpected, and his sudden death was much commented on, not only by the friends, but by the enemies of the Reformation. A professed account of the incidents connected with the examination of the Reformer's body by *Civis Mansfeldensis*, marked by brutal coarseness, is given by Luther's first Roman Catholic biographer, Cochlaeus, in the later editions of his work, *De Actis et Scriptis Lutheri*, published in 1565 and 1567. It is not in the first edition, published in 1549. But even that account from an anonymous correspondent does not hint at Luther's having committed suicide. Professor Kolde conclusively proves that no Roman Catholic historian of the sixteenth century ventured to express any doubt whatever concerning the truth of the "history" drawn up by Dr. Justus Jonas and the friends present on the occasion. The Roman Catholic historians of that century, of course, are full of such charitable expressions as that "he yielded up his soul to the devil," and that he "descended to Satan." Romish writers of the next century depict Luther as having died in tortures, or having, like Arius, shed out his bowels, &c.

Majunke asserts that the only account of Luther's end which the biographers of Luther have made use of is the "history" drawn up by Dr. Justus Jonas. The statement, as Kolde points out, is false. Justus Jonas drew up a letter to the Elector at four o'clock in the morning, not two hours after Luther had expired. That letter stated that there were present at his death the Court Preacher, Cœlius, J. Jonas, Luther's two younger sons, Paul and Martin, his servant Ambrose, his landlord Hans Albrecht, the notary, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld and his wife, Count von Schwarzburg, and two doctors. Two letters are extant, written also at the same time, to the Elector by Count Albrecht himself, and by Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. Another letter, written that same day, by Aurifaber, raises the number of eye-witnesses to sixteen, among whom were Aurifaber himself and Count Hans George of Mansfeld, from the latter of whom also there is a letter written the very same day to Duke Maurice of Saxony. Besides, there is extant another letter written on the same day by J. Friedrich, Councillor of Eisleben, to his uncle, the well-known J. Agricola. Friedrich was not an eye-witness, but he gives the medical opinion of the doctors, who ascribed the death to a stroke of paralysis, brought on by the closing up of a wound in his leg from which the Reformer had suffered for years.

The Court Preacher, Cœlius, delivered on February 20 the first address at the grave, in which he mentions that the corpse of the Reformer had been viewed by a large number of people, who crowded in to see his remains when the sad event was announced. Some time afterwards the "history" or *Report of the Christian Death of Luther* was drawn up at the request of the Elector by J. Jonas and M. Cœlius. The facts mentioned in that Report are confirmed by the evidence already referred to, all of which is totally suppressed by Majunke.

Forty-three years after Luther's death the Oratorian Thomas Bozius in 1593 asserted, in his *De Signis Ecclesiæ*, that he had heard from the testimony of one who had as a boy been a servant to Luther, that Luther hung himself with a rope. The same writer asserts that several of the Reformers died awful deaths. Œcolampadius was strangled, Calvin died of the lousy disease, while a horrible devil frightened all those who were present at the deathbed of Martin Bucer. Bozius is the first authority on which Paul Majunke depends. A fuller account is given by Sedulius, in his *Præscriptiones adv. Hæreses* (Antwerp, 1606), sixty years after Luther's death, which is reprinted as the fullest and most reliable authority in Majunke's pamphlet, pp. 95–97. The name of the informant, however, is not given, and the writer shows his fitness for the work of

a historian, by setting forth as equally trustworthy another account (suppressed without notice by P. Majunke), by one whose name is given, Tileman Bredebach, written in 1587, who states that all the demoniacs, then at the shrine of St. Dymna at Brabant in hope of being cured by that saint, were freed from evil spirits on the day that Luther was buried, and were again possessed by the evil spirits the day after; the reason being, as discovered by due interrogatories, that the Prince of the Devils summoned them to attend Martin Luther's funeral, which they did in the form of ravens, who in incredible numbers accompanied Luther's corpse to its last resting-place!!!

Such are Herr Majunke's authorities. Other grave misrepresentations of fact abound in his work. It is important to put such misstatements on record, because such charges are often brought up by those who desire to deprave the character of the Reformers.

[C. H. H. W.]

M

MACCABEES.—See APOCRYPHA OF OLD TESTAMENT.

MACEDONIANISM.—See HERESY.

MANES AND MANICHEANS.—See FATHERS, HERESY.

MANIPLE is a Romish and Ritualistic vestment, like the stole, but smaller; worn by the priest, deacon, and subdeacon over their left arm. It is generally explained to represent the cord by which Christ was bound when being scourged.

MAN OF SIN, THE.—As a matter of strict exegesis the prophecy of the Man of Sin ought to be considered apart from the prophecy of St. John concerning the Antichrist. See ANTICHRIST. The name Antichrist may, indeed, be used of the Man of Sin, because the name (*the* Antichrist) used by St. John in his second Epistle, ver. 7 (so the R.V. correctly), is employed as a general designation of all false teachers in the Church of Christ. Strictly speaking, however, the two terms are not altogether identical. St. John is the only writer who uses the expression "the Antichrist," and St. Paul is the only writer who speaks of "the Man of Sin." "The falling away" or "the Apostasy" in the Church of Christ is, however, more or less distinctly spoken of by all the writers of the New Testament. In the critical investigation of the subject it will further tend to clearness of thought to view St. Paul's prophecy apart from the prophecies in the Book of the Revelation which may be, rightly or wrongly, supposed to speak of the Apostasy. In 2 Thess. ii. 1–13, St. Paul distinctly states that the Second Advent would not take place until "the Apostasy" would be fully developed in the Church, and "the Man of Sin" be manifested. The Apostle does not, however, affirm that the dominion of "the Man of Sin" was to be as widespread as "the Apostasy." The latter idea has been imported into the passage from a too precise identification of "the Man of Sin" with the wild beast (*θηρίον*) of Rev. xiii. 1.

It has been already shown, in the former article, that "the Antichrist" does not designate an individual person. The statements concerning "the Man of Sin," as to the time both of his development and of his destruction, indicate a succession of persons rather than one individual. Samuel's prophecy concerning "the king" of Israel in 1 Sam. viii. 10–18 was not a prophecy of an individual king, but of the line of Israelite monarchs which commenced with Saul. Similar is the case of St. Paul's prophecy of "the Man of Sin." The name (*ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας*) as connected with "the Apostasy," has a reference to Jeroboam the son of Nebat, so often spoken of in the Books of the Kings as "the man who made Israel to sin," who led the ten tribes into apostasy from Jehovah. Israel never, indeed, ceased professedly to worship Jehovah. But the apostasy Jeroboam brought in lasted all through the troublous history of the northern kingdom, *i.e.* the kingdom of Israel as distinct from that of Judah. The designation "Man of Sin" is also partly explained by the other title given to him by St. Paul, namely (*ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*), *the son of perdition*, which was employed by Christ of Judas Iscariot (John xvii. 12). The phrase *ὁ ἄνομος*, or the *Lawless One* (ver. 8), may be used of any one who either sets God's law at defiance, or raises himself above it.

The peculiarity of "the Man of Sin" consists in his sitting in the temple of God (the Church of Christ), showing himself that he is God. Outside the Church of Christ, many heathen kings have called themselves "God." Not one of those monarchs, however, claimed to be actually immortal, or pretended to be able to work miracles. The "Divinity," therefore, which was claimed by them, expressed little more than that they were the representatives on earth of the great Maker of the universe. That fact ought to be borne in mind, for it is too often left out of sight. The "Man of Sin" was to claim within the Church of Christ the authority which heathen kings had impiously claimed to exercise in the world. He is represented in the prophecy of St. Paul as, although a leader of the visible Church, opposing and exalting himself "against" (*ἐπί*) all that is called God, or is worshipped (ver. 4).

Struck at Rome at the coronation of Pope Leo X. On the reverse is the inscription (found also on other medals) : *Quem creant adorant* (" *Whom they create they adore* ").

Medal to commemorate Pope Innocent XII. opening " the Holy Door " on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1700. The light descending from heaven represents the descent of the Holy Spirit.

Medal of Pope Alexander VIII., struck 1690, depicts the supposed victory of the Church over Heresy, represented as the seven-headed monster struck down by the cross of Religion. Inscription on reverse: *Non prevalebit* (" *It will not prevail* ").

Thus the R.V. correctly renders the Greek preposition (incorrectly rendered in the A.V. as "above all that is called God"). The word used by St. Paul in ver. 4, "exalteth himself," is used in the LXX. (as Bishop Christopher Wordsworth pointed out) of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 23), and by St. Paul of himself in 2 Cor. xii. 7. The phrase *ὁ ἀντικείμενος* (*that opposeth*, R.V.) denotes one who sets himself "as a rival *foundation* in *the place of*, or *against*, another *foundation*" (Bishop C. Wordsworth). Of Jesus Christ it is said, "Other foundation can no one lay than that which already lieth (*κεῖται*), which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. iii. 11). Christ is the true Rock and foundation of the Church (Matt. xvi. 18), and the Pope claims that Christ in that passage referred to Peter and the line of Popes.

The expression used of *the Church* by St. Paul is the *ὁ ναός*, which means the *inner sanctuary*, and not *ἱερὸν* (*hieron*), which latter is employed in the only passage in which the Apostle speaks of the *material temple* at Jerusalem (1 Cor. ix. 13). It is idle to suppose that the Apostle points to a material temple yet to be built in Jerusalem. St. Paul constantly uses *ναός* in a mystical sense (see 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. ii. 21). *Naos* is used mystically in John ii. 19–21 of the human body of Christ. It is used further of the sanctuary in the New Jerusalem above (Rev. iii. 12), and also of the inner sanctuary of God on earth, the true Church of Christ (Rev. xi. 1, 2).

The Greek word for "that is worshipped" is *σέβασμα*. In the only other passage where that word is found in the New Testament, namely, Acts xvii. 23, the word is in the plural, "the objects of your worship" (R.V., obscurely rendered in the A.V. "your devotions"). The special object of worship alluded to in Acts xvii. was the altar to the unknown God. The latter fact may possibly justify Bishop Wordsworth and others in illustrating the fulfilment of St. Paul's prophecy by adducing the fact that the Pope, at his inauguration, is placed sitting upon the so-called alta in St. Peter's at Rome while the cardinals "adore" him. See the medal struck by Pope Martin at the Roman Mint, A.D. 1417. We prefer, however, to explain the passage of the divine power claimed by the Pope, and by the priests delegated by him—for priestly authority is in the Church of Rome supposed to be derived from the Pope as supreme head—to pardon sins as God. The Romish priests (like their imitators the Ritualists) claim to be seated in the confessional boxes, and to occupy there the place and position of God (*Catechism of the Council of Trent*, part ii. chap. vii. 2, Donovan's Translation). The Pope, moreover, claims power over the invisible world. He claims to be able to open the gates of heaven (see coin of Innocent XII. struck at the Jubilee of 1700), to grant celestial honours, and to be able to enrol saints among the mediators of heaven. As

POPE LEO X. REPRESENTED AS "THE LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH" (Rev. v. 5).
BUONANNI, *Numism. Pontificum*, vol. i. pp. 167–8.

one who possesses Divine right to all power, he consequently claims even now to have the right to kill and to persecute heretics (P. Marianus de Luca, S.J., *Inst. Juris Publ. Eccl.*, vol. i. pp. 142–148, Rome, 1901), for heretics ought, according to Ecclesiatical Law, to be "sent to their own place by death." The work of de Luca has been approved by Pope Leo XIII., and the Pope's letter of commendation is printed on the paper covers of the two volumes of the book.

Dean Farrar, in his *Life of St. Paul*, has ventured to assert that "no man of competent education" can now accept the interpretation just given. But the Dean's statement is founded on a determination only to admit the Biblical predictions of future events as *vaticinia post eventa*. In spite of all such dogmatic attempts to discredit the old interpretation, we hold fast by it in the main. It has inspired many a martyr in days gone by to stand fast against the anti-Christian doctrines of the Church of Rome.

St. Paul refers in that prediction to the

statement he had often made in the church of Thessalonica concerning that which "restrained" or "hindered" the revelation of the great evil (vers. 4, 5). That statement the Apostle knew the Thessalonian Christians would "remember," and probably it is included among "the traditions" mentioned in ver. 15. There was a good reason why St. Paul did not express his meaning in writing, for the Romans maintained that their empire was to last for ever. We therefore agree with the statement found in Tertullian, *De Resurr. Carnis*, 24, that the apostle referred to the restraining power of the Roman pagan Empire as the hindrance in the way of the Man of Sin. Irenæus teaches the same truth (*Against Heresies*, book v. chaps. xxv. and xxvi.), where he identifies the fourth beast of Daniel with the Roman Empire, and speaks of the events which were to occur after its overthrow. So Jerome on Dan. vii., and others of the Fathers. The biting frosts of paganism kept down for a time weeds in the garden of the Lord, but when the spring of the Church's worldly prosperity arrived, those weeds sprang up apace in the Church of Christ.

To quote the authorities who have supported this exposition (the full details of which it is here unnecessary to enter into) would unduly occupy space. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth's small but valuable tracts ably sketch what has been well termed the "Protestant interpretation." See Bishop C. Wordsworth, *Union with Rome. Is not the Church of Rome the Babylon of the Book of Revelation?* (8th edit. 1874); and *Is the Papacy predicted by St. Paul? An Inquiry* (1880). [C. H. H. W.]

MANTELLETTA.—A short cloak without sleeves, worn by certain prelates of the Romish Church. The privilege of wearing it is granted by the Pope.

MARIOLATRY.—See MARY, THE VIRGIN.

MARIST FATHERS, THE.—Also called Marist Brothers. This Society was founded by a French priest, the Rev. Father Colin, early in the nineteenth century. They are a teaching order, but, according to the rules of their founder, they are expected to devote themselves especially to the care of the poor. They are known as the "Society of Mary," and were approved by Gregory XVI. in 1836, and by Pius IX. in 1873. Very early in their career the Marists got charge of the missions in New Caledonia. They work under the supervision of the local bishop, teaching in the schools or preaching to the heathen, as they may be directed. The Marist Fathers take orders, and it was said that at one time most of the Roman Catholic clergy in New Zealand were members of the Marist Order. The Marist Brothers do not take orders, but take the usual vows and devote their time exclusively to teaching. There are also Marist Nuns, and Marist Sisters. They have many houses in Great Britain and Ireland, and their novitiate is at Paignton, near Torquay. The nuns have houses at Peckham and Richmond. The *Marist Brothers* are not to be confounded with the *Christian Brothers*, founded by J. B. de la Salle in the seventeenth century. [T. C.]

MARONITES.—The origin and progress of the Maronites is obscure. They are generally thought to have arisen as a Monothelite sect among the monks of St. Maro, a contemporary and friend of St. Chrysostom, who founded a monastery on the Orontes between Emesa and Apamea, and to have taken their name from him or from one of their number, John Maro, who became Patriarch of Antioch in 688.

At the beginning, as now, the name denoted racial—Syrian—as well as religious difference; the 600 monks of St. Maro made common cause with the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, and under the leadership of Abraham, nephew of John Maro, successfully maintained their independence against the Emperor, the Arabs, and the Turks. Thenceforward their Patriarch united political and spiritual powers, and they continued independent till the time of the Crusades, when the whole nation or Church, 40,000 in number, became Roman Catholics (1182); and in 1736 a Maronite Church Council accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent.

At the end of the sixteenth century a Maronite College was established in Rome; it has produced many illustrious theologians and grammarians. Some of these, notably J. S. Asseman, rebut the accusation of heresy and say that the Maronites have always been orthodox, and that they have been confused with the Mardaites = *rebels* against the Emperor (the name is derived from the Syriac root מרד, *to rebel*), a mixed people who spread from Antioch to Jerusalem, welcomed fugitives from any source, and resisted Saracen invasion.

The Maronites had a feudal organisation, and their aristocracy chose an Emir till 1842, when after a bloody strife with the Druses, the administration of the Lebanon was shared between both races. Since 1861 the Lebanon has been under one governor appointed by the Turks for a five years' tenure of office. The Patriarch has now no firman. He is under the Propaganda, but continues to be elected by his own people and still names the archbishops, titular only, of Aleppo, Beyrout, Dan, Tyre, Sidon, and Tripoli, and the bishops of Cyprus, Baalbec, Jebail, Botri, and two others. He resides in the monastery of St. Mary of Kanobin and at Bhirky in Kesroan. A titular bishop is Superior of a college at Ain Warda. Besides bishops, priests, and deacons, they

have the minor orders of sub-deacon, reader, and psaltes or cantor. They have still very many monasteries and convents.

The Maronites have adopted Roman vestments and some Roman rites, *e.g.* that of baptism and the form in absolution; but they retain their ancient Syriac Liturgy, which differs only in slight variations from that of the Jacobites, and they have communion in both kinds; they retain also some peculiar observances, such as the Lenten office, public nightly prayers and commemoration of the dead during the three weeks preceding Lent. The parochial clergy marry; bishops are chosen from the monks.

The Maronites are variously estimated to number at the present time 150,000, or 280,000. They reside chiefly in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and are found from Aleppo to Nazareth, and in Cyprus.

Authorities.—William, Bishop of Tyre in Bongaris, *Gestis Dei per Francos.* Faustus Naironus, *Diss. de Orig. Nom. et Relig. Maron.*, Rome, 1679. *Ass. Bibl. Or.*, i. pp. 496–523. Renaudot, *Litt. Or. Coll.*, ii. De la Croix, *État Présent des Nations et Églises en Turquie*, Paris, 1695. [J. P. M.]

MARRIAGE.—Marriage can only be dealt with here as far as it affects the Church of England. Marriage has been defined by Mr. Justice Stirling in Bethell *v.* Hilyard, 22 C.D. 220, as "The voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others." By the XXVth Article marriage is in the Church of England not "a sacrament." Until the Council of Trent, even in Canon Law, it was not necessary for its validity that marriage should be performed by a person in Holy Orders. Its sacramental character, according to the Old Canon lawyers' view, was not affected by its having been celebrated without a priest. A list of the persons who cannot intermarry, as being within the prohibited degrees, is given in the Table of Relationship and Affinity set forth by authority in the year 1563. This Table was drawn up by Archbishop Parker, and depended for its validity on several Acts of Henry VIII. It is now printed at the end of the Prayer Book. Until the Act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 76, it does not seem to have been necessary that a marriage should have been celebrated by a clergyman or in a church. See Lord Stowell's Judgment in Dalrymple *v.* Dalrymple, 2 Hag. Com. 137 (note). But in Reg. *v.* Miller, 10 Cl. & Fin. 534, decided in 1844, some of the Lords doubted whether such a marriage was sufficient to entitle the children to inherit property, and thought by the common law of England it was necessary that the marriage should be performed by a person in Holy Orders. The Act of Uniformity of Charles II. forbids a layman or a person not in *priest's* orders to consecrate and administer the Lord's Supper, but does not forbid such person performing any other function, and it is a nice question (which is undecided) whether the rubrics go any further and forbid a layman to perform the other services. The Act of George II. made marriages of all persons, except Jews and Quakers, void if not performed in a church, and laid down the conditions as to publicity required. The 62nd Canon forbids a "minister" to celebrate a marriage, except by banns, without a licence (see LICENCE). The rubrics in the Marriage Service speak of "the curate" solemnising the marriage, then of a "priest," then of a "minister," using all these words, apparently, indifferently. It has been ruled by Chief-Justice Tindal that a deacon can celebrate a marriage in the Church of England. See Stephens' *Eccl. Statutes*, p. 1999. The Act of George IV. speaks of a parson, minister, vicar, or curate solemnising a marriage, and makes it *inter alia* a felony for any person falsely pretending to be in Holy Orders to solemnise matrimony according to the rites of the Church of England; but it does not make the marriage void unless the parties married knowingly and wilfully consent to, or acquiesce in, the solemnisation of the marriage by a person not being in Holy Orders. By the Act of 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 85, valid marriages can be celebrated either in Nonconformist chapels or at a registry office.

Marriages within the prohibited degrees were until 1835 only voidable, but not void; they are now void. The essentials for a valid marriage are: (1) That the man should be not less than fourteen or the woman twelve years of age. (2) Capacity to contract a marriage, *i.e.* that the parties should be unmarried and not within the prohibited degrees. (3) Consent. If there is no consent the marriage is void (Scott *v.* Sebright, 12 P.D. 20). (4) That the statutory requirements as to publicity and method of celebration should be complied with. If lunacy exists at the time of the marriage no true consent can be given, and the marriage would therefore be void (Lord Durham's Case, 10 P.D. 80). Impotence makes a marriage voidable if the person not impotent makes the complaint in a reasonable time (G. *v.* M., 10 App. Cas. 171).

Royal Marriages are regulated by separate legislation, as to which see MORGANATIC MARRIAGE. [E. B. W.]

MARY, THE DOLOURS OF.—These are in Romish works asserted to be seven in number. (1) The first are the sorrows alluded to in the prophecy of Simeon (Luke ii. 34, 35). (2) Those supposed to have attended Mary's flight from Herod into Egypt with Joseph and

the infant Saviour (Matt. ii. 13–15). (3) The sorrows which attended the loss of Christ in the Temple (Luke ii. 41–51). (4) Those which were endured when Jesus took leave of His mother before going to death, and on the way to the cross. These are asserted by Alphonsus Liguori to have been revealed by the Virgin to St. Bridget (*Glories of Mary*, part ii. disc. ix.). (5) Those suffered at the cross (John xix. 25–27). (6) Those suffered when Christ was taken down from the cross, and (7) those endured at the burial of Jesus.

MARY, THE VIRGIN.—No Christian can ever think of Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, without the deepest feelings of respect and affection. No candid reader can doubt that Matthew and Luke both represent her as a virgin at the time of the birth of her divine Son (Matt. i. 18–25; Luke i. 26–38). The genealogies given by these two Evangelists are probably official registers, and their discrepancies have been accounted for on various hypotheses. Matt. i. 16 may have been tampered with by scribes in old Greek or Syriac MSS., but the intention of both authors is patent, and their accounts were unquestionably believed from the earliest times. That Mary was afterwards the wife of Joseph is explicitly stated in Matt. i. 24; that by him she gave birth to other sons is implied in verse 25, according to most MSS., as well as in all MSS. of Luke ii. 7. The names of "brethren" of Jesus are mentioned in Matt. xiii. 55, to which are added "sisters" in verse 56. Two alternative hypotheses were brought forward in the fourth century to account for this: one being that of Jerome, *i.e.* that these brethren and sisters were the children of His mother's sister (John xix. 25), who was identical with Mary the wife of Alphæus or Cleophas; the other, that of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. The first of these conjectures is rendered doubtful by the statement that "neither did His brethren believe in Him (John vii. 5), at a time when He had already appointed His twelve disciples (see previous chapter, verse 70), one of whom we know from Matt. x. 3, Mark iii. 18, and Luke vi. 15 to have been James the son of Alphæus. "His brethren" are also mentioned as persons present in an upper room at Jerusalem after the Ascension, "James the son of Alphæus" having been previously named. Both theories are very ably dealt with by Mr. Latham in *The Risen Master*, who says (p. 305), "What weighs most with me is the repeated mention of the brethren as being in company with their mother. We find them clinging to her in a way which we should not expect to find in four stepsons, the youngest of whom must have been well over thirty years of age; and their doing so is still more improbable if we suppose them to be nephews." Latham also considers "His mother's sister," in John xix. 25, to be Salome. The only real difficulty about the supposition that they were the sons of Mary lies in the fact that on the Cross our Lord commended His mother to the care of John; which may be accounted for by the absence or estrangement of the "brethren," an estrangement which was afterwards removed by our Lord's appearance to James, recorded incidentally by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 7.

That Mary had no appointed work or official position in the Church of her divine Son is evident at almost every mention of her name. When Jesus, at the age of twelve, is found tarrying in the Temple, He replies to her affectionate remonstrance, "Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing" (Luke ii. 48), with the significant claim to a divine Sonship, "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business?" (verse 49). When Mary seeks to direct His exercise of divine power at the marriage feast of Cana, He replies, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" When, with His brethren, she tries to restrain Him from addressing the multitudes, He asks, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" and proclaims a wider kinship with all who do the will of His Father who is in heaven. It is significant that our Lord appeared first not to His mother, but to Mary Magdalene and other women; and also that in the memorable gathering after the Ascension (Acts i. 14), the presence of other women is recorded before that of "His mother." Clearly, therefore, a leading place in the assemblies of the Church was not accorded to Mary during her earthly life.

So much for Holy Scripture. At what period, then, in the Church's history did Mariolatry arise? In the Epistle from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, written, according to Dionysius of Corinth and Eusebius, by Clement, probably about A.D. 95, the Virgin is not even mentioned, nor is there any allusion to her in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement. (See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.)

The *Epistle of Polycarp* to the Philippians does not once mention Mary. In all the Epistles of Ignatius she is not alluded to more than six times, being simply called "Mary," without any epithet. Apologies and treatises dating from the second century are extant, and in them, had the apostles or earliest Christians considered that any special honour was due to Mary beyond what is hers as a good woman, we should expect to find expressions of reverent worship. Probably the earliest is the *Apology of Aristides*, read at Athens before the Emperor Hadrian about A.D. 125, of which

the Syriac text was discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1889, and the Greek by Dean Armitage Robinson soon afterwards. This Apology says (ed. Harris, *Texts and Studies*, 1891, p. 36), "It is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God. This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye will also read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it."

The *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, was written at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Lightfoot considers it to be of the earlier date, chiefly because in it bishops and presbyters are still synonymous. A manuscript of it, in Greek, was discovered in 1875 at Constantinople by Bishop Bryennius, Metropolitan of Nicomedia; it is now in the Library of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. In it there is no mention whatever of the Virgin Mary.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* must have been written between A.D. 70 and A.D. 132. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria, and in it also there is no mention of the Lord's mother. In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, allusion to Mary is likewise conspicuous by its absence. The whole "plot of the story," if we may so call it, consists of visions which Hermas saw. In these a glorified woman is the most prominent figure, and here, if anywhere, it would have been suitable to introduce the Virgin; but such an idea does not seem to have occurred to the second-century author. The lady in question is explained to represent the Church.

There is in existence a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, relating the martyrdom of Polycarp, which took place in A.D. 155 or 156. There is no mention of Mary in it.

In an age of science like ours, no importance can be attached to mediæval or modern visions or dreams, such as that of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus in the third century, or to the little girl Bernadotte at Lourdes in the nineteenth. These would be worthy of attention only if they had revealed anything new or valuable that could not have been previously in the dreamer's thoughts. In the case of the supposed apparition at Lourdes, it cannot be believed that the powers and faculties of the mind are not further developed in heaven than they have been on earth; how then could the woman who uttered the sublime poetry of the *Magnificat* find no better words in which to express herself nineteen centuries later than "I am the Immaculate Conception?"

Irenæus says (*Hær.*, iii. ch. 22, § 4), "What the Virgin Eve bound by unbelief, that the Virgin Mary loosed by faith." This is nothing more than a pious observation for the purpose of his argument, which is, that the Lord Jesus was verily man of the substance of His mother. There is in Irenæus' writings no trace of adoration nor of appeal to any influence of Mary.

The real source of Mariolatry is to be found in apocryphal writings. The *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the kernel of which may have been written within the second century (but which, according to Harnack, received its present shape two centuries later), is manifestly a romance, founded on the Gospel story of the Nativity. It purports to be written by James about the time "when Herod died a bitter death" (see ed. Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, No. XI. p. 12). James the son of Alphæus, or James the Lord's brother, must be meant, for James the son of Zebedee had been slain by Herod some time previously (*cf.* Acts xii. 2 with ver. 23). The author insists on the perpetual virginity of Mary, but, like the Lewis Palimpsest in Matt. i. 21, he does not scruple to make the Angel say to Joseph, "She shall bear to thee a son" (*ibid.* p. 7). On two points the *Prot. Jac.* is inconsistent with the canonical Gospels. One is that it represents Mary's father to have been a wealthy man. As a sign of rejoicing when his wife Hanna is about to become a mother, he offers ten fat lambs to the Lord God, besides giving ten fat bull-calves to the priests and elders, and a hundred kids to all the people (*ibid.* p. 2). Contrast this with the offering made by his daughter for her purification, as recorded by Luke (ii. 24), a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons, *i.e.* the offering allowed in Lev. xii. 8 in such cases when through poverty a lamb could not be provided. The other is that the priest is represented as saying to Mary, "Thou who wast reared in the Holy of Holies" (*ibid.* p. 7). But the High Priest alone entered the Holy of Holies, and only once a year (Exod. xxx. 10; Lev. xvi. 2; Heb. ix. 7); so we must conclude that the author of the *Protevangelium* was probably a Gentile, and that he wrote at a time when the usages of the Jewish Temple were not vividly remembered. No Jew would have made such a blunder. Although the *Protevangelium* insists strongly on the perpetual virginity of Mary, it does not direct any adoration to be offered to her. It is far otherwise with the *Transitus Mariæ*, a work which dates from the fourth century. According to Ewald, "the whole cultus of Mary in the Papal Church rests upon this book." In it she is called the "Mother of God." All created beings are incited to adore her. She is said to have been "holy and elect of God before she was born." It relates that the heads of the monks at Mount

Sinai, who had jurisdiction over 320 monasteries on that holy mountain, sent to ask Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, for a book about the exit of the Lady Mary from this world. The book they wanted could not be found; but another was found in the writing of James the Bishop, from which it appeared that she died in the year 345. This date is remarkable, for, assuming it to be reckoned from the era of Alexander, it is equivalent to A.D. 33, that is, three years after the Crucifixion. The real book was at last found at Ephesus, placed at the mouth of a cave, "where the grace of Mar John flows," that apostle having previously appeared to the seekers in a vision. Its narrative begins by representing Mary, immediately after the death of her Son, as going daily to His tomb, weeping and praying and burning spices. The author does not seem to think that she had ever heard of His Resurrection, and neither, apparently, has Abgar, King of Edessa, who writes to ask the Emperor Tiberius to take vengeance on the murderers of the Messiah.

Mary, like the Arcadian Artemis of old, is served by virgins; men and women worship her; apostles adore her. She is addressed as "Mistress of the world." She delivers travellers from robbers; she snatches up a boy from a well; splits up a snake by a blow; and leads a merchant to find a purse that he had lost. Sailors call on her in distress, and she helps them. The Apostle John is summoned to Mary's death-bed at Bethlehem from the city of Ephesus, where he was "commanding his disciples concerning the service of the Christ." The author was evidently careless of chronology, as according to Gal. ii. 1, 9, fourteen years after Paul's conversion John was still one of the pillars of the Church in Jerusalem, and the Church of Ephesus had not yet come into being. By a similar anachronism, Peter and Paul are at the same time summoned from Rome. None of the apostles had yet died, except Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, and Philip, and Luke, and Simon the Zealot. This is in contradiction to Acts xii. 2, and Luke, for one, lived till long after (2 Tim. iv. 11). At the moment of Mary's death, the Apostles implore her to leave a blessing to the world, in order that those who "make commemoration" to her "may be delivered from sore afflictions." Mary responds by praying to her Son; and He promises to grant the requests of all who commemorate her, and to bless their land.

The Virgin is escorted by the apostles in great glory to Paradise, after which the apostles return to the Mount of Olives, where they write a book in Hebrew and Greek and Latin, which they give into the keeping of the Apostle John. It directs that a commemoration is to be made of the Lady Mary three times a year: (1) On the 6th of January, that the fruits of the earth may be blessed (thus renewing the worship of Artemis under a Christian name), and that peace may be preserved. (2) About the beginning of May, on account of the seeds that are sown, and for the abundance of wheat; during a whole month at this season there is to be a commemoration of Mary, to avert locusts and other insect plagues from the vines. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday throughout the year offerings are to be made. (3) Also on the 13th day of Ab (August) to avert the destruction of vines by hail. On the day of commemoration men are to fast until the ninth hour, the Scriptures are to be read, and also the account of the Virgin's decease. Peter directs the apostles to return each to the country whence he had come, and there to write a book telling the people of that country about the commemorations.

Mary's body is carried to the Paradise of Eden, which is situated above all high mountains, four rivers issuing from it. Here her divine Son meets her, and at His word she arises. Enoch, Elijah, Moses, and Peter come to her, the last-named somewhat curiously, as he has just been represented as still living upon earth. Mary is taken up to the heaven of heavens; there, amongst other wonders, she sees twelve gates, at each of which an apostle is standing, the author having forgotten that she had just left them below. Mary is worshipped by angels, by cherubim, seraphim, and all the heavenly host. She also sees the place of torment, and prays for the trembling sinners who are waiting to be consigned to it. John, as well as Peter, joins Mary in the world of glory. Mary prophesies to him about the distress that shall come upon the earth. Our Lord tells her that when men call on her by her name they shall be delivered from their afflictions. Mary informs John that there is to be at the time of the end of the world a commemoration of her bones, and "whosoever shall call on the name of the Mother of God shall be delivered from his afflictions."

It is evident that this is the work of a dreamer or romancer, who, in his imagination, attributed to the mother of Jesus the powers which the Greeks attributed to Demeter and to the Ephesian Artemis. Even the title "Queen of Heaven," applied to the Virgin in later ages, reminds the reader of Scripture of Jer. xliv. 17–19, 25. It is significant that the place where the greatest enthusiasm about her deification prevailed was Ephesus, to whose elders Paul had prophesied that of themselves men should arise speaking perverse things; as if the mob whose predecessors

shouted, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," could not abandon their worship of a virgin goddess.

Both the *Protevangelium* and the *Transitus Mariæ* were placed on the first Index of Prohibited Books said to have been issued either by Pope Gelasius in A.D. 494, or by Hormisdas in 514. St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, writing in the fourth century against the Collyridians, says, "After this a heresy appeared, which we have already mentioned slightly by means of the letter written in Arabia about Mary. And this heresy was again made public in Arabia from Thrace and the upper parts of Scythia, and was brought to our ears, which to men of understanding will be found ridiculous and laughable. We will begin to trace it out, and to relate concerning it. It will be judged (to partake of) silliness rather than of sense, as is the case with others like it. For, as formerly, out of insolence towards Mary, those whose opinions were such sowed hurtful ideas in the reflexions of men, so likewise these, leaning to the other side, fall into the utmost harm. . . . For the harm is equal in both these heresies, the one belittling the holy Virgin, the other again glorifying her overmuch. For who should it be that teach thus but women? for the race of women is slippery, fallible, and humble-minded. . . . For some women deck out a κουρικὸν, that is to say, a square stool, spreading upon it a linen cloth, on some solemn day of the year, for some days they lay out bread, and offer it in the name of Mary. All the women partake of the bread, as we related in the letter to Arabia, writing partly about that. . . . Yea, verily, the body of Mary was holy, but was surely not God. Verily, the Virgin was a virgin, and was honoured, but was not given to us to worship; but she worships Him who was born from her according to the flesh, having come from heaven out of the Father's bosom. Therefore the Gospel guarantees us, telling that the Lord said, 'What is there to Me and to thee, O woman? Mine hour is not yet come.' In order that from the 'O woman, what is there to Me and to thee,' none should think the holy Virgin to be greater. He called her woman, as prophesying, on account of the schisms and heresies that should be on the earth, in order that none admiring the holy one to excess should fall into this frivolity of heresy." "These (women) again renew the mixture to Fortune, and make ready the table to the Demon and not to God, according to what is written, and eat the food of impiety, as saith the divine Word, 'And the women knead dough, and the sons gather wood to make cakes to the host of heaven' (Jer. vii. 18). Let such women be muzzled by Jeremiah, and let them not disturb the habitable world. Let them not say, 'Let us honour the Queen of Heaven.'" This offering and eating of cakes was probably derived from the worship of Artemis.

No one who has travelled in *Roman Catholic* lands will need any proof of the idolatrous nature of the worship offered to the Virgin Mary in the churches subject to the See of Rome. But for the sake of those who have not the opportunity of witnessing this, we extract a few of the directions of the Roman Breviary, reformed by order of the Council of Trent, published by order of Pius V., and revised by Popes Clement VII. and Urban VIII., as translated by John, Marquis of Bute. Frequently to be repeated: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death, Amen." On Sunday at Vespers, and at other times, we have this antiphon: "O Holy Mary, be thou a help to the helpless, a strength to the fearful, a comfort to the sorrowful, pray for the people, plead for the clergy, make intercession for all women vowed to God; may all that keep thine holy remembrance feel the might of thine assistance. Pray for us, O holy Mother of God." At Compline we have, "Hail, O Mary, Queen of Heaven, Queen of Angel worlds on high, Hail, O Rod to Jesse given, Blessed Portal of the sky." God is implored to grant everlasting life by the help of Mary. She is called Mother of Mercy, our Advocate, and asked to show Jesus to her worshippers, as if the Saviour were still a Babe in her arms. We have as an antiphon for Advent: "Mary said, What manner of salutation is this? My soul is troubled. Shall I bear the King? and will He not break the seal of my virginity?" It would be worth while to know by whom these unnatural words were recorded, and why, if spoken, the canonical Evangelists omitted them.

On the first Sunday of October there is a Solemn Feast of the most holy Rose-garden of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The 4th lesson in this office relates that St. Dominic received a command from Mary bidding him "preach up the saying of her Rosary." "In the Rose-garden, or Rosary, we say the Salutation of the Angel 150 times, and the Lord's Prayer between every 10 times; and each of the 15 times that we thus say the Lord's Prayer, and repeat tenfold the Salutation, we are to think of one of 15 great events in the history of our redemption. This form of prayer waxed common. That this same Dominic was the

founder and prime mover thereof hath been said by Popes in divers letters of the Apostolic See." The victory at Lepanto was ascribed by Pope Clement XI. to the practice. Pope Benedict XIII. commanded it to be recorded in the service-book of the Church. Yet in the Roman Breviary we are glad to perceive a gleam of true doctrine concerning Mary. It occurs in a homily by St. Austin (Augustine), Bishop of Hippo, and is read in the 7th lesson of the 3rd nocturn on Good Friday, "Her who was His Mother, not in that nature as touching which He is equal to the Father, but in that as touching which He is inferior to the Father." But this is only a ray of sunshine, which tends to make the shadows darker. In the 6th lesson of the 2nd nocturn on the third Sunday after Easter, Joseph is asked to obtain for us some pity from Mary! In the Office for Virgins, 5th lesson of 2nd nocturn, we have, "It was Maidenhood that pierced beyond the clouds, the atmosphere, the Angels, and the stars, and came upon the word of God," &c. In the Office for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin, we have, "Oh, by Gabriel's AVE, uttered long ago, EVA'S name reversing, stablish peace below!" As if Gabriel spoke Latin! In the 5th lesson, "She alone is greater than heaven and earth." In the 6th lesson, "Through her we obtain the remission of sins." The 6th Responsory applies to her the language of the 45th Psalm, in defiance of the statements of Paul and John that the Church is the Bride of Christ. In the 3rd nocturn we have, "Thou hast trampled down all the heresies in the whole world," and in the 7th Responsory, "Mary, blessed Maid of Maidens, be our Advocate with God." In the 3rd lesson for the simple Office of the Virgin for April, St. Jerome's exposition of Ezekiel xliv. 1, 2 is given, in which the gate of the Sanctuary looking towards the East is interpreted as meaning the Virgin Mary. In the lesson for August (Pope St. Gregory the Great on 1 Sam. i. 1), "The name of Mount Ephraim may be applied to the most blessed Mother of God, as she was indeed a mountain;" and the prophecy of Isaiah ii. 2 is accordingly applied to her, "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains." Such exegesis is simply puerile. In the lesson for October (St. Bernard), Mary is said to be "the fleece between the dew and the floor" (Jud. vi. 37–40), the woman between the sun and the moon (Apoc. xii. 1), Mary standing midway between Christ and the Church." In the lesson for November (St. Basil), she is said to be the Prophetess to whom Isaiah went in (Isa. viii. 3), "very closely by the spirit of foreknowledge."

In the Office for the Immaculate Conception, 1st nocturn, 3rd lesson, Gen. iii. 15 is translated, "She shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise her heel," in defiance of the fact that the Hebrew pronouns are masculine, and the Greek ones of the Septuagint are so also. The verse Luke xi. 27 is quoted, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked," but the Lord's response on the occasion is omitted. The 6th lesson for the 2nd day within the octave of the Immaculate Conception says, "The Catholic Church, which, through the perpetual teaching of the Holy Ghost, is the pillar and ground of the truth (1 Tim. iii. 15), hath always held the original innocence of this most exalted Virgin to be bound up with her wonderful holiness and her mighty dignity of Mother of God. . . . This belief is found strong in the earliest times." Cardinal Newman, on the contrary, says (*Development of Christian Doctrine*, ch. iv. ii. 10), "I have said that there was in the first ages no public and ecclesiastical recognition of the place which St. Mary holds in the Economy of grace; this was reserved for the fifth century."

The Council of Trent said that "it did not mean to say that the blessed and stainless Mary, Mother of God, did not form an exception to the rule" (that all men are conceived in sin). This paved the way for the Dogmatic Bull of Pope Pius IX., published on Dec. 8, 1854, which says that "the Most Blessed Virgin Mary was in the first instant of her conception preserved, by a special privilege granted unto her by God, from any stain of original sin." The *Catholic Dictionary* (p. 605) draws our attention to the fact that two women are contrasted in the Apocalypse. This is somewhat dangerous, seeing that one of these women is expressly identified with the great city which was afterwards to be the seat of the Papacy (Rev. xvii. 18). The cult of Mary in the Western Church reaches its highest point in the works of St. Alfonso Liguori and Henri Laserre.

In early liturgies of the *Greek Church*, prayers and hymns to the Virgin hold a subordinate place. They do not occur frequently, and are absent from the oldest MSS. (see Swainson, *Greek Liturgies*, p. xxxvii.). An appeal to God to remember, amongst other events, the Archangel's voice, which said, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured," was the first form of one of these invocations. Later scribes omitted the appeal to God to remember the Archangel's voice, leaving only the salutation, which therefore comes in sometimes in an inappropriate connection. Dr. Swainson says, "By this simple process the Commemoration of the Annunciation became an Invocation of the Virgin." She is always called

"Mother of God, and Perpetual Virgin." In sixteenth-century MSS. of the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and of St. James, Christ is besought to save, direct, and protect us through her prayers, and to accept the Eucharist through her mediation. Praises are occasionally addressed to her. In the modern liturgy of the Greek Church, prayers are offered to Mary for protection as well as for mediation. She is called the "Heavenly Door," "more holy than the Angels," "the True Vine," "the hope and protection and refuge of Christians," "the invulnerable wall, the winterless harbour." However, she is invariably addressed as κεχαριτωμένη, "thou who hast received grace," in contrast to the inaccurate expression "full of grace" of the Roman Church. In the modern liturgy, an omission similar to the one noticed by Dr. Swainson in the more ancient ones has led to still more curious results. Some of the Psalms are to be recited with this response after each verse, "By the intercession of the Mother of God, Saviour, deliver us;" but as we proceed, we find the last three words omitted. Psalms cxxxii. 1, 6; xxii. 1, 2, 3; xlv. 1, 2; xlviii. 1, 3, 8; cxiv. 1, 2, 3, 5; xciii. 1; xix. 1, 2, 3, 4; lxxii. 1, 3, are similarly treated.

The Greek Church celebrates the death of Mary on August 15. Its tradition is that the Saviour sent an angel three days previously to announce to His mother her approaching end. She first went and prayed on the Mount of Olives, and then returned to her home to prepare linen for her burial. The apostles arrived on clouds from different parts of the earth, as in the *Transitus*, and they buried her in Gethsemane; but after three days she appeared to them, and they knew that she had been carried up bodily to heaven.

Mary is addressed in a hymn as "Mercy-seat of the world," "the ladder which raises every one by grace," "the bridge which really leads all who extol her from death unto life." One of the Absolutions addresses her as having been brought up in the Holy of Holies, in oblivion of Lev. xvi. 2, 13, and of Josephus, who says (*Ant. Jud.*, XV. xi. 5), "The Temple further inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third (court of the) Temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The Temple itself was within this" (*Whiston's Translation*). An unrecorded salutation is attributed to Gabriel, "Hail, thou unsown field; hail, thou unconsumed Bush; hail, thou unsearchable depth," &c.

Mr. F. C. Conybeare has kindly supplied me with the information that in ancient *Armenian* MSS. it is easy to see that hymns originally addressed to the Church, and epithets applied to her as the Bride of Christ, the Lady Catholicè, were afterwards transferred and applied to His mother. In one of these (Vienna, Mechitarist, 133, *f.* 190, and British Museum, Orient. 2609, *f.* 205, and 2608, *f.* 217), the Church is called "the Throne of fourfold shape, adorned with stones, holy and twelve (the apostles), all-blessed Virgin incorruptible, Mother of God," and she is asked to intercede for men. She is "built up out of the rib of the Saviour." Early Armenian writers certainly extol and pray to the Church as a Virgin. They identify her not only with the throne of God, but also with the booth of Abraham, the Ark, Aaron's Tabernacle, and Solomon's Temple. Christ, the heavenly Bridegroom, descends to espouse her. The union takes place at His baptism, John being the "friend of the Bridegroom." She becomes the mother of many children, still remaining a virgin, and is taken up to dwell with her Spouse in heaven, an event which afterwards became the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; so that as late as the seventeenth century, a Latin woodcut representing the latter was mistaken by Armenian priests for the former. In Armenian hymns it is often extremely difficult to discriminate whether it is the Virgin Church or the Virgin Mary who is being invoked. This practice Mr. Conybeare has traced back to the beginning of the eighth century. The same confusion of thought is attributed to the Paulicians and other early heretics by Photius and others. Holy Scripture is quite free from any such ambiguity. In the Epistles of Paul, the Church alone is called the Bride of Christ, and in the Book of Revelation, as the New Jerusalem, she descends as a bride adorned for her husband.

Mr. Conybeare has found in a Bodleian Codex of Gregory Arsharuni, as well as in the Bodleian Armenian *Menologion*, a statement that Gregory the Illuminator altered the feasts which had been kept in honour of heathen gods to commemorations of events in Christian history; amongst these being the summer feast of Aphrodite, which he turned into the Annunciation of the Theotokos. It falls on Navasard 15th, which in A.D. 432 coincided with August 25th. The Armenians have a story about roses springing up in the footsteps of the goddess. Compare with this an Ethiopian story told by Budge (*Miracles of the B.V.M.*, pp. 38–40), of a boy named Zacharias, who offered garlands of fifty roses to the Virgin Mary, and many years afterwards, when he grew up and became a monk, the prayers that fell from his mouth turned into roses.

The gradual progress of Mariolatry in the *Syrian Church* is instructive. We look in vain for any mention of Mary in the oldest documents of that community that have come down to us, such as the Doctrine of Addai, or the Martyrologies which form the upper writing of the Lewis Palimpsest. In the works of Aphraates (fourth century), Mary is only mentioned a few times as the vehicle of the Incarnation, and once (*De Humilitate*) as a pattern of humility, the epithet κεχαριτωμενη being translated by a word meaning "blessed." St. Ephraim (fourth century) in a hymn (xxxviii.), says that the Son of Mary bruised the devil as a serpent; being a Syrian, he understood Hebrew better than the authors of the Roman Breviary. Theodore of Mopsuestia (fifth century), in his Commentary on St. John, expresses no veneration for Mary in the passages where it would have been appropriate. In a prayer of Balai, she is said to have been the Burning Bush, Jacob's Ladder, David's Ark of the Covenant, and Ezekiel's closed and sealed gate. Similar expressions are used by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa. He defends in an able sermon the term θεοτόκος, Mother of God, about which the feud was raging between the Nestorians and the Jacobites. Among the latter we may notice Isaak of Antioch, who contrasts Mary with Eve, and whose hymn in her praise has nothing idolatrous in it, and little unscriptural, except the statement that she was fasting when she received the Annunciation; and Philoxenus, who, after anathematising the Nestorians, and calling Mary the "God-bearer," yet, in his Discourse on Poverty asserts very strongly that our Lord was not under obedience to His mother after His baptism, as evidenced by His conduct at Cana, and His reply to her attempted remonstrance (Matt. xii. 48). (See Budge, *Discourses of Philoxenus*, pp. 240–43.) Also Jacob of Serug, who, as well as St. Ephraim, says that there was never a spot in her soul. Jacob is not consistent on this point, for he says elsewhere that the Holy Ghost freed her from every sinful desire, and drove sin away from her, which we take to be the truth.

In ancient *Nestorian* Liturgies (see Budge), the Virgin is seldom mentioned, except that on the holy altar there is to be a remembrance of Mary the Mother of Christ. In modern ones (see Malan), she is requested to pray for us, and God is asked that she may do so. Her body is said to be a storehouse of help to us, and it is said that the Lord preserveth the faithful by her prayers. In Jacobite liturgies she receives more honour, being called θεοτόκος, Deipara, Mother of Life, and her intercession being invoked for the living and the dead. The Maronites go a step further. They excommunicate those who oppose the worship of Mary's images (*Office for the Ordination of Priests*, Morinus, Assemani, part iii. p. 21).

The ancient liturgies of the *Coptic Church* have very small traces of Mariolatry. That of St. Mark, supposed to be the source of all the others, has hardly any, if we may judge from a MS. of the thirteenth century, translated and published by Malan. In the Liturgy of St. Basil, God is asked to have pity on people and to remember them through the prayers and supplications which Our Lady of us all, the Mother of God, offers for us at all times. That of St. Gregory has a similar expression. In the modern Coptic Liturgy, as translated by John, Marquis of Bute, sentiments of this kind are more frequent. At Morning Prayer the priest censes the picture of the Blessed Virgin thrice, and says, "Hail to thee, Mary, the fair dove," &c. Her intercession is continually invoked.

In the *Ethiopian Church*, to judge by Lady Meux' MSS., published by Dr. Wallis Budge, the practice of Mariolatry is more offensively heathen than in any other. In some of the legends the Virgin acts in a highly immoral manner, such as a Greek goddess might well emulate. We have also statements like these: "Mary's Resurrection was like unto the Resurrection of Christ" (Budge, p. 157). Mary existed in the body of Adam in the form of a white pearl, which shone in his right side (p. 203). Inside the Holy of Holies was a figure of Mary, at the place where the holy ark rested, and Solomon made two cherubim to overshadow her (p. 204). One MS., No. 2A, says, "For the sake of Mary the whole world was made," "Our Lady Mary spake by the Prophets," "Our Lady Mary preached by the Apostles," "Our Lady Mary giveth praise with the mouth of all creation," "Our Lady Mary is the redemption for sinners," "Have no doubt whatsoever but that it is she who bringeth you salvation." The 15th and 16th of Nahassé is celebrated as the preparation of her body for burial and as her Ascension. Hanna, her mother, is also deified. Hanna gave birth to *one* daughter (Budge, pp. 173, 178), forgetting that the Virgin Mary must have had at least one sister (John xix. 25).

We conclude with an extract from the Apocryphal History of John the son of Zebedee, translated from the Syriac (ed. W. Wright, p. 9). John is approaching Ephesus. "And with terror taking hold on him, he came and reached the southern gate, and lifted up his eyes and saw; and lo, the image of the idol Artemis was standing over the gate, painted by them with paints, with gold laid upon her lips, and a veil of fine linen hanging over her face, and

a lamp burning before her . . . he went round and saw thus at all the gates." [M. D. G.]

MASS, THE.—A rite whereby it is supposed that Christ in the integrity of His Person, human and divine, in or under the form of a wheaten cake and a cup of wine, is sacrificed by a priest, as a propitiation of God and in expiation of sin.

This doctrine was not officially imposed till the sixteenth century, at the Council of Trent, but it is a natural consequence from the doctrine of transubstantiation, sanctioned in the thirteenth century, and from the unscientific form of the latter doctrine, known as the Objective Presence in the elements, held by some who are unaware of the consequences involved in it. That the wheaten cake and cup of wine become Christ on the pronunciation of a formula by the priest, belongs primarily to the doctrine of transubstantiation. That after having been thus brought upon the altar, He is first offered and then sacrificed by the priest, is the specific doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

The difference between an oblation or offering and a sacrifice of a material thing to God, according to the received theory, is this. Both of them signify that the offerer presents to God something of his own, declaring that henceforth it shall be God's, and not his own any longer, as he gives up his whole interest in it to God. A sacrifice goes beyond an oblation in this, that after having divested himself of the ownership, the offerer proceeds further to destroy the thing offered, just as in the Jewish burnt-offering, the victim was slain and its body consumed by fire on the altar, or in the peace-offering, it was slain and eaten by the offerer. As the Mass is not only an oblation, but a sacrifice, the same Christ that had been made to descend upon the altar, had also to be slain. How was this to be done? The difficulty had not arisen till the thirteenth century, when transubstantiation had been sanctioned, but after that time it had to be met. Gregory of Valentia proposed the first solution. This was that the consecration of the bread substituted for the bread the body of Christ, but not the blood; and the consecration of the wine substituted for the wine the blood, but not the body of Christ. But if the body and the blood are thus separated, there is not the living Christ, but Christ slain; and therefore the sacrifice might be regarded as complete, because the Christ present was the slain Christ. This theory, though contrary to Aquinas' doctrine of concomitancy, served for a while, but Bellarmine saw that even granting the facts assumed by the argument, it did not prove that Christ was slain *in* and *by* the sacrifice; but unless this took place, there was, according to the accepted definition, no sacrifice, though perhaps there was a sacrificed victim. He therefore rejected the theory and replaced it by his own, which was, in Dean Field's words, as follows: "Bellarmine saith that Christ hath a twofold being; the one natural, the other sacramental. The Jews had Him present amongst them visibly in His natural being; this being they destroyed, and so killed and sacrificed Him. The Romish priests have Him not so present, neither can they destroy His natural being and so kill Him; but they have Him present in a sacramental presence and in a sacramental being; this being they destroy. For consuming the accidents of bread and wine which are then left without substance, and with which He is present, they make His presence there to cease, and so cause Him to lose that being which formerly He had there. Thus do they suppose that they newly sacrifice Christ and destroy Him in that being wherein He is present with them. And the priest's eating is not for refection but for consumption, that he may destroy Christ in that being wherein He is present, as the fire on the altar was wont to consume and destroy the bodies of those beasts that were put into it" (*Of the Church*, Appendix III.).

Bellarmine's authority is so great that his theory has been accepted as that of the Roman Catholic Church, and it is repeated by Liguori, declared by Pius IX. to be the Doctor or Teacher of the Latin Church, whose dicta none may question. "In what," he asks, "consists the essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass?" Four opinions, he replies, are tenable. (1) It consists in the eating and drinking of the priest, "because by that takes place the destruction of the victim." (2) It consists in the oblation or offering of Christ by the priest. (3) It consists in the consecration alone, because in it the oblation is included, and also "there is a destruction of the victim, because by force of the words of consecration the body of Christ is at the moment separated from the blood," and this causes His death. (4) It consists partly in the consecration, partly in the priest's eating and drinking, the consecration placing the victim on the altar, and the priest's eating and drinking consuming it; "for a true and real sacrifice requires a true and real destruction of the thing offered, but this does not take place except by the priest's eating and drinking by which the sacramental essence of Christ is destroyed. A sacrifice is not completed without a true and real destruction. For the sacrifice to be effected on the altar, it is necessary that first the victim be placed upon it in its integrity, and then that it be destroyed." Of these four theories Rome's Doctor

says that the third "is more common than the first two" and "very probable," but the fourth is "more probable" still (*Theol. Mor.*, vi. 305).

We cannot wonder at Dean Field, after stating the authorised Roman doctrine, bursting out with indignation: "But it is impious to think of destroying Christ in any sort. . . . And besides, if it were lawful so to do, yet all that they do, or can do, is no destroying of His being, but only of His being *somewhere*, that is, in the sacrament. For as, if the things which were brought to be sacrificed in the time of the Law, had been only removed out of some place, or only caused to cease to be *where* they were, and not *what* they were, they could not truly have been said to be sacrificed; no more can it be truly said that Christ is really sacrificed, in that the priest's consuming the accidents of bread and wine, under which they supposed Him to be, make Him cease to be *there* any longer" (*ibid.*).

Nor will Field admit of the oblation of Christ any more than of His sacrifice: "But, in this sort, it is not for us to offer Christ unto God His Father, whatsoever any Papist may imagine; for it were a woful thing for us so to give up Christ to His Father as to possess no claim to Him any more. And, besides, if it were fit for us so to do, yet who are we that we should present Christ unto God His Father, to be holy unto Him?" (*ibid.*).

"The real substance, the very flesh and blood of God Incarnate, it is the most horrible presumption to think that any, the most exalted creature, could present to God with acceptance," says Bishop Jolly. "None but He who is both God and Man in one Person, the beloved Son of God, in whom He is well pleased, could offer it, being Himself both Priest and sacrifice of infinite merit and value" (*On the Eucharist*, c. iii.). "This blasphemous oblation," says Mede, "we have taken away, and justly" (*Christian Sacrifice*).

Not only is there supposed to be in the Mass an oblation of Christ and a sacrifice of Christ, but this sacrifice is represented as propitiatory. This takes it out of the category of thanksgiving or peace-offerings, sometimes called Gratulatory, and puts it into the class of sin-offerings, which ceased with the perfect sin-offering of the Cross. If there are still such sin-offerings, the Epistle to the Hebrews is false, and all St. Paul's teaching on the subject is false; God is not reconciled to the world; His face is still averted; we are still in our sins; we are children of wrath; we are only saved from destruction by Christ's constant warding off His Father's anger from us, which intervention alone allows Him to be gracious. This is not the Christian idea of the relation of sons adopted in Christ to their Abba Father. It frets against the fundamental doctrine of Christianity; for "Christ was once offered," and "there is no more offering for sin" (Heb. ix. x.), and "we are no more strangers and foreigners, but of the household of God" (Eph. ii. 19).

Ritualist manuals are as audacious as usual, and more than usually ignorant, in dealing with the Mass, both word and thing. The writer of the *Ritual Reason Why* shows that he is aware of the derivation of the word, and that it means dismissal of the congregation at the end of the service, and of non-communicants before it; but this does not serve his purpose, because the dismissal of the non-communicants is the last thing to which he wishes attention drawn, so he boldly asserts that "the best interpretation derives it from the Hebrew word Missah, a sacrificial offering, thus *Missah nedaba* (Deut. xvi. 10), the tribute of a free-will offering" (No. 282). But unfortunately the writer, by mistake, has interchanged the force and meaning of the two Hebrew words to which he refers. It is not *Missah*, but the other word, which means "free-will offering" (see Lev. xxii. 23). *Missah* means no more than "tribute" at the best, and it may be translated adverbially (see the R.V.) "after the measure of" (the word taking this secondary meaning from the fact that tribute, paid in kind, was measured out). When the writer has thus affixed a sacrificial force to the word Mass, he finds a difficulty in the title "Mass of the Catechumens," because in it there was no celebration of the Holy Communion. He lamely meets the difficulty by saying that it was "the only sacrificial offering or act of homage they (the catechumens) were as yet in a position to pay to God," which gives up his contention and allows that prayer may be regarded as a sacrificial offering. The said writer's knowledge of Latin appears equal to his acquaintance with Hebrew, for he says that *Ite, missa est* may be correctly translated, "Go, the Missa is over." The *Congregation in Church* adds to Mr. Walker's misstatement, saying that the Latin word Missa "is said to be the same as the Hebrew word Missah, a sacrifice." Such is the learning of men who profess to guide the younger clergy. According to Mr. Staley's *Catholic Religion*, Article XXXI. does not (of course) condemn the Mass but only "the erroneous idea that it was the number of Masses which was the source of benefit to the departed" (p. 252). Mr. Staley proceeds to tell us that "when the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice is more perfectly understood amongst us, the term Mass, from its very convenience, will probably re-assert itself." No doubt wherever the tenet of the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements,

and the consequent offering of Christ upon the altar prevails, the word Mass in its modern sense will be found most "convenient." Bishop Cosin writes: "The word 'Mass' was used by the ancients in the Latin Church with quite a different meaning than that which now prevails among the Papists. But the old Latins used the expression, 'Go, it is Mass,' that is, 'dismissal,' and hence all the sacred acts were called by the one name Mass, from a single act, and that the last of all. But the word Mass, as it is now used by the Papists for a true and proper sacrifice of Christ offered every time to God the Father for the living and the dead, is nowhere found among the ancients. And for this reason the very word Mass (in its new, not in its ancient signification) is rejected by the English Church, which desired to abolish that wrong opinion about the Sacrifice of the Mass" (*Notes on the Prayer Book*). (See *The Service of the Mass in the Greek and Roman Churches*, by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Rel. Tract Society.)

[F. M.]

MASSES.—There are various kinds of Masses, as:—

A Low Mass (Missa Bassa), when a single priest simply reads the service attended by one or more acolytes.

A Chanted Mass (Missa Cantata), which differs from the former only in this, that the single priest chants instead of reading the service.

A High Mass (Missa Solemnis) is one in which the celebrant is attended by a deacon, subdeacon, and master of ceremonies; the service is partly sung and partly chanted.

The Mass of the Presanctified (Missa Presanctificatorum) is that celebrated on Good Friday. No consecration takes place, but the celebrant consumes the Host consecrated on the previous day. In the Greek Church this Mass is the only one celebrated during Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays.

Missa Sicca (Dry Mass), called also *Missa Nautica* (Ship Mass), consists in reading the prayers of the Mass, but without any consecration of the elements, or communion. This was common in the Middle Ages, as several Popes forbade the use of the cup at sea, owing to the danger of spilling. It is never said now except by candidates for the priesthood in learning the ceremonies of the Mass.

Requiem Mass, so called because of the opening words of the *Introit:* Requiem æternam dona eis Domine. This Mass is offered on the day of burial or a month later, when it is called "Month's Mind." If said for a wealthy or a distinguished person they erect a *chapelle ardente*, with a catafalque on which the coffin is laid. This catafalque is draped in black, and the vestments, candlesticks, antependium, &c., are all of the same colour.

Votive Masses are those which do not correspond with the office of the day, but are said at the will or choice (*votum*) of the priest. On all days except Sundays, feasts of double or more than double rank (and a few special feasts, specially exempted), a priest may say a Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Virgin, the Trinity, the Angels, SS. Peter and Paul, for the Dead, &c., instead of the Mass assigned for the day.

Pontifical Mass is one celebrated by the Pope or a bishop with his insignia, on certain great festivals, and with special rites.

Private Mass (Missa Privata) is one said by the priest chiefly for his own devotion or that of his friends, and not to satisfy the claims of a parish, &c. In all private Masses the priest must have at least one server.

Parochial Mass (Missa Parochialis) is one publicly offered by priests who have pastoral charge, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their flocks.

Missa Adventitia or *Manualis* (a chance Mass) is said for the intention of a person who has given an honorarium or fee. The honorarium may mount up to any sum, but the minimum for Low Masses in Ireland used to be 2s. 6d. a few years since; for solemn Requiem Masses the minimum honorarium was £1 per head of priests attending. Sometimes in the case of a wealthy Roman Catholic, besides the three officiating priests there might be fifty additional in the choir. Each of these receives £1 from the heir of the deceased. It was sworn at the hearing of the South Meath Election Petition (1892) that the minimum fee for a Low Mass in the diocese of Meath was 5s.

These Masses are said for sick cattle, sick people, for crops, for success in fishing, for recovery from illness, &c. &c.

Mass of the Holy Ghost; this is the Mass to be found in the Missal for Pentecost Sunday and within the octave. As it is one of those permitted to be used as Votive Masses, and as the common people have unlimited faith in a "Mass of the Holy Ghost," it is perhaps the Mass in most common use. This Mass contains the hymn, *Veni Sancte Spiritus;* the Epistle is from Acts ii. and the Gospel from John xiv. It is offered for everything, even for butter, which the fairies prevent from forming in the churn.

[T. C.]

MATINS.—A mediæval Latin word (*matutina*) for morning service. The term is in use in the Roman Church for one of the "hours" or daily services of the Breviary (see BREVIARY). But morning service is not so styled in the Book of Common Prayer, though the word still occurs in its Calendar.

MATRIMONY.—See MARRIAGE, THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

MAUNDY THURSDAY.—The day before Good Friday. The derivation is said to be from the Latin *mandatum*, a command, in reference to the Saviour's command to the apostles, given at the celebration of the Last Passover, to wash one another's feet. But it is preferably derived by Bishop Kingdon in his *Fasting Communion*, from *maundy*, "a feast," *i.e.* Feast Thursday, from the feast in honour of the Last Supper, which was long retained in the early Church. The *maundy* was, in fact, a survival of the original use of the Lord's Supper. The ceremony of the feet-washing was kept up for many ages, and traces of it still remain.

MEANS OF GRACE.—See GRACE, MEANS OF.

MEDIATOR.—The word mediator means literally one who is in the midst, but in actual use it is applied only to one who comes between two persons or parties standing apart from each other, in order that he may bring them together. The work of mediation is especially of two kinds. It may be simply a work of revelation and interpretation, with a view to a better understanding; but when grounds of offence exist between the two parties, a work of reconciliation becomes necessary. In religion, the mediator is a mediator between God and man, and his work is of both the kinds that have just been described, *i.e.* he may be a revealer and interpreter, or an intercessor and reconciler. The one kind of mediation has been called the descending mediation, and the other the ascending mediation—the prophet being the characteristic type of the first, and the priest of the second. The Old Testament abounds with examples of both kinds of mediation. The Hebrew prophets, by their inspired teaching, communicated the divine truth and will to the nation; while the priests represented an ascending mediation of sacrifice and intercession, which the guilt of the people rendered necessary in order to reconciliation with God.

The New Testament teaching on the subject of mediation all gathers around the person and work of Jesus Christ. As to the person of the Mediator, He is no merely human prophet or priest, fallible and sinful, but the God-Man, a truly efficient intermediary, perfectly qualified by His twofold nature to act and speak on behalf of God to man, and on behalf of man to God (*cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 5; John i. 18; xiv. 9; Heb. i. 2; ii. 17; ix. 14, 15). The mediatorial work of Christ, again, falls into the two main parts which have been already described as belonging to the general idea of mediation; it is at once prophetic and priestly, a mediation both in the descending and ascending order. It has long been customary in Protestant theology to distribute the mediatorial work of Christ under the categories of the three offices of Prophet, Priest, and King. But most modern theologians now incline to employ this traditional classification only in a modified way, and to recognise that we should think in this matter not so much of different offices as of different functions of the one indivisible office of the Mediator, and, further, that we should regard those functions, while distinguishable in the abstract, as interpenetrating one another at every point. We must not divide Christ into His offices, and then rigidly distribute among them the various aspects of His doing and His dying. It seems better, having recognised in the person of the God-Man the founder and ruler of the kingdom of God, to regard His divine-human kingship as the foundation of everything, and then to recognise that from one point of view Christ's kingship becomes a royal prophetship, a descending mediation, inasmuch as He represents God to man, while from another point of view it becomes a royal priesthood, an ascending mediation, inasmuch as He appears before God on behalf of guilty man.

As Mediator, Christ displayed the prophetic side of His work not in His teaching only, but in His whole human history. His words were a revelation of divine truth; but the same thing has to be said of His spotless character, His life of unselfish beneficence, His death and resurrection and ascension. The words He spoke were words of eternal life; but His whole manifestation was prophetic of God, and it is to that whole manifestation that the saying must be applied, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."

But it is in its priestly aspects more particularly that the mediatorial work of Christ is presented to us in the New Testament. For that work is always based on the ground of a *moral* separation between God and man, a separation due not to ignorance merely, but to sin and guilt, a separation which can only be overcome by a work of intercession and reconciliation depending upon an actual work of propitiation. This priestly side of Christ's mediation is seen in His intercessory prayers on earth and in His great work of intercession in heaven, but primarily it is seen in the propitiatory sacrifice of His death. On this point the New Testament leaves little room for uncertainty. It teaches with perfect clearness and constant reiteration that Christ died for us—that He died as a propitiatory sacrifice for our sins. The attempt is often made to set propitiation in antithesis to love, as if the revelation of the divine love made by the pro-

phetic Christ rendered quite unnecessary any work of positive propitiation on the part of the priestly Christ. But the New Testament writers, at all events, are unconscious of any contradiction between the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ and the fatherly love of God. On the contrary, they set before us the death of Christ and the propitiation accomplished by that death as forming the very heart of the divine love itself—as that by which God commends His own love toward us (Rom. v. 8), and that which enables us to say, whenever we think of it, "Herein is love" (1 John iv. 10).

On the subject of the mediatorial work of Christ there is little essential difference between the general doctrine of Protestants and Romanists. But the Church of Rome represents our Lord's work as inadequate in itself for the purposes of mediation, and so introduces a secondary order of mediators—the Roman priesthood on earth, and angels, saints, and, above all, the Virgin Mary, in heaven.

1. The priest is represented as a mediator: (*a*) in being the only authorised and the indispensable link between the Church and the individual, outside of which there is no salvation; (*b*) through his power to offer a propitiation for all venial sins in the sacrifice of the mass; (*c*) through the right he has, as an effectual intercessor, to pronounce authoritative absolution on hearing confession of sins. But these representations evidently rest upon false ideas of Church, priesthood, sacraments, and sacrifice. And, in particular: (*a*) the Church is not an external ark of salvation, but the community of those who are united to one another in virtue of a prior union with Christ Himself; (*b*) there is no propitiatory power in the so-called sacrifice of the mass, Christ having offered up one sacrifice for sins for ever; (*c*) none can forgive sins but God only, and a priest has no more intercessory power than belongs to another believer.

2. The doctrine of the intercession of angels and saints is one that finds no foundation in Scripture. If angels sometimes appear in the Old Testament as mediators, it is always in the descending line; they come with revelations from above, at a time when the full and final revelation has not yet been given, but they do not intercede with God on man's behalf. The idea of the intercession of saints rests on the altogether groundless notion that holy men and women are able not only to acquire a degree of merit sufficient for their own salvation, but such a superfluity of merit that it can be utilised as a means of securing pardon or deliverance for others. As for the Virgin Mary, the special efficacy attributed to her mediation and intercession depends upon views as to her nature and dignity, of which the Bible has nothing to tell us. Moreover, the whole conception of the necessity of saintly mediation springs out of defective conceptions of the work of Christ Himself, whose merit is sufficient for all our wants, and who, as our Brother and sympathising High Priest, invites us in the hour of need to come boldly in His name unto the throne of grace. [J. C. L.]

MELCHITES.—The name Melchite (from מלך, a king—the Syriac uses the same word for Emperor), Royalist or Imperialist, was given by the Monophysites to those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), implying that they did so out of subservience to the Emperor. Their opponents were, in Persia, the Nestorians; in Syria, the Jacobites; in Egypt, the Copts (see articles). The term is used by their own writers, and is the name by which the orthodox Greek Church is mentioned by mediæval Arabic writers. The name, though at first bringing with it the favour of various Emperors, later entailed political disadvantages. At the Saracen conquest of Egypt (640), Melchites were treated as enemies, as being more loyal to the Emperor than the Monophysites, who had suffered so much persecution that they were not loth to change masters; moreover, the Melchites were mostly Greek. Hitherto there had been rival Patriarchs at Alexandria, the Orthodox Patriarchs usually obtaining consecration from Constantinople; now, for seventy years (654–724), there was a break in the succession, then the Melchites were partially re-established in Egypt—at present they are very few. Under Mohammedan rule elsewhere, also, Jacobites and Nestorians could arouse the jealousy of rulers against adherents of the Byzantine Emperors, *e.g.* the Melchite Patriarchate in Mesopotamia was extinguished by the Khalifs who favoured Nestorians.

Græco-Melchites, *i.e.* Greeks in Syria and Egypt, have been in communion with the Roman Church since the time of the Crusades; the term was first used with this meaning *temp.* Innocent III. They have gradually been brought into strict subjection. Their Patriarch (Patriarchus Antiochenus Melchitarum), though elected by archbishops and bishops in Council, must be confirmed by the Propaganda, must take an oath of allegiance, and must render account to Rome every ten years. Under him are two other Patriarchs, of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, and twelve dioceses—Aleppo, Homs, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout, Bosra, Baalbek, Farzul, Jerusalem, the Hauran, Ptolemais, Tripoli. His own diocese of Damascus is administered by a vicar-bishop; his residence is at 'Ain Taraz on the Lebanon. There also is a seminary erected

by the decision of a papal Synod held in 1812; a few students are sent to the College of the Propaganda. Western theology reaches them through Arabic translations printed at Jerusalem. The number of the Patriarch's subjects is estimated at 114,000, the number of priests at 330; these need not put away wives on ordination, but practically are usually monks. Nineteen monasteries and three convents follow the rule of St. Basil. *Liturgy* —the Greek rite, differing in no essential from Rome. *Fasts*—till evening, Lent, the Fast of the Apostles, from Monday after Trinity till SS. Peter and Paul, the fourteen days preceding the Assumption of the B.V.M. (August 1–14), fourteen days before Christmas; these are called the Four Lents.

Authorities. — Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Neale, *Hist. of Church of Alexandria:* Hergenröther, quoted in Weker and Welter's *Kirchen Lexikon.*

MEMENTO.—A technical term in use in the Roman Church for the remembrance of the living or the dead made in the Mass. The word, meaning "Remember," is the first word of a Latin prayer in the Canon of the Mass.

MENTAL RESERVATION.—See MORAL THEOLOGY, JESUITS.

MERIT.—See GRACE.

METHODISM.—See WESLEYAN METHODISM.

METROPOLITAN.—A Metropolitan, who is always a bishop, but generally an archbishop, is the bishop who presides over the churches of the principal city of the province. In England there are two Metropolitans, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. By law they have certain jurisdiction over the bishops of their province, and power to suspend and deprive them for proper causes (see *Ex parte* Read, 13 P.D. 221 [decision of the Privy Council], Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln, 14 P.D. 88; Bishop of St. David's Case, 1 Lord Raym. 447). For this reason bishops take an oath of due obedience to the archbishop of their province, the form of which is contained in the Ordinal for the consecration of bishops. This jurisdiction is recognised by the 33rd, 35th, and 36th Canons. The archbishops can also hear appeals from refusals of licences to curates (Reg. *v.* Archbishop of Canterbury, 1 El. & El. 545), refusals of licence for non-residence, and a number of other matters. The archbishop of each province calls Convocation together on receipt of the royal writ.

Colonial archbishops have, as such, no ecclesiastical jurisdiction over their suffragan bishops, unless such jurisdiction is given them by law. The Crown, by letters patent, can give no such authority, for it is a settled constitutional principle that though the Crown may establish new courts to proceed according to the common law, it cannot create a new Court with a new jurisdiction without an Act of Parliament. Pastoral or spiritual authority may be incidental to the office of a bishop, but all jurisdiction in the Church, where it can be lawfully conferred, must proceed from the Crown, and be exercised as the law directs; and suspension or privation of office is a matter of coercive legal jurisdiction, and not of mere spiritual authority. (*In re* the Lord Bishop of Natal, 3 Moore P.C.N.S.). Therefore, when a bishopric is created, either in England or in a Crown colony, an Act must be passed in order to fix his legal jurisdiction and status. In a self-governing colony such an Act would have to be passed by the Colonial legislature.

[E. B. W.]

MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL. — The phrase "Michael the archanel" occurs only in Jude 9. The word "archangel" without the article occurs elsewhere in one other passage (1 Thess. iv. 16), and is never used in the Septuagint. Michael, as Hengstenberg and many theologians maintain, is best explained as a personification of Christ. That view, however, has been strongly opposed, and is supposed by some to be contrary to Rev. xii. 7–9. Michael is described as "the great prince of Israel" in Dan. x. 21; xii. 1, and termed "one of the chief princes" (Dan. x. 13). But those passages are not opposed to the idea that "Michael your prince" is the same as Messiah the leader of Israel, "the prince of princes" (Dan. viii. 25). Messiah and Michael are in Daniel never mentioned together. Michael assumes the place and discharges the work of Messiah, and therefore may be an angelic personification of Him. His people are also Messiah's people. The interceding angel (Zech. i. 12) who stood up for Israel is identified by Zechariah with Jehovah (Zech. iii. 1, 2), as was the captain of the army of Israel who manifested himself to Joshua (Josh. v. 13–15), and as his superior commander, gave Joshua directions how to take Jericho (Josh. vi. 2 *ff.*). In the allegory of Rev. xii., Messiah is represented as an infant just born. It would, therefore, have been incongruous to represent the babe as growing up in a moment, and leading on the army of heaven in conflict. Hence a new personification had to be employed, and Michael is brought on the scene as the leader of the army of angels (Rev. xii. 7), which angels are explained in the same passages as in reality men (see Rev. xii. 11). The war of Michael and the dragon in Rev. xii. is identical with the struggle of Michael in Dan. xii. See our *Biblical Essays* (on "The Key to the Apocalypse"), and on the passage in Jude 9, the *Bampton Lectures on Zechariah*, pp. 53–60.

[C. H. H. W.]

MINISTER.—The idea underlying this word seems to be that of personal service, especially of an official kind in the public worship of God, in which it corresponds most nearly to the Greek λειτουργός (leitourgos). See Trench's *New Testament Synonyms*. Before the Reformation it had come to be the designation of the servers at mass, as is seen in the York and Hereford missals. At the Reformation, the title "minister" came to designate the Reformed clergy as distinguished from the mass-priests. Thus the Marian Convocation denounced "the schismatical book called 'the Communion book,' and the book of the ordering of ecclesiastical ministers" (*i.e.* the Prayer Book and Ordinal), both of which they ordered to be burned (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, ii. 434). Bishop Christopherson, preaching before Mary on July 24, 1554, said, "Then was the holy order of priesthood utterly disannulled, so that the name of priest should no longer be used, but *such as should preach and minister the sacraments* should be called ministers." Archbishop Parker expressed this by saying, "Minister ecclesiæ non est sacerdos sacrificans, nec umbra Christi: uti potest ritibus non mysticè significantibus, sed suo ministerio aptis" (Strype's *Parker*, i. 335). In this generic sense the word "minister" included all the three orders, as in the Reformatio Legum (*De Sacramentis*, c. 6) we read, "Ministers of the Church—such as be [*quales sunt*] deacons, presbyters, and bishops." As if to emphasize the contrast between the "sacrificer" and the Protestant clergyman, the word "minister" was commonly used for the priest as distinguished from the deacon, as in the Act of 13 Eliz. c. 12, sec. 5, and in Canons 31, 32, 76, forbidding any one to be "made deacon and minister in one day," &c. In the suit of Read *v.* Bishop King it was held that a bishop is a minister within the meaning of the Act of Uniformity, and, as such, is bound by the rubrics like any other minister. [J. T. T.]

MINISTRY, THE.—The rise and development of the Christian ministry was, without doubt, gradual. Although the Roman Church includes "Orders" among her seven sacraments, no mention of any express appointment by Christ of any of the three orders of the ministry is found in the New Testament. The Preface to the Ordinal of the Church of England says, "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, bishops, priests, and deacons." In proof of this we find: (1) Our Lord before His Ascension gave His apostles a *general* commission to carry on His work (John xx. 21). (2) When the apostles proved unable to cope with all the work of the increasing Church, "seven men of honest report" were appointed to relieve the Twelve of secular duties (Acts vi. 2–6), which gradually led to the appointment of an Order of Deacons (see DEACONS). (3) A settled ministry, probably similar to that of Jerusalem, was established at Lystra, Derbe, Antioch, and Iconium. Paul and Barnabas "ordained them elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23). Amongst those elders, or presbyters, was Timothy (see 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6). (4) A considerable number of offices existed in the Church in apostolic times. In 1 Cor. xii. 28, St. Paul mentions no less than eight classes of ministerial helpers, while in Eph. iv. 11, four or five are mentioned. (5) Elders or presbyters are called "overseers" or "bishops" (Acts xx. 17, 28; Titus i. 5, 7). This is implied also in Phil. i. 1, where "bishops and deacons" are spoken of. The same classification is observable in two documents of the second century, viz. Clement's letter to the Corinthians (§ 42), and the *Didaché* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (§ 15). (6) Indications exist, even in the New Testament, of something like the establishment of the episcopate by the apostles. St. Paul devolved upon Titus and Timothy certain functions which had been discharged by the apostles. "For this cause," St. Paul writes to Titus, "left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest *set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city*, as I had appointed thee" (Titus i. 5). Such delegation of authority has often occurred in all mission work, even that of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches.

The date of the first mention of the Orders of the Ministry in Church History occurs in the *Didaché*, A.D. 120. In the letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, and martyr, the three Orders are fully recognised.

Such appears to have been the origin and development of the ministry. There is not a trace in the New Testament of its sacerdotal character. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which of all the writings of the New Testament deals most fully with the subject of priests and the priesthood, is to show that the sacrificial priesthood of Judaism is for ever abolished.

The word for sacrificing priest (ἱερεύς) is the one descriptive title which is never given to the Christian ministers or presbyters, although some ten other names are made use of, such as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, ministers, overseers, presbyters, deacons, and stewards. The word for sacrificing priests is used in the New Testament, but, when not used for Jewish priests, is applied to *all Christians*. St. Peter twice calls Christians as a whole "a [sacrificial] priest-

hood," and adds that the only "sacrifices" offered are "spiritual sacrifices" and "the praises of God" (1 Peter ii. 5, 9).

The earliest Fathers of the Primitive Church rejected the idea that Christian ministers were sacrificing priests. The sacrificial idea originated mainly with Cyprian (A.D. 248–258), one of the least learned and least authoritative of the Fathers, and whose knowledge of Scripture was incomplete, and his interpretations often erroneous.

The word "priest" occurs in the Prayer Book of the Church of England, but always used to signify "presbyter" (elder), and not in any other sense. Romanists, however, argue that since St. Paul uses the word "ministering the Gospel of God" (*ἱερουργοῦντα*), which is sometimes used for "ministering in sacrifice," the apostle must have been a "priest." The sacrifice, however, there spoken of was "the offering up of the Gentiles," that is, a symbolical offering up of the Gentiles converted to God, and, therefore, the passage does not help the Roman argument.

The minister of Christ may have many duties to perform, such as the leading of the worship of God, the administration of the sacraments, the instruction of the young, the pastoral care of the sick and the dying, &c., but his most important duty is the public preaching of the Word, for the conversion of sinners and the building up of believers "in their most holy faith." The Lord Jesus in His own ministry was beyond and above all else a preacher, and the same is true with regard to His apostles and disciples. The last command which they received from their Master before His Ascension was to preach the Gospel to every creature (Mark xvi. 15). St. Paul exhorted Timothy to "preach the Word" (2 Tim. iv. 2). Preaching is the first thing which the Church of England commissions her ministers to do. The bishop says to every priest at his ordination, "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God." In comparison with preaching, sacraments are seldom referred to in the New Testament. St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus do not contain a word on that subject. [M. E. W. J.]

MINORITES.—See FRANCISCANS.

MIRACLES.—There are three words used by the New Testament writers for miracles, viz. (1) "powers" (*δυνάμεις*), which draws attention to the mighty influence sufficient to effect them, the omnipotence of God; (2) "prodigies," "portents," or "wonders" (*τέρατα*), which indicates the strange nature of the phenomena; and (3) "signs" (*σημεῖα*), used by St. John, which implies that God, by means of the miracle, attests the mission and doctrine of those who teach in His name. The miracles of the Old Testament were evidential of the Theocratic Government, those of the New Testament were evidential both of the true origin of Christ, and of the existence of the New Dispensation inaugurated by Christ and maintained by His apostles and disciples. Miraculous gifts were generally conferred by the laying on of the apostles' hands. Miracles did not long continue in the Church after the apostolic times. The Roman Church maintains, however, that ecclesiastical miracles have been continued. The passage generally appealed to in support of that contention is Mark xvi. 17, 18. But the words that follow ought to be noticed: "And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, *and confirming the word with the accompanying signs.*" Romanists assert, "Miracles are as possible now as they were eighteen centuries ago." The question, however, is not as to the *possibility* of miracles, but as to whether God has seen fit to continue them in the economy of the Gospel Kingdom since apostolic times. Romanists argue that miracles may be continued because heathen nations have yet to be converted. Roman miracles are always wrought amongst enthusiastic believers, and so far as they affect others, tend to produce more unbelief than faith. Heathen have been, however, converted by the instrumentality of Protestant missions without the assistance of miracles. The so-called "ecclesiastical miracles" are adduced to support not so much Bible truth as papal corruptions. In the time of Gregory the Great, when the Pope first began to be installed, stories of miracles of all kinds were multiplied, and since then the stories have been circulated in support of the worship of relics and images, invocation of the saints, prayers for the dead, purgatory, &c. "Ecclesiastical miracles" closely resemble in character legendary tales, *e.g.* articles which touched the stole of St. Hubert are said to have preserved from insanity and hydrophobia (Bertrand, *Pèlerinage de St. Hubert en Ardenne*, pp. 195–198). Students who had dipped their pens in the fountain at Lourdes, all passed a competitive examination, and several with honours (*Miracles de N. D. de Lourdes*, p. 85). The cases of illness alleged to have been cured by means of the water of Lourdes have been chiefly ailments of a nervous or hysterical character, or such as might have been produced by natural causes. Apparent miraculous performances are one of the marks of the Apocalyptic Beast (Rev. xiii. 14; xvi. 14), and our Lord Himself uttered a distinct warning against looking for miracles (Matt. xvi. 4; John iv. 48), and against the pretended assumption of miraculous power (Matt. xxiv. 24).

MISSA AND MISSÆ.—An attempt has been made to try to make out that the XXXIst Article of the Church of England does not condemn the doctrine of the mass as formally adopted in the Council of Trent, but only some private doctrines of individual Romish theologians. In defence of that view, attention has been drawn to the expression in the plural "the Sacrifices of Masses" (not "the Sacrifice of the Mass") used in Article XXXI. It is important, therefore, to observe that in the Canons of the Council of Trent *missa* (singular) and *missæ* (plural) are used almost in the same sense. See session xxii. cap. ii. canons v. and vii. Moreover, in the *Vindication of the Bull Apostolicæ Curæ*, a letter on Anglican Orders, by the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster (Longmans, 1898), we read:

"Article XXXI. pronounces on the Mass. It first describes it by a definition which every Catholic would accept, 'the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead,' and then denounces it—it, so described—as incompatible with the offering of Christ once made on the cross. And Article XXXV. calls the doctrine of the Homilies 'godly and wholesome,' whereas Homily XV. of Book II. bids us to 'take heed lest of the memory the Lord's Supper be made a sacrifice,' and says, 'we need no sacrificing priest, no mass.'"

Newman's argument in the *XCth Tract for the Times* was afterwards withdrawn by him. It was, however, derived by Newman from Sancta Clara's exposition put forth in 1646, in which, for obvious reasons, that Romish divine (Dr. Christopher Davenant) strove to show that the XXXIX. Articles were not absolutely condemnatory of the Church of Rome. On this question Dimock's book "*Missarum Sacrificia. Testimonies of English Divines in Respect of the Claim of the Massing-Priests*, to offer Christ for the quick and the dead for remission of sins," London: E. Stock, 1896, may be consulted with advantage.

MISSAL.—The book containing the services of the *Mass* used by the Romish Church. The term appears to have been first used by Egbert of York, A.D. 732, for the *Liber Sacramentorum*. In the Middle Ages, the several parts of divine service were arranged in distinct books. Thus the collects and the invariable portion of the Communion Office formed the book called the *Sacramentary*. The lessons from the Old and New Testaments constituted the Lectionary, and the Gospels made another volume, with the title of *Evangelistarium*. The *Antiphonary* consisted of anthems, &c., designed for chanting. About the eleventh or twelfth century it was found convenient, generally, to unite these books, and the volume obtained the name of the Complete or Plenary Missal, or Book of Missæ, or Masses. Of this description were almost all the liturgical books of the Western Churches. We do not read of the Missalia Plenaria before the ninth century. The Gelasian Sacramentary, as well as the Leonian, resembled the Gregorian in consisting of prayers and prefaces only. The lessons and antiphons were probably distinct books for a century after the time of Alcuin. The later Missal contains the lessons, antiphons, the canon, proper prayers, collects, and prefaces to be used at the administration of Holy Communion throughout the year. The later Missal was simplified and purified by the Reformers of the English Church, after the model of the primitive Church, alike in its Rubrics, ritual directions, and in its Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the various seasons of the Ecclesiastical year. The more important changes were in the administration of the Lord's Supper in the English language, the adoration, elevation, &c., of "the host" being eliminated, the exclusion of prayers to saints and angels, and prayers for the dead; the observance with Collects, Epistles, and Gospels of the great Festivals and Fasts of the Church, such as the Nativity, Crucifixion, &c., and of the Saints of the New Testament, to the exclusion of all others.

[T. H. L. L.]

MISSIONS, GENERAL.—

1. *The Purpose of Missions.*—It is important not to confuse the purpose of missions with the effects of missions. Missions have done much to promote geographical knowledge, linguistic science, commercial enterprise, social improvement, educational progress, civilisation generally. But these are not the aim and purpose of missions.

Expressed in one word, it is *evangelisation—the preaching of the Gospel—the making Christ known to the world.*

In one sense it may be said that the aim of missions is the true conversion of every man, woman, and child to Christ. But (1) we must distinguish between evangelisation and conversion. Evangelisation is man's work; conversion is God's work. (2) The true conversion of all mankind is not promised for the present dispensation. Christ's Second Coming is to be to an unconverted world; although, if that Coming is long delayed, it *may* be to an outwardly Christianised world.

2. *The Motive of Missions.*—The true motive of missions is loyalty to Christ. Even if there were no express command, every true Christian would desire the extension of Christ's kingdom. But there is an express command, and one which occupies a place in the Gospels

which is unique. No doubt He gave His apostles many instructions during the Forty Days between the Resurrection and the Ascension, but these are not recorded for the benefit of us in later ages. *One only is recorded;* recorded in different words by the evangelists, words probably spoken on different occasions.

In St. Matthew: "Go ye . . . and make disciples of all nations," &c., xxviii. 19, 20.

In St. Mark: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation," xvi. 15. (The textual question here obviously does not affect the case.)

In St. Luke: "Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His Name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem," xxiv. 47.

In St. John: "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you," xx. 21.

In the Acts: "Ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth," i. 8.

Apparently this last text contains the last words of Christ on earth, for the very next verse says, "And when He had said these things, as they were looking, He was taken up."

And this command is not an arbitrary one, the ground of which is not evident. It is supported by common sense. If it be a fact that a divine Person came into the world to bless mankind, it is obvious that all men ought to know it. This is the plainest common sense; and the whole question is one of fact. Did such an astonishing thing happen? We may leave out all questions of dogmatic theology. We need not ask who this Person really was, or exactly what He did, or what is the blessing He came to give. Let the bare fact be admitted, and the claim, the right, of every living man, woman, and child to be told of such a fact becomes indisputable. And the fact that a man is virtuous, even if it be thought to lessen his need, in no way lessens his claim.

Hence we see the point of our Lord's words in Luke xxiv. 46, 47, "That the Christ should suffer, *and* rise again from the dead the third day, *and* that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all the nations." Three essential things: (1) His Death; (2) His Resurrection; (3) Missions. Which is according to common sense; for what was the good of Christ dying and rising again, if men were not told of it?

3. *The Need of Missions.*—The duty of missionary enterprise does not rest upon the need of it. It is the solemn duty of the Church prior to all inquiry as to whether heathendom needs Christianity or not. Nevertheless, heathendom does need Christianity. It is urged that the sins and sufferings and miseries of mankind in heathen lands are sufficiently dealt with by the non-Christian religions. To prove that this is not the case it is not necessary to look at their worst side; nor would it be fair to do so. Let every religion be taken at its best.

(*a*) As regards sin, it is true that many excellent precepts and exhortations to virtue may be found in the "sacred books" of Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, &c. Confucius told men to obey their parents; Mohammed told them to abstain from intoxicating drink. But all these systems lack two things. First, they reveal no power by which their good precepts may be obeyed. Secondly, they reveal no remedy in the case of disobedience. But these two things are the very blessings which are the essence of Christianity. Christianity reveals a Saviour for the disobedient, and a Sanctifier who can make them obedient. The Gospel or good tidings which we proclaim to the world is that these two paramount needs are supplied.

(*b*) As regards suffering, the utmost that can be said for non-Christian religions is that Buddhism and Mohammedanism direct almsgiving. It is Christendom alone that has cared for the sick, the aged, the orphan, the imbecile, the insane; that has built hospitals, and infirmaries, and asylums, and orphanages. True, non-Christians have here and there followed this example, but they never set it, nor thought of it. The fruits of Christianity may be imitated, but Christianity alone is the tree that produces them.

So far, every candid man must acknowledge that the non-Christian world needs Christianity. But the Christian goes further. He believes that Christianity is indispensable. He seeks not to pry into "the secret things that belong unto the Lord our God." He condemns no man, least of all the man or woman or child who, owing to the guilty neglect of the Church, has never heard of Christ. But he bows his head before the solemn words of his divine Master, "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me," and of his Master's foremost disciple, "There is none other Name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved;" he knows they are true, and on that knowledge he acts.

4. *The Methods of Missions.*—They may be conveniently grouped in two great divisions, the Evangelistic and the Pastoral; in other words, the work of evangelising the non-Christian peoples and the work of instructing and guiding the converts. These two groups find striking illustration in the concluding chapter of St. John's Gospel, in which we find the work of the Church of Christ pictured (1) as fishing, "Cast the net;" (2) as shepherding, "Feed My sheep."

(1) Evangelistic work includes: (*a*) Simple preaching or teaching in mission chapels or halls, in streets and bazaars, in the Chinese house-boat, or the Japanese inn, or the Persian caravanserai, or the Eskimo snow-hut, or the African palm grove. (*b*) Discussions and conversations with individuals, especially in Moslem lands. (*c*) Educational missions: schools and colleges for non-Christian boys and youths, providing education of various grades, with daily Bible lessons, and the constant personal influence of the missionary teacher. (*d*) Medical missions, giving at once healing for the body and the soul, specially useful in Mohammedan countries where open preaching is not possible. (*e*) Industrial missions among barbarous tribes. (*f*) Linguistic work and the mission press: preparation of grammars and dictionaries, translations of the Bible, production of simple tracts and the like. (*g*) Women's work in all its varieties, zenana visiting, village itineration, girls' schools, women's hospitals, and dispensaries.

(2) Pastoral work is work among the native Christian population, including provision for divine worship, translation of the Prayer Book, preparation of vernacular Christian literature, native hymnody; instruction for baptism, confirmation, Holy Communion; ordinary pastoral sermons; Bible-classes and Sunday Schools; schools for the children of Christian parents; Normal schools for the training of native schoolmasters; classes, schools, and colleges for the training of native catechists, Bible-women, evangelists, and pastors; industrial missions of another kind, viz., provision of industries for converts turned out of their own trading circles, or for boys and girls on leaving school; promotion of native Church life and organisation, with a view to the converts supporting their own churches and pastors, administering their local Church affairs, and engaging in missionary work among the heathen around. "Diversities of operations" indeed; may it ever be "the same God who worketh all in all"!

5. *The Support of Missions.*—This word "support" naturally suggests money for the maintenance of the missions. But it includes a great deal more than that. The Church ought, indeed, to regard the provision of ample funds for the prosecution of its great campaign as a matter of course, as its most elementary duty. But it should give much more than subscriptions and collections. It should give keen and eager interest, unfailing sympathy, intelligent and fervent prayer. Home work for Foreign missions, therefore, comprises (1) The diffusion of a missionary spirit. For this purpose the influence of the clergy and ministers by means of sermons, &c., is the most important agency. If this duty were properly done there would be less need for "deputations." (2) The giving of information, by means of missionary books and periodicals, missionary libraries and exhibitions, missionary unions and bands for men, women, and children, and meetings of all kinds. (3) The collection of funds, by church collections, annual or monthly or weekly subscriptions, donations, legacies, missionary boxes, sales of work, &c. (4) Prayer, definite, intelligent, fervent, persevering.

6. *Missions before the Reformation.*—Accoording to Bishop Lightfoot, the Christians two centuries after Christ were probably one-twentieth of the subjects of the Roman Empire, and one hundred and fiftieth of the whole human race. That they were mainly confined to the towns is evident from the curious fact that the word *pagani* (villagers) became a synonym for non-Christians, and is preserved to us in our familiar "pagans." Nevertheless, Christianity triumphed externally when Constantine, in A.D. 312, established the new religion upon the ruins of the old. And it is a great fact that there is not now a single nation, perhaps not a single individual, on the face of the earth worshipping the gods of Greece and Rome. The work was completed by the Northern Barbarians who overthrew the Empire. Gradually themselves enlisting under the banner of the Cross, they used the sword to propagate the religion of the Prince of Peace.

The truest missionaries of the Dark Ages belonged to the British Isles. Scotland sent Patrick to Ireland; Ireland sent Columba to Scotland; and from the little island of Iona noble men spread themselves over Europe. Aidan evangelised northern England; while southern England, where there had been a British Church prior to the Saxon invasion, received the Gospel from Augustine the monk, sent by Gregory of Rome. The Anglo-Roman Church in its turn, by the agency of Boniface and others, evangelised Germany, but at the same time brought it under papal rule. Under Charlemagne the sword was again drawn to enforce Christianity, despite the protests of Alcuin, who had imbibed the purer teaching of Northumbria. Anschar was the evangelist of Denmark and Sweden; Cyril and Methodius, of the Slavs; Adalbert, of Bohemia and Prussia. The baptism of Vladimir established Christianity in Russia, as that of Clovis had in France. But when the thousandth year of the Christian era arrived, and the panic-stricken cry arose that the end of the world was at hand, Christendom was, in respect of spiritual tone and practical morality, at the lowest point it has ever touched. No wonder the Church had forgotten its Lord's command. Not only had it failed to evangelise the world,

but it had actually fallen back before the advance of Mohammedanism, which was now supreme in Western Asia, in Northern Africa, in Spain. Then came the Crusades, waging a carnal warfare, not for the conversion of the Moslems, but for the rescue of the Holy City from their sway. Two centuries of varying fortunes brought them at last to a disastrous close, and Islam still reigns in the lands of the Bible. Then arose the greatest of mediæval missionaries, Raymund Lull, who saw what a true crusade ought to be, one of love and prayer; but Papal Christendom turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and the solitary hero died a martyr by the hands of the Moors he longed to save.

All this while the Eastern Churches, particularly the Nestorian, had, notwithstanding their struggle with victorious Mohammedanism, done much for the evangelisation of Asia. Persia had received the Gospel far back in the second century, and its Church, under the persecuting Sassanian kings, had supplied a great contingent to the noble army of martyrs. In the sixth century Cosmas of Alexandria found Christian Churches there, and also in Arabia, in India, and even in Ceylon. Five centuries later, when Mohammedanism had subjugated many peoples, and when Christendom was at its lowest ebb, Christian bishops were presiding over dioceses in Turkestan, Kashgar, and other parts of Central Asia, as far as China. The Franciscans followed the Nestorians in the same vast territories, and did a mighty work. But in the fourteenth century the Turks and Tartars, under Tamerlane and other ferocious tyrants, massacred the Christians and swept Christianity off the face of Central Asia. The one existing trace of it to-day is the famous Nestorian tablet at Si-ngan-fu. Islam and Buddhism have long since divided the land.

[E. S.]

MISSIONS, PROTESTANT.—The Reformed Churches were very slow in taking up missionary enterprise. Apart from small efforts by Germans and Swedes, the first Protestant missions on any scale were those of the Dutch in the East Indies in the seventeenth century; not unnaturally, as Holland was the first to follow Spain and Portugal in colonial expansion. But the methods adopted were scarcely less faulty than those of the Jesuits, though very different. A profession of Christianity was insisted on as a condition of civil rights. In Ceylon the natives were baptized by thousands without any instruction; but wherever the Dutch rule ceased, through British conquest or otherwise, these multitudes of nominal Christians reverted to heathenism.

English missions also grew out of Colonial enterprise. The first missionary contribution in England was Sir Walter Raleigh's gift of £100 to the company which founded the Elizabethan colony of Virginia, "for the propagation of the Christian religion in the settlement," and on November 13, 1622, Dr John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, delivered before this company what may fairly be regarded as the first missionary sermon preached in England. The first genuine missionary of British blood, however, was a Puritan of New England, John Eliot, minister in the village of Roxbury, now a suburb of Boston. He laboured devotedly among the Indians who then peopled the forests covering what is now the State of Massachusetts; and he translated the whole Bible into the Iroquois language. This work was supported by the first English missionary association, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," established under the auspices of Cromwell. That Society, afterwards called the "New England Company," was reorganised under Charles II. by Robert Boyle, who also founded the "Christian Faith Society" for the Negro slaves in Virginia. Both these Societies still exist, disbursing their funds respectively in Canada and the West Indies. In 1698 Parliament, revising the East India Company's charter, enacted that the ministers sent to India for the benefit of the Company's agents "should apply themselves to learn the language of the country, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos (Gentiles or heathen) who should be servants of the Company in the Protestant religion." This enactment, however, was not obeyed until the days of Henry Martyn, more than a century later. England, therefore, at the end of the seventeenth century, and 150 years after the Reformation, had done a very little for the Red Indians and Negroes in her infant Colonies, but nothing at all beyond their then narrow limits. A nominal and worthless Christianity had been enforced in the Colonies of Holland. The only missions in the great heathen world were the missions of the Church of Rome.

The eighteenth century, as regards the Anglican Church's part in the missionary enterprise, opened with promise. In 1698 was formed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Both owed their origin to the zeal and energy of Dr. Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire; and both were voluntary and unofficial associations of Churchmen. The S.P.C.K. was designed mainly for the provision of Christian literature and the promotion of Christian education, chiefly, though not exclusively, at home. The S.P.G. was for the supply of clergy to "Foreign Parts." This term then meant the Colonies and Dependencies of Great

Britain; but the Society was to care, not only for the white settlers, but also for the natives.

The chief work of the S.P.G. for the next three-quarters of a century lay in the American Colonies; that is, up to the time of their secession, and the formation of the Republic of the United States. Apparently all the clergy sent across the Atlantic were supplied by it—John Wesley being one of them. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which now has about 90 bishops and nearly 5000 clergy, may truly be said to owe its existence to the ministrations of the S.P.G., prior to the Declaration of Independence. Canada also, when by successive treaties and conquests its provinces became British, was supplied with clergy by the Society. There was also a small work on the Gold Coast, West Africa, where an African convert, Philip Quaque, was "the first of any non-European race since the Reformation to receive Anglican orders." But the Society shared in the dulness and depression that prevailed in the Church during the Hanoverian period, and its voluntary income at the end of the eighteenth century was less than £600, its work being chiefly maintained by its invested funds.

Meanwhile the S.P.C.K. was engaged in missionary work in Asia. In the midst of the cold latitudinarianism of Lutheran Germany had arisen the Pietist movement, which, like all sound religious revivals, had awakened a missionary spirit. The first Protestant missionaries to found a mission in Asia were two German Pietists, Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, who were sent to the Danish trading settlement at Tranquebar in South India by Frederick IV., King of Denmark, in 1705. This mission was watched with interest in England, and a grant to it of £20 by the S.P.G. in 1709 is memorable as the first British contribution to the evangelisation of India. But India was a foreign country, and the East India Company had only a few trading posts there; so it was not a field for a Society formed for British possessions. When therefore, in time, the Danish funds failed, it was the S.P.C.K., and not the S.P.G., which took up the work, and carried it on for one hundred years. But the missionaries were all Lutherans and Germans, Schulze, Schwartz, and Kohlhoff being the most eminent. Their influence extended over nearly the whole Tamil country, from Madras to Tinnevelly, and some 50,000 Tamils were baptized; but caste and other heathen customs were tolerated, and when, towards the end of the century, both men and means began to fail, large numbers fell away from the faith.

Another mission started by the same King of Denmark was that in Greenland, whither he sent Hans Egede in 1722. This work was subsequently taken up by the Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum, which began its wonderful career of missionary devotion in 1733, and quickly sent members of its brotherhood also to Labrador, Central and South America, and South Africa. One other missionary of the century must be named, David Brainerd, who worked among the Red Indians of what is now New York State in 1744–47, supported by funds from Scotland. He died at the age of twenty-nine, but his biography, by its definite spiritual influence on Carey and Marsden and Henry Martyn and Chalmers, and through them upon hundreds of others, bore rich fruit.

Upon the whole, therefore, the eighteenth century saw but few and feeble steps taken towards the evangelisation of the world, and Watts's version of the 72nd Psalm, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," written in 1719, had to wait for another century before it came into common use as the utterance of ardent Christian anticipations.

But before the century closed, the awakening had come. To William Carey, shoemaker and Baptist local preacher, is due the most direct influence in favour of missions. In 1792 he published his famous *Enquiry*, and preached his still more famous sermon at Nottingham on Isaiah liv. 2, 3, with its inspiring motto, "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God." In the same year the Baptist Society was founded; and in the following year Carey himself went to India as its first missionary. This led to the formation of the London Missionary Society, on undenominational lines, but eventually becoming in effect a Congregationalist body. It began by sending out a large party of missionary settlers and artisans to Tahiti. But this enterprise was attended at first by much disappointment, and meanwhile Carey had been unable to work in British Bengal on account of the hostility of the East India Company to missions, and at last settled at the Danish settlement of Serampore. Moreover, two small Methodist and Presbyterian missions to West Africa came to grief. There was little to encourage the hopes of the little bands of Christians at home, the fruit of the Evangelical Revival under Wesley, Whitefield, the first Henry Venn, and other leaders (all of them clergymen of the Church of England), who were beginning to care for their heathen fellow-creatures.

Nevertheless, those of the "serious" men (as they were called) who clung to the Church of their fathers, incited by Charles Simeon of Cambridge, and led by John Venn and Thomas Scott, determined to take their own share in the new missionary movement. Excluded as they were from all possible influence in the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. (though they subscribed

In West Africa the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans have extended their operations all through this long period. Starting from Sierra Leone, the Yoruba country and the Niger district—now the Lagos and Nigeria Protectorates—have received the Gospel; and the C.M.S. Missions have seen not only over one hundred Negro clergymen ordained, but four Negro bishops consecrated; while the American Church in Liberia has had two Negro bishops. The Gold Coast and Ashanti have been the field of the Basle Mission. Efforts to reach the great Mohammedan Central Soudan have been made, but as yet with little success.

East Africa Missions began with Krapf and Rebmann of the C.M.S. in 1844–46. They led to the explorations of Burton, Speke, and other great travellers, who discovered the equatorial lakes and the kingdom of Uganda (1858–61). Under Livingstone's auspices the Universities Mission to Central Africa was established in 1858. Its first leader, the devoted Bishop Mackenzie, fell a victim to the climate; but subsequent bishops have greatly extended the work on the Zanzibar coast and on Lake Nyassa. Livingstone's death in 1873 roused the Christian public as no other event of the century did. The Scotch Presbyterian Churches took the Shiré River and Lake Nyassa as their sphere; the L.M.S. chose Lake Tanganika; the C.M.S. Mission on the east coast was developed; and presently Stanley's famous letter inspired the C.M.S. Uganda Mission, with which the names of Mackay and Hannington are indissolubly associated. Stanley's voyage down the Congo (1877) led to the English and American Baptist Missions on that river, followed by other enterprises, notably that of Dr. Grattan Guinness's Congo Balolo Mission.

North Africa is Mohammedan, and an exceptionally hard field. The undenominational North Africa Mission works in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. In Egypt, the American United Presbyterians have done great educational service. An old C.M.S. Mission, suspended for many years, was revived when the British Protectorate began in 1882, and now seeks a footing at Khartoum. The Turkish Empire, Arabia, and Persia are also difficult Mohammedan fields. In Turkey, the American Board has long carried on extensive Missions, and the American Presbyterians in Syria. Palestine was occupied by the C.M.S. in 1851; Persia in 1869–75. The American Presbyterians have laboured in Persia half a century; and the American Reformed (Dutch) Church has lately begun at Muscat in Arabia; while at Aden there is a Scotch Free Church Mission, founded in 1885 by the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer.

Eastern Asia has much more extensive Missions than Western Asia. Burmah has been the scene of the largest American Baptist work, begun in 1813 by the heroic Judson. The S.P.G. has had a successful Mission there since 1859; and that Society is also in the Straits Settlements and in Borneo. Siam has been an American field. China opened partially to the Gospel in 1842; more completely in 1858. The L.M.S., which had sent Morrison in 1807, was the first to enter, followed by several other English and American Societies. The Church of England sent a bishop in 1849; and now there are six bishops, four English and two American. Three of the English superintend C.M.S. Missions in South and Mid-China; the other is the head of the S.P.G. Mission in North China. In 1865 Hudson Taylor organised the China Inland Mission, which eventually spread itself over the Northern and Central Provinces, and which received an immense impetus from the going forth of the "Cambridge Seven" in 1885. China Missions have suffered now and again from terrible massacres. In 1900 no less than 133 missionaries and 48 children perished, and some thousands of native Christians.

Japan, closed to all Western influence for more than 200 years, owing to the Jesuit tyrannies of the sixteenth century, was first entered by Protestant missionaries in 1859, the American Episcopal Church and Presbyterians leading the way. The first English missionary landed in 1869. Religious liberty commenced in 1873, and the Missions were at once reinforced, and have since made continuous progress. The converts of the C.M.S., the S.P.G., and the American Episcopal Mission, combined in 1887 to form a "Japan Church," and the non-episcopal communities have done likewise.

Manchuria has been an interesting and fruitful field of Presbyterian Missions from Scotland and Ireland (1868). Mongolia is a London Missionary Society field, entered by Gilmour in 1870. Scotch missionaries were the first to venture into Korea; but the American Presbyterians have carried on the chief work since 1884. An S.P.G. Mission there was begun in 1889.

In Madagascar, the great Mission has been that of the L.M.S. When the long period of suppression and persecution came to an end in 1861, it was soon greatly extended; and the S.P.G., the Friends, and the Norwegians entered the field. Under the French administration the Protestant Missions have been fairly treated. The Paris Society (*Missions Evangéliques*) has taken over some of the work, as it did formerly in Tahiti when the French annexation issued in the exclusion of the L.M.S.

In the South Seas proper, the Wesleyans, the L.M.S., and the Scotch Free Church, have laboured successfully, island after island becoming Christian. John Williams, John Hunt, and J. G. Paton are names to be ever remembered. New Zealand, evangelised by the C.M.S., has become a flourishing British Colony. Its first bishop, Selwyn, also established the Melanesian Mission, of which Patteson became bishop in 1861. In 1872 he was killed by the islanders in revenge for the evil deeds of white traders. In 1871 the L.M.S. led the way to New Guinea, where another great missionary, Chalmers, was killed in 1901. In the same great island the Anglican Board of Missions in Australia, and the Wesleyans, began work in 1891.

On the American continent, great Missions among the Red Indians have been carried on in the United States and in Canada. The latter field has been chiefly occupied by the C.M.S., whose operations have extended to the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. Bishops Horden, Bompas, Ridley, and several others have done noble service. In the West Indies the various denominations have worked among the Negroes, and the Church of England has been represented by the S.P.G.—as also in Central America and British Guiana. The South American Missionary Society was founded to carry on the work in Patagonia, begun and inspired by Captain Allen Gardiner, who died of starvation on the bleak shores of Tierra del Fuego in 1851; but its operations have extended to many parts of the continent. The American Presbyterians and Methodists also have Missions in South America.

Results of Protestant Missions.—The latest attempt at compiling the statistics of Protestant Missions is that of the Rev. Harlan P. Beach, of the American Student Volunteers, in his *Geography and Atlas.* An examination of the detailed figures shows the hopelessness of getting uniform returns from the various missionary organisations, but the general result is probably not far out, and certainly it is under, rather than over, the actual fact. Mr. Beach makes the total of the "native constituency," *i.e.* the population statistically counted as Christian, to be 3,613,391. In a few cases the numbers are too large, but the excess is much more than counterbalanced by the blanks not filled up, together with the deficiency due to returns of an imperfect kind, as *e.g.* those of the Baptists, who do not count any children. It is safe to conclude that the real total is quite 4,000,000. Of these, India, including Ceylon and Burmah, would stand for 950,000; Africa (mostly in the south), for 850,000; China, for 200,000; the West Indies, for 240,000; Oceania (chiefly Hawaii and Fiji), for 350,000; Madagascar for 100,000; all in round figures.

But all such statistics, even if perfect, are misleading. For they never include the surest and safest fruit of missionary labour—*the dead in Christ.* If, from the first, the Societies had kept the total register of baptisms, we should have known the whole result, and not merely the number of native Christians on the earth at a particular date. On the other hand, it must always be remembered that statistics can only register external results. They are bound to take count of the population answering to the name of Christian, and can tell us nothing of how far the Christians so enumerated are true and earnest Christians. It is quite certain that the larger the number, and the larger the proportion of those who are not themselves converts from heathenism, but a second or third generation of hereditary Christians, the larger will be the proportion of a merely nominal profession of Christianity. The Protestant Christendom of Africa and Asia cannot reasonably be expected to prove better than the Protestant Christendom of Europe.

Nevertheless, a survey of the world affords great encouragement to missionary enterprise, in the light of the inadequacy of our efforts. In India we see a native Christian community increasing much more rapidly than the natural growth of the whole population; and although the large majority of the converts are from the lower castes and depressed classes, the Christians stand second in educational results, being only surpassed by the select Brahman caste, and far ahead of all other Hindu castes and of the Mohammedans. And this is their position only as regards men. In female education they stand first of all. As for China, the very newspapers which three or four years ago doubted the existence of any genuine Chinese Christians at all, now acknowledge that hundreds of them endured torture and suffered death at the hands of the Boxers rather than deny their faith. In Japan, the leaders of public opinion openly avow their belief that Christianity is the future religion of the Empire, and already Japanese Christians sit in the Legislature and on the judicial bench, and command regiments and ships of war. In West Africa, several local native Churches are self-supporting; and the Negro race has contributed to the Anglican Communion alone six bishops and more than one hundred clergymen. The Church in Uganda is still in its infancy as regards ministry and organisation; but its zeal and intelligence have been an example to all Christendom, and England owes its Protectorate indirectly to the Mission. Madagascar was the Uganda of forty years ago, and the number of its Christians is much larger. New Zealand

was the Uganda of sixty years ago (the three Missions have exhibited striking resemblances), and although contact with the white men has well-nigh ruined the Maori race, it has given some eighty clergymen to the Church of England; while the flourishing British Colony was rendered possible by the early labours of the missionaries. In the South Seas, Fiji and many other populous islands are Christian. In North-West Canada, the Red Indians have supplied conspicuous evidences of the power of divine grace; and the most savage tribes of British Columbia and Queen Charlotte's Islands have been tamed and humanised.

Principal Protestant Missionary Societies.—The following is a brief summary of the principal organisations:—

Church of England.—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Church Missionary Society, South American Missionary Society, Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Colonial and Continental Church Society (having a small work among Red Indians), Oxford Mission at Calcutta, Cambridge Mission at Delhi, Society of St. John the Evangelist (Cowley Fathers).

Nonconformist (English).—London Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of England, Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, Methodist New Connection Missionary Society, United Methodist Free Churches Missions, Salvation Army.

Interdenominational (English).—China Inland Mission, North Africa Mission, South Africa General Mission, Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, Poona and Indian Village Mission, Kurku and Central Indian Hill Mission, Zambesi Industrial Mission, British Syrian Schools. Also auxiliary organisations: Industrial Missions Aid Society, Medical Missionary Association, Mission to Lepers.

Scotch, Irish, Welsh.—Church of Scotland Foreign Missions, United Free Church Foreign Missions, Foreign Missions of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Missions.

Colonial.—Australasia: Australian Board of Missions (Anglican), New South Wales Church Missionary Association (C.M.S.), Victoria Church Missionary Association (C.M.S.), New Zealand Church Missionary Association (C.M.S.), Melanesian Mission, Presbyterian Churches combined to support the New Hebrides and other missions, Australian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Victoria Baptist Foreign Mission. South Africa: South Africa Church Missionary Association (C.M.S., for foreign work), several local organisations for missions among natives in the Colonies. West Indies: Rio Pongas Mission (Anglican, Barbados, for West Africa, affiliated to S.P.G.), Jamaica Church Missionary Association (C.M.S., for work in Africa); several local organisations for work among West Indian negroes. Canada: Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, Canadian Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Mission Board of the Baptist Convention, Missionary Society of the Methodist Church.

American.—Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, American Church Missionary Society (affiliated to the Domestic and Foreign Society), American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Congregationalist), Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church (work among Red Indians in the States), Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (South), Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church (Dutch Presbyterian), Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Board of Foreign Missions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South), Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (coloured), American Baptist Missionary Union, Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society, Missionary Board of Seventh Day Adventists, American Friends' Board of Foreign Missions, Foreign Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America.

Continental Protestant.—Moravian Missions, Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, North German Missionary Society, Berlin Missionary Society, Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, Leipsic Lutheran Mission, Rhenish Missionary Society, Gossner's Mission (Berlin, Lutheran), Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa, Netherlands Missionary Union (Dutch Reformed), Netherlands Missionary Society (Dutch undenominational), Church of Sweden Mission, Swedish Missionary Society (Free Church), Norwegian Missionary Society, Société des Missions Evangéliques (French Protestant), Mission Romande (French Swiss Protestant).

These organisations differ widely in regard to their methods of administration. There are

Churches which, as Churches, officially conduct their own Missions; for example, the Moravians, all the Presbyterian Churches, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. Most of these commit the practical administration to appointed "Boards," which are, however, strictly subordinate to the regular Synods of the Church. This is, of course, the ideal; but the ideal is in many cases impracticable. Where a Church is in a sluggish state spiritually, the few individuals who are in earnest find the task a hard one to rouse it to action. Hence the origin of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.; hence also, a century later, of the C.M.S.; hence also, in recent times, of some non-denominational associations, such as the China Inland Mission. It is also to be borne in mind that official bodies are inevitably slow in their movements, and often slow also by reason of internal differences. Even where ecclesiastical differences are few and unimportant, as in the Scotch Presbyterian Churches, the conduct of a Mission is not easy when everything may depend on an uncertain vote in the General Assembly. But in a great comprehensive Church like the Church of England, with its diverse sections or schools, all Christian enterprise is most effectively done when undertaken by associations of men who are agreed on general principles. Both the C.M.S. and the Universities' Mission to Africa are signal illustrations of this, the one representing Evangelical principles, and the other those of the advanced High Church party. Those Churchmen who prefer a broader basis have the S.P.G., which claims to "exclude none whom the Church would admit, and to admit none whom the Church would exclude." It is, however, essentially a voluntary organisation, as much so as the C.M.S. Both are governed by Committees composed of both clergymen and laymen, which administer their funds at their discretion. But the C.M.S. keeps in its own hands the choice of missionaries, while the S.P.G. makes grants to bishops and diocesan committees abroad for men, for the most part chosen by them. In the S.P.G. constitution, bishops are *ex officio* Vice Presidents. In the C.M.S. they are so if they have voluntarily joined the Society as members by a 10s. 6d. subscription.

The Boards of Missions for the Provinces of Canterbury and York, formed in 1887–89, are designed, not to carry on Missions, but to promote missionary interest and discuss missionary problems. The clerical members are appointed by the two Convocations, and the lay members by the two Houses of Laymen. In this way the Church of England as a body, is able, like the Presbyterian Churches, to take cognisance of Missions carried on in its name, without interfering with the work of the S.P.G., the C.M.S., and other voluntary Societies.

The Nonconformist Societies are mostly administered by Committees appointed by the subscribers; but the Wesleyan Committee is responsible to the Wesleyan Conference. The London Missionary Society, and the American Societies, use the word "Board" for their governing bodies. Some modern inter-denominational missions are governed by a Director in the field, who is independent of the Home Council or Committee, such Council confining itself to the selection of missionaries and the raising of funds. [E. S.]

MISSIONS, ROMAN CATHOLIC.—Modern Roman missions date from the Reformation. It is remarkable that the fresh missionary zeal awakened at that epoch was manifested not by the Churches which were reformed, but by that which was unreformed. One simple cause of this was that the navigating and exploring nations of the day were Spain and Portugal. It was in their ships that the new race of missionaries sailed to South America, to West and East Africa, and by the new sea route to India, China, and Japan. And it was the new Religious Orders, especially the Jesuits, whose zeal and courage planted missions in the new fields first opened up by Columbus and Vasco da Gama.

The typical missionary of the period was Francis Xavier. He became the one missionary of the Roman Church whom all Christendom honours. He led the way to India and Japan, and he died in the attempt to knock at the closed door of China. But much undeserved glamour attaches to Xavier's work. The marvellous results attributed to his labours exist only in the imagination of those whom a Roman Catholic historian, Mr. Stewart Rose, calls his "unwise biographers." He never learned an Oriental language. Although he "made Christians" (*feci Christianos* is his expression) rapidly in India by baptising heathen infants and the most ignorant of the Tamil fishermen, yet the Abbé Dubois, a Jesuit writer, says of him that he was "entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met," and ultimately "left India in disgust;" and this is confirmed by his own letters to Loyola. Indeed, so hopeless did he regard any attempt to win the heathen by preaching, that he called on King John of Portugal to lay upon the governors of his possessions in India the duty of forcing the Church upon the natives, and to punish severely any governor whose "converts" were few. Bishop Cotton, most tolerant of Anglican prelates, considered Xavier's methods "utterly wrong, and the results in India and Ceylon most deplorable." Nevertheless, Xavier's zeal

and devotion call for unstinted admiration. He did love his divine Master; he did love the souls for whom his Master died. His toils and privations were heroically borne, and he never descended to the fraud and falsehood by which some of his successors sought to spread the religion of Christ as they understood it. Some great men are patterns; some are beacons. Xavier was both. But most of his comrades and successors were beacons, and not patterns. The history of Jesuit Missions, as told by the Jesuits themselves, is one of the saddest portions of the Church's annals. Their identification with the aggrandisement of the nations that sent them forth, their use of the secular arm, their establishment of the inquisition in Malabar, in Japan, in the Philippine Islands, in Mexico and South America; the frightful tortures inflicted by them on both heathen and heretics (*e.g.* the burning alive at Goa of the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church in 1654)—these are only some of their principal features. Let us see some others.

Let the testimony be cited of the late Rev. Henry Rowley of the S.P.G., formerly of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (*Africa Unveiled*, S.P.C.K., 1876, pp. 228–235). After speaking of the "few ignorant and generally immoral priests still to be found amongst the Portuguese in Africa," and adding, "I fear they are a shame to humanity, to say nothing of Christianity," he goes on to ascribe the "utter relapse of the native Christians into heathenism" to the following six features of what seemed three hundred years ago to be successful missions: (1) The "reckless and wholesale administration of baptism;" (2) "unholy accommodation of Christian truth and observances to heathenish superstitions and customs;" (3) the neglect of education for the young; (4) the attempts to prop up waning influence by a pretended exercise of miracles; (5) the cruel punishments inflicted for the slightest deviation from the prescribed rules of the Church; (6) the connection with the slave trade, illustrated by the marble chair to be seen until lately on the pier at Loanda, from which the bishop used to give his blessing to the slave-ships. In the old kingdom of Congo, the entire population was Christian, in the Roman sense, in the sixteenth century. The capital still bears the name of San Salvador, but Christianity has disappeared. The shocking history of the Roman Congo Mission, a tissue of cruelties and corruptions, is told by a sympathiser, Pigafetta, Chamberlain to Pope Innocent IX.

Touching another head of Mr. Rowley's indictment, "unholy accommodation of Christian truth and observances to heathenish superstitions and customs," a volume could be filled with illustrations. In China and Japan the paraphernalia of Buddhism have proved most convenient. Temples, shrines, altars, bells, holy-water vessels, censers, rosaries, vestments, all were ready for transfer from one religion to the other. Images of Buddha, with a slight application of the chisel, served for images of Christ; and the roadside shrines of Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy, were easily adapted to Mariolatry. Even the Popes themselves were shocked, and papal censures were again and again launched. Urban VIII. and Innocent X. declared the ceremonies permitted by the Jesuits in China to be superstitious and idolatrous. Clement XI. sent a legate out to inquire. This legate was excommunicated by the Portuguese bishop at Macao, and thrown into prison, where he died of his sufferings. South India was the scene of the imposture of Robert de Nobili, nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, who, finding that Xavier and his comrades had won converts only from the poor fishermen, essayed to win the Brahmans by pretending to be a Brahman himself, and swearing upon a forged Veda that he had sprung from the god Brahma, which forged Veda was so skilfully done that it deceived Voltaire himself, and was cited by him as a proof of the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity. It is on the same principle that the most distinctive signs of heathenism, caste as a religious system, the wearing of the Brahminical cord, and the smearing of ashes on the forehead, are permitted to Roman converts; with the result that as Bishop Caldwell, the learned and devoted S.P.G. missionary and bishop in Tinnevelly, affirmed, "the Roman Catholic Hindus, in intellect, habits, and morals, do not differ from the heathen in the smallest degree." This is quoted from the wonderful book published a few years ago, *The Classified Digest of S.P.G. Records*, in the pages of which will be found condemnation of Roman methods and results in India as strong as anything in this article. Miss Gordon Cumming's *Two Years in Ceylon* is another storehouse of evidence on this subject. She has seen the very identical devil-dancers engaged from the temples of Siva to accompany the processions alike of heathen gods and of Roman images of Christ and the Virgin Mother; she has seen the image of Buddha opposite the image of the Virgin in the same chapel, and apparently receiving equal adoration; she has seen Hindus, Buddhists, and Roman Catholics paying their vows together at the shrine of St. Anna, by whom certain miracles were believed to have been wrought.

Another of Mr. Rowley's heads might also be illustrated from India. In the Portuguese territories in Africa, he remarks, the Roman

missionaries neglected the education of the children. This is a branch of work in which they are supposed to be especially effective, and it is true, indeed, that of late years vast sums have been spent upon colleges and schools, especially in cities like Calcutta. But what of the large Roman Catholic population of South India? The Madras Census Report of 1891 stated that wherever the native Christians were mainly Roman Catholic, as in Tanjore and Madura, the percentage of educated Christians was low; whereas of Tinnevelly, where S.P.G. and C.M.S. divide the land, the official report was, "This is one of the few districts where a large percentage of the population is classed as educated."

At the close of the eighteenth century, Roman missions were almost at a standstill, although there were in India and China considerable bodies of professing Christians owning allegiance to the Pope; and a pious and influential Roman Catholic doctor at Malta actually applied to the Church Missionary Society in 1811 to take up work which Rome was letting slip from her hands. The modern revival was mainly due, not to official action, but to the zeal of "a few humble and obscure Catholics" (to use their own words) at Lyons, who founded in 1822 an "Institution for the Propagation of the Faith." They did not send out missionaries. They simply collected money, which they gave to the various Societies and Religious Orders; and these, thus encouraged, gradually extended their operations to all parts of the world. In 1843 the income of this voluntary association was £141,000, and it claimed to be assisting 130 bishops and 4000 priests. Its work and resources have since more than doubled.

Existing Organisation and Work.—Roman Missions are carried on both by Missionary Societies and by Religious Orders, all under the supreme direction of the Pope, and also, more or less, under the general supervision of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide at Rome, since its foundation in 1622. The Congregation of Lazarists was founded at Paris by St. Vincent de Paul in 1632, and the Société des Missions Étrangères, also at Paris, in 1663. This last-named Society is the largest Roman Catholic missionary organisation, labouring all over Eastern Asia and parts of India. It had, in 1899, 34 bishops, 1100 missionaries, 680 native priests, and 1,227,000 native Christians. In that year it baptized 46,000 adult pagans, 41,000 children of Christians, and 155,000 "children of pagans *in articulo mortis*." Several other smaller Societies have their headquarters in Belgium, Italy, and Ireland. For the purpose of Missions in Africa, several modern Associations have been formed, particularly the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and Heart of Mary, the Lyons Society of African Missions, the Institute of Verona, and the Algerine Congregation for the conversion of the Soudan and Central Africa. An English organisation, St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society, was founded by Cardinal Vaughan at Mill Hill, near London, about 1870. It had, in 1900, 2 bishops and 86 priests in the mission-field, and works in Uganda, North and South India, Borneo, and New Zealand. The Roman Mission in Uganda, begun about two years after the Anglican one, reckoned in 1899 3529 baptized Christians, and about 10,000 catechumens (Sir F. Lugard's official return); but its numbers have much increased.

The Religious Orders are also largely represented in the foreign field. The Anglican Benedictines work in British Colonies; the Capuchins, in the Levant, Western Asia, North Africa, and South America; the Carmelites, in India; the Dominicans, in Turkey, Indo-China, North and South America; the Lazarists, in China, the Levant, Persia, Abyssinia, Madagascar, and South America; the Franciscans, who have been zealous missionaries since the days of their great founder, in China, in the Philippines and Pacific Islands in North and South America, in Egypt and North Africa, in Palestine (where they are the appointed guardians of the Holy Places), and in many European countries; the priests of the Sacred Heart, in South America and the Pacific Ocean; the Oblates of St. Mary, in the Polar regions of North America; and, lastly, the Jesuits, in all quarters of the world, having (1899) 116 missionaries in Europe, 233 in Africa, 988 in Asia, 550 in Oceania, 1246 in North America, and 856 in South America; total Jesuit missionaries, 3989.

The Roman Church has extensive missions in the East, directed at winning adherents to the unity of the Holy See from the Oriental Churches, which are regarded as schismatic and heretical. In this enterprise there has been great advance within the past four years in Egypt, among the Copts, and in 1899 the Pope signalised "the resurrection of the Church of Alexandria" by appointing a Patriarch for Egypt, Libya, and Nubia. Farther east, on the borders of Turkey and Persia, the Roman and Russo-Greek Churches compete for the adhesion of the Nestorians, Chaldeans, and Armenians. The Franciscans, Dominicans, Lazarists, and Jesuits are engaged in all these works.

The Roman Church has made considerable progress in India, particularly in the south, and since the famine of 1877–78; but a large

proportion of its adherents are descendants of the converts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Missiones Catholicæ* in 1895 gave the total as 1,391,000, including Burmah and Ceylon. The *Illustrated Catholic Missions* gives it as just over 2,000,000 in 1900. The Roman Church organisation comprises a papal delegate at Kandy, 7 archbishops, 21 bishops, and 7 vicars or prefects apostolic; under whom are 800 European missionaries (French, English, German, Italian), 800 Goanese priests, and 700 Indian priests. The various Societies and Orders do not seem to be more united than the different Protestant denominations. The French Jesuits of Madura and Tinnevelly complain bitterly (in *L'Année de l'Eglise*) of the opposition of the Goanese, as worse even than that of the pagans and Protestants. Prior to 1884, the Archbishop of Goa's jurisdiction extended over the whole Roman Church in India, but in that year the Pope confined it to the Portuguese section, abolishing it in British and French territory.

In Madagascar the French Missions are on an extensive scale, reckoning 94,000 baptized and 267,000 catechumens. *L'Année de l'Eglise* complains of the favour shown to the Protestant Missions by the French officials.

Roman Catholic Missions in China have a remarkable history from the sixteenth century downwards. The scientific and literary attainments of the Jesuit missionaries rendered them famous. The work is now carried on by ten Societies or Religious Orders. There are 39 bishops, and 790 European priests (600 of them French). There were 370 native priests in 1895. The Chinese Christians numbered 582,000 in that year, and are now reckoned at 661,000. *L'Année de l'Eglise* says that the most prominent feature of the work is the large number of baptisms of the children of pagans. In the province of Si-Chuan alone 85,643 children of heathen parents were baptized in 1899, a large proportion of them being baby girls thrown away by their mothers. In 1898 the Jesuits of the Shanghai Mission baptized 41,400 pagan children "at the point of death." An important concession was obtained in 1899 by the French Minister at Pekin, with a view to the more effective protection of the "Catholic" missions. The bishops were declared "equal in rank to the viceroys and governors," and the priests "to the prefects of the first and second class;" and their influence and authority were to correspond. The Anglican bishops agreed to decline these secular powers, as also did the heads of other Protestant missions. It is to be feared that the exercise of the powers thus gained by the Roman hierarchy was one cause of the Boxer outbreaks, and is still occasioning much trouble. Certainly, however, the converts of Rome had the share of persecution and massacre.

In Japan, the Roman Church, which acl such extraordinary success in the six century, is again to the front, having Christians, about half of whom are tl scendants of the small remnant left aft dreadful persecutions of that period. an archbishop and three bishops, and it largely through orphanages, hospital In French Indo-China the Roman mi are very extensive, and have 700,000 co notwithstanding violent persecution pr the French occupation, with terrible mas of priests and native Christians. The in 1900, "beatified" many of the ma The Roman Catholics had missions in before the opening by Sir H. Parkes' tre 1883, and 9 missionaries were marty 1866, while now there are 36,000 adheren

In North-West Canada the Roman mi aries are scattered over the immense terri and have a large number of Indian adhe Besides the Oblates before mentioned, are Jesuits from French Canada. In America the Roman Church, which is dor throughout the continent, has been en of late in serious struggles with the religious tendencies of the Republican G ments; and *L'Année de l'Eglise* mak mention of missions among the Indian fact, the Pope in 1897 was obliged to s severe rebuke to the clergy for their la consistency and zeal.

In 1895 the Propaganda returned the nu of Catholics in heathendom as 3,606,000. this did not include North and South Am so that the total would be nearly four mil

Intrusion into Protestant Fields.—The R missions of the past eighty years have large extent been directed to those fields Protestant missionaries had already en Church of England Societies and Nonconfo Societies alike have suffered from this c The S.P.G. history contains many illustra In Tinnevelly the S.P.G. and C.M.S. missio have combined to resist Roman aggressio the Punjab the S.P.G. and C.M.S. com with the American Presbyterians for the object. In West, East, and Central Afric Palestine and Persia; in North and India; in Ceylon and Mauritius; in Chin Japan; in New Zealand and the North W Canada, it is one uniform story. Let us a few illustrations. Anna,

First, Rural Bengal. Half a century Bishop Wilson and C.M.S. missionaries tized some 3000 villagers in the Krishn or Nuddea districts. In the next forty y the number of the adherents was doub but they were in an unsatisfactory state

regards both Christian knowledge and Christian life. A most able and devoted missionary, the late James Vaughan, took charge of the district in 1877, and at once engaged in a vigorous conflict with the giant evil of caste, which had taken root within the Church and was sadly hindering Christian brotherhood. Much discontent was the immediate result, and Rome saw her opportunity. A large band of priests and nuns, never seen in the district before, suddenly appeared, denouncing the Anglican churches and village chapels as devils' temples, promising seceders freedom for caste restrictions and heathen customs, distributing little brass crucifixes and other charms, and openly offering money bribes. People excommunicated for gross sin were eagerly received by them; and quickly little Roman congregations, formed of the least worthy of the Christian community, sprang up in many villages. No efforts were made to convert the Hindus and Mohammedans, and when Mrs. Williams, a sister of the present Bishop of Lucknow, asked the nuns why they did not go to them, the reply was, "The heathen may be saved by the light of nature, but there is no hope for you Protestants; therefore we come to you first."

Secondly, the Native State of Travancore, in South India, where the C.M.S. mission to the heathen works in friendly relations with the ancient Syrian Church—or, at least, with the Reforming section of it, which has been greatly helped by the contiguity of the Anglican mission. The Romanists are the enemies of both. "They play the part of Elymas," wrote Archdeacon Caley in 1888, "with an energy worthy of a better cause. As sure as ever a Hindu is known to be about to become a Christian, he is visited and urged not to join us." And when, with the object of self-support in the Native Church, our Christian converts are exhorted to subscribe to their own Church funds, the Romans come in and offer exemption from such demands to all who will join them.

Thirdly, New Zealand. Just eighty years ago, Samuel Marsden and the C.M.S. missionaries threw themselves among the Maori cannibals. Peril and privation were long endured, then came the blessing; and when, after twenty-eight years, the great Bishop Selwyn arrived, he found, to use his own words, "a whole nation of pagans converted to the faith." The English settlers then poured in, and the lamentable land-wars ensued. Then came the Franco-Roman priests, pleading that they brought no land-grabbers behind them, and thus enticing away the Maori Christians. When the Hau-hau apostasy arose, among the articles of its half-heathen faith were these: the Scriptures should be burned, the Sabbath should be as other days, the priests have superhuman powers, the Blessed Virgin will protect the seceders. Whence came these Articles?

Fourthly, pass to the great Red Indian territories of North-West Canada. "Our work," wrote Bishop Bompas in 1887, "is a constant struggle with Popery." Bishop Reeve, of Mackenzie River, Bishop Young of Athabasca, Bishop Pinkham of Saskatchewan, all tell the same tale. The last-named, a few years ago, mentioned two Indian converts of the Church of England who were offered a dollar each by the Roman priest to be allowed to rebaptize them. In the same diocese the Protestant missionaries refrained from visiting one "reserve" of pagan Indians, because it adjoined a Roman Catholic reserve: but the Roman priests were so busy invading the reserves occupied by Indians of the Church of England, that the pagans were entirely neglected, until at last the C.M.S. missionaries visited them, and baptized several. Some years ago a facsimile was published in the C.M.S. *Gleaner* of a rough picture distributed among the Indians, representing earth, heaven, hell, and purgatory, and the limbo for unbaptized infants, with the souls of Protestants going straight down to hell, the priests and nuns ascending straight to heaven, and others passing upwards through purgatory.

Fifthly, let us come to Uganda. In 1876, the C.M.S. undertook a mission in that country. The first two missionaries reached Mtesa's capital in June 1877. In the following year, a Franco-Roman Mission from Algiers was planned. Dr. R. N. Cust, on his own account, visited Algiers, interviewed Cardinal Lavigerie, and earnestly pressed him to send his men to some of the countless African tribes yet unreached, instead of to the one spot in the heart of Africa already occupied by a Christian mission. The appeal was unsuccessful. In 1879 the French priests arrived in Uganda, and at once informed Mtesa that the English missionaries were teaching him out of a book full of lies, that is, the Bible. "Never," wrote Alexander Mackay, "did I hear the word *mwonge* (lie) so frequently used." In 1882 the French priests left the country, and did not return for two years. In 1888 they were expelled, with the English missionaries, by the Mohammedans; but in the following year the two Christian parties, both now numbering some hundreds of adherents, combined to restore the king, Mwanga, and divided the chieftainships between them. In 1890 came the British East Africa Company, and in 1893 the British Commissioner. Long and complicated controversies arose between the two parties, headed by Bishop Tucker and the French bishop, and Sir Gerald

Portal had to decide many knotty points touching the division of land and of chieftainships, &c. Sir Gerald Portal, in his official despatch, after dwelling on the extreme difficulty he found in bringing the two bishops to a settlement, added these significant words: "I am unwilling to conclude this despatch without placing on record my sense of the straightforwardness and conciliatory tone adopted by Bishop Tucker throughout the negotiations." To single out one of the two bishops for praise in such circumstances was a strong thing to do. Nothing but a keen sense of justice could have led Sir Gerald to do it. He could not but foresee the inference that would be drawn from it, and he knew that the inference would be a true one.

While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge the self-denial and devotion of many of the Roman missionaries, and not to doubt that there have been among them not a few who, knowing Christ as their own Saviour, have earnestly preached Him to the heathen, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the plain facts of history as recorded by themselves, or to the actual circumstances of the mission-field at the present time. With every desire to show large-mindedness and charity, no well-instructed Christian can suppose that, as regards a very large portion of Roman missionary work both in the past and in the present, its character could command the divine blessing.

[E. S.]

MITRE.—A head-dress worn by bishops. There is no indication of a mitre having been worn as an ecclesiastical vestment or ornament until the eleventh or twelfth century. In the ninth an effort was made to assimilate clerical dress to that of the Aaronic priesthood instead of the ancient Roman lay dress, and the vestments now used in the Roman Church, and desired by Ritualists, were then introduced; but of the use of the mitre we have no evidence till we reach the twelfth century, when Honorius of Autun, who died in 1152, mentions it for the first time, describing it as a white cap made from linen. Innocent III. (A.D. 1215) recognises it as an Episcopal ornament, and says that it symbolises the glory and honour with which Christ is crowned. It had by this time come to have its two horns and two fringes, and a gold band, instead of being merely a white cap. Durandus (A.D. 1232–96), who, superseding a few previous writers, may be regarded as the recognised Father of Ritualists, has much to say on the mitre. He tells us the front horn symbolises knowledge of the New Testament; the back horn, of the Old; and both of them together, the two precepts of charity. He says that it is right that a bishop should have two horns, because Moses had when he came down from the Mount ("horned" being a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the word "shining" in Exod. xxxiv. 29). The red fringed bands hanging behind, mean the spirit and the letter, and the mystical and the historical modes of interpretation, and willingness for martyrdom, and good works, and the mindfulness of divine acts, and mindfulness of sin. Its whiteness symbolises chastity, and it is also a type of the crown of thorns. Bishops had, in Durandus' time, two mitres, the simple and the orfrayed; another has been added since. Besides his mitre, the Pope, he tells us, has a tiara granted him by the Donative of Constantine (which is a forgery), but it had not yet its three crowns, the second of which is said to have been added by Boniface VIII., and the third by Urban V. Durandus held the Pope's mitre to be superior to his tiara because the mitre is a token of the Pontiff's priesthood and the tiara of his imperial sway, the first of which "has the priority, and is of more dignity and extent," because Aaron (priest) came before Saul (king), and Noah (offerer of sacrifices) before Nimrod (builder of a city). Durandus is the highest in authority of the Mediæval Ritualists. (See Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, Marriot's *Vestiarium Christianum*, Lewis' *Reformation Settlement*, p. 336.) See TIARA. [F. M.]

MIXED CHALICE.—Wine tempered with water, commonly used in the early Church at the Holy Communion.

It was an almost universal custom in ancient times in the East, and in Greece and Italy, to temper wine with water before drinking it. Those who used *oinos akratos*, as untempered wine was called in Greece, or *merum*, as it was designated in Italy, were regarded much as we look upon drinkers of undiluted spirits (Herod. vi. 84). The lighter wines were not valued, and the more heady wines were too strong in their natural state. In those parts of the world where wine is the common drink of the people, it is still usually tempered with water. Probably therefore, though not certainly, the Paschal cups, one of which was given to His disciples by our Lord, were tempered. In the early Church it was the practice to temper the Eucharistic cup with water, as we know from Justin Martyr and Irenæus. It would at that time have been a singular deviation from the common custom if it had been otherwise. If wine were brought to an ordinary meal in a tempered state, why not to the Lord's Table? The more so as the Eucharist being at [illegible] celebrated while the evening meal called Agape was proceeding, the Eucharistic cup would naturally be of the same kind of beverage as that which was being drunk at the me[illegible]

men commonly ate and drank suitably selected as the sacrament of sustenance. There is nothing super- itself in the practice. But very soon l meanings came to be attached to g of the wine with the water. Cyprian that the wine represented Christ's the water represented Christ's people, were symbolically united (Epist. 63). xplanation of the use was to refer it er and blood, both of which flowed st's pierced side, in which, however, rs commonly saw the two sacraments

In the Middle Ages imagination bolisms in anything and everything, vine was then made to represent ivinity and the water His humanity. not now generally mix water with e drinking it, there is no reason why l do so with the wine used in the pper. Yet, provided the mixing is a ceremony to be witnessed by the ion in the church, but is done in the ere the elements are prepared, with ive purpose of tempering wine which erwise be too strong or too sweet, and on of early, not mediæval practice, ion need be made to it. Thus re- ; is a matter of indifference. To he mixture a necessity is a superstiti- e the Reformation it has been generatinued. (See Tomlinson's *Historical* c., p. 4; Malan's *Two Sacraments*, Note he wine used in the Holy Eucharist.")

DLN JUDGMENT. [F. M.]

ARRIAGE.—By this term is meant between persons subjects of different or members of different religious tions. The former is a matter of e importance, but the latter is no any consequence in England. A for example, between a Roman nd a Protestant is perfectly valid so ie forms required by the State are ved. The Roman and Greek Churches their power to prevent mixed marri- unbaptized persons or Protestants, ex- certain conditions specially arranged ase. The Roman Catholic Church deavours to secure that the issue of ge shall be brought up in its faith, to be feared that the efforts of Churches in opposition are not y strenuous. The following are the required by the Roman Catholic England to be signed by the parties rriage:—

he "non-Catholic" party: "I, the ed, do hereby solemnly promise and at I will not interfere with the re- lief of ——— my future (*husband or wife*), nor with (*his or her*) full and perfect liberty to fulfil all duties as a Catholic; and that I will allow all the children of both sexes who may be born of our marriage to be baptized in the Catholic Church and to be carefully brought up in the knowledge and practice of the Catholic religion."

II. By the "Catholic" party: "I, the undersigned, do hereby solemnly promise and engage that all the children of both sexes who may be born of my marriage shall be baptized in the Catholic Church, and shall be carefully brought up in the knowledge and practice of the Catholic Religion; and (according to the instructions of the Holy See) I also promise that my marriage in the Catholic Church shall not be preceded nor followed by any other religious ceremony."

In Ireland mixed marriages have been the subject of legislation and the source of a great deal of trouble. In Malta of late years great confusion has been created by the action of Roman Catholics on this question. In some countries certain mixed marriages (*e.g.* of Jew and Christian) are still void. (See *Geary on Marriage.*) [B. W.]

MONASTICISM.—By monasticism is understood a form of ascetic life in which, from a religious motive, those who adopt it withdraw from the society, occupations, and relationships of the world, and either live in solitude, mortifying the flesh by austerities, or form associations, in which they come under the authority of a superior, and bind themselves to the observance of a common, and generally very strict, rule. The name (with the related terms "monk," "monachism," "monastery," the last designating the place where monks live together) is derived from the Greek word *monos*, alone. This already suggests as the root-notion of the monastic life, the idea of retirement and solitude. Monks who live apart, or at least in separate cells (without common rule), as in deserts, mountain caves, forests, or other lonely spots, are called "hermits" (from *erēmos*, a desert), "anchorites" (from *anachoreō*, to withdraw), or "solitaries." Those who live in a common fellowship are called "cœnobites" (from *koinos*, common; *bios*, life). Associations of women of a similar type give rise to "nunneries" (from *nonna*, a nun, a word of uncertain meaning), or "convents" ("convent," in strictness, covers *both* monasteries and nunneries). The head of the monastery was, till the tenth century, always called "abbot"; subsequently other titles are found, as "prior" (Carthusians, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians). Ordinarily the prior was under the abbot. The superior of a nunnery is called "Abbess," "Prioress," or "Lady Superior."

The history of monasticism is long, compli-

cated, and deeply chequered with light and shade. Springing originally from ideals not devoid of nobility, and in the course of its development conferring many benefits on the world and exhibiting splendid examples of sainthood, it was yet from the first associated with false ideas of holiness, sought the victory over evil by wrong methods, did violence to human nature as God made it, and in consequence, and necessarily, ran a course that invariably ended in corruption and decay. This is, in fact, the history of monasticism in epitome—an outburst of enthusiasm resulting in the formation of new, possibly reforming orders, followed by a period of relaxed discipline, worldliness, growing corruption and final decay: the process repeated by fresh reformers, with renewal of the same consequences. It has ever been so with monastic institutions, however carefully hedged round, and will be so while the world lasts. By a curious irony, it is in the purer atmosphere of Protestantism, with its healthy check of public opinion, that monastic life maintains its highest moral level; where that restraint is withdrawn, as in Italy and other Roman Catholic countries, monasteries still sink to great depths of degradation.

Monasticism is not a peculiar growth of Christianity, though it is within the Christian Church that it has found its fullest, largest, and most varied development. The ascetic spirit in Brahmanism gave rise to forest solitaries and recluses; Buddhism created an order of mendicants; Llamaism in Thibet has developed a species of monkery which bears the closest resemblance to that met with in Roman Catholicism; Mohammedanism has its fakirs and dervishes. But the most interesting pre-Christian developments are those which had their origin in Egypt and Palestine from Judaism. Such were the Therapeutæ, described by Philo, who dwelt on the shores of Lake Mœris, near Alexandria. "Here they lived, like the later anchorites, shut up in separate cells, their only employment being prayer and the contemplation of divine things" (Neander). Such, very specially, were the Essenes—the "enigma" of later Judaism, as they have been called—whose chief seat was the desert of Engedi, on the north-west shore of the Dead Sea, but whose members were scattered also through the towns and villages of Palestine in the time of our Lord. This singular fraternity was "cœnobite" in character, as that of the Therapeutæ approached more to the "hermit" type. Monasticism, it is thus apparent, has its roots in causes that lie deeper than Christianity, or any particular form of religion—in the longing for solitude and peace, the wish to escape from the evils of life in the world, the desire of opportunity for prayer and contemplation, the feel calmness that arises from submission and discipline, the false notion that abn of comforts and endurance of bodily p of themselves a means of grace, and wel ing to God. But it was to be expect Christianity, which brings to man the spiritual blessings, bids him renou world in spirit and separate himself evils, sets the highest store on prayer a munion, and offers the most inexhausti for meditation, would be laid hold o this tendency, and develop forms of cism peculiar to itself. And so it prov

Monasticism, nevertheless, is no qu growth of the Christian Church. Asc dencies in relation to food, drink, r the enjoyments of ordinary life, th wealth, were in full force long before t of manifestation was thought of. I terrible days of the great persecution drive men in masses into this mode of read only of one individual, Paul, occasion of the persecution of Decius (betook himself to the desert. The t mencement of Christian monasticism Antony (A.D. 251–356), who, after the his parents, was moved by hearing t of the rich young man read in Churc with his earthly possessions, and, ado ascetic life, to withdraw to constan lonely and inaccessible retreats. Many his example and put themselves u guidance, with the result that the d Egypt were soon filled with the cells of Pachomius followed (A.D. 292–348), a monastery on the island of Tabenn Nile, and introducing the cœnobite monasticism. An account of these m is given in the article on ASCETICISM, not be repeated here. The impulse, or spread like a contagion. The cond society favoured the movement, for with the Empire had brought neith nor peace to the Church; secularis set in, and in the Empire itself exac oppressions had increased to such a to make existence well-nigh insup The current was therefore resist swept men into the desert in shoals, them the obligations of what the P the day called "the philosophic life". philosophy. Nor was the movement fined within its original bounds. It so into Palestine (Hilarion), Rome (At and later, Jerome), Syria, &c. An impulse was given to it by the *L* by Athanasius, a work which, it "immediately acquired the p authority of a monastic Gospel." A making step was taken by Basil be

358) in founding a monastery in Pontus, iving to his monks a rule, which became cally the rule of all the Churches in the It is said that his rule was accepted by) monks before his death (Schaff). The of these monastic communities in the entury; the corruption and disorganisa- that came to prevail; and the reform ed by Benedict of Nursia, the founder of reat Benedictine Order, with its results, already been narrated in the article above oned. It is more important here to sum ie character of these movements in a al view. [For some particulars of the l rules, see the article MONK.]

excellent motives in which these mon- Orders originated, and the piety of their ers and more distinguished ornaments, not be questioned. It would be easy to , as Montalembert does (*Monks of the* on the graces, devotion, and services to hurch and to humanity of the men who, ure spirit of consecration to Christ, took e life of monkish self-abnegation. But that enthusiastic eulogist of everything stic cannot conceal the dark spots in his e, or deny the spread of the corruption ltimately wrought the ruin of the Orders. the spirit of self-denying fervour in which eater movements took their rise was, with lance of faults, for a time maintained, we t doubt. The incorruptible loyalty of the s to Athanasius, and the panegyrics on of this great Father, and of Chrysostom, afficient attestation on this point. A ng feature of the communities was their ence on the duty of labour. The rules of mius and of Basil laid the greatest stress our for self-support, and the help of the The brotherhoods maintained an abound- arity. But these better features are over- wed by others less commendable. Each had, as part of his vow, to take on lf the obligations of poverty, chastity acy), and obedience. Combined with this the call to a life of self-inflicted hardship ain. The body was to be kept under, the ites and passions were to be subdued, the m of the soul was to be secured, by un- al austerities, and continual self-morti- ns. The monks of Pachomius, *e.g.*, were ed to sleep with their clothes on, and in ing posture. The hermits subsisted on antiest fare, slept on the bare ground, lothes swarming with vermin, afflicted ortured themselves in innumerable ways. limits the food of his monks to bread, herbs, with but one meal a day, and of sleep only to midnight, when they o rise for prayer. In reference to Basil lf, his friend Gregory of Nazianzus says: "He had but one inner and outer garment; his bed was the ground; his food bread and salt, his drink the running stream. He slept in a hair shirt, or other rough garment; the sun was his fire; and he braved the severest frosts in the severe climate of Cappadocia" (Newman). Chrysostom, like Basil, utterly wrecked his health with his austerities. And with what result? Peace was not gained after all. One confession of Basil's will suffice. "Though I have left the city's haunts, as the source of innumerable ills, I have not yet learned to leave myself. I am like a man who, on account of sea-sickness, is angry with the size of his vessel as tossing overmuch, and leaves it for the pinnace or boat, and is sea-sick and miserable still, as carrying his delicacy of stomach along with him. So I have got no great good from this retirement" (Newman).

This severe repression of human nature was bound to result in reaction and disaster. So, in truth, it did. The histories of the monks—of Antony, of Jerome, of Benedict, &c.—are full of stories of their terrible conflicts with their passions. Benedict, who, when he first emerged from his solitude, was taken for a wild beast, only achieved a triumph over his voluptuous desires by rolling himself naked upon thorns. When discipline was relaxed, it was morality that suffered. Licentiousness crept into the Orders, and fearful corruption ensued. But there were manifold other evils. The monks were swayed by spiritual pride; were ignorant; became fanatical and turbulent—often positively dangerous elements in society. They were the chief causes of violence in Councils. From their ranks sprang wild and half-crazy companies of ascetics ("Grazers," "Stylites," &c.). The disorganisation of the times aided the disintegration of the Orders, and collapse was speedy.

It is a new picture which opens on us with the great reforming movement of Benedict (A.D 480–545 ?). The Benedictine Order, with its strict rule (see MONK), its revival of labour, its encouragement to teaching and to learned studies, its skill in agriculture, its missionary zeal, soon made itself the dominant Order in the West. Other rules were merged in, or abandoned for, that of Benedict. The one form of monasticism that for a time held its ground against it was the Celtic, on which a word must now be said. It is well known how, in A.D. 596, Gregory the Great (the first Pope from the monastic ranks) sent the monk Augustine, with forty others, to effect the conversion of Saxon England; how they landed in Kent, and were well received by King Ethelbert; how the see of Canterbury was founded; how success followed their labours, till within a century from the first landing, all the Anglian and Saxon kingdoms had become

nominally Christian. The mission of this somewhat haughty monk, however, must not lead us to forget that a British Church already existed, which had great monasteries of its own. That of Bangor had more than 2000 monks (Bede). With this British Church the Scoto-Irish Church had close relation. Ninian, a Briton (*cir.* A.D. 397), had founded his Church (*Candida Casa* = Whitherne = Whithorn) and monastery, and wrought among the Southern Picts. Later, Kentigern evangelised the British district from Clyde to Wales. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland (*cir.* A.D. 431), was from Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, in Strathclyde. Patrick's most notable successors were the two Finnians, one of whom received his education at Whithorn, the other at the monastery of Gildas, in Wales. From Ireland, in turn, came Columba, trained in the monasteries of the Finnians, to Iona (A.D. 563). He and his associates laboured with success among the Picts and Scots, establishing, wherever they went, monasteries of the type of Iona. Subsequently, at King Oswald's request, a Columban Church was planted at Lindisfarne, in Northumbria (A.D. 635), which subsisted thirty years. Space would fail to tell of all the services of this Scoto-Irish monastic Church to religion and civilisation. From it poured forth missionaries to the Continent (Fridolin, Columbanus, Gallus, &c.). By the beginning of the eighth century, Celtic Churches were found all along the line in Hesse, Thuringia, Bavaria, and Alemmania.

The Celtic Church was monastic, but its monasticism had peculiarities which made it an offence to such bigoted adherents of the Romish system as Augustine and Wilfrid of England, and Boniface of Germany. It had a different reckoning of Easter, and a different tonsure (the anterior), and bishops, within monasteries, were subject to the abbots. Such divergencies were not to be endured, and the Synod at Whitby (A.D. 664) saw the fall of the old ecclesiastical system in England. In Scotland and Ireland the overthrow of Celtic customs was effected more gradually. Boniface, in Germany, was even more keenly bent on the overthrow of the Celtic Church system than on the conversion of pagans, and, by the aid of the secular arm, he at length effected his object. One rule now prevailed, if we except such a case as that of the "Secular Canons," instituted by Chrodegang in the eighth century—the revival of a plan of Augustine's of having his clergy living together with him under the same roof (their rule exempted them from the vow of poverty). But nothing could stay the descent into corruption of the Benedictine monasteries. Charlemagne, in A.D. 811, drew up an indictment against them, charging them in the strongest terms with rapacity, idleness, immorality, and total neglect of spiritual duties. The efforts of the second Benedict (of Aniane) failed to effect a reform. So this period also closed in gloom.

The downfall of the Carlovingian dynasty was succeeded, in the tenth century, by one of the most shameful periods in the history of the Papacy. It is the period known as the *Pornocracy*, when abandoned women held the patronage of the Roman see, and thrust their paramours and children into the papal chair. The character of the clergy was deplorable, and the monasteries shared in the general degradation. This provoked reform. A vast number of new Orders were instituted, which were either, like the Order of Clugny (A.D. 910) and the Cistercians (1098), reformed branches of the Benedictines; or, like the Carthusians (1086), entirely new Orders. [See on ASCETICISM.] Special mention must be made of the great Mendicant Orders (friars), of which the chief were the Dominicans (1216) and the Franciscans (1223); others were the Carmelites and Augustinians (on dress, see MONK). Chivalry gave birth to the Military Orders of the Templars (1118), the Knights of St. John (1220), &c. Both the Dominican and Franciscan Orders spread rapidly. By 1264, the Franciscan Order numbered 8000 cloisters, containing 200,000 monks. Both encouraged liberal studies, and from both came the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century (Bonaventura was Franciscan; Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans). The Franciscans were more idealistic and imaginative; the Dominicans more logical and scientific. The Dominicans have a less honourable title to remembrance. They were noted for their zeal in repressing heresy. From them came the Inquisition; to their instigation was due the persecution of the Albigenses, &c.

This was the period of the highest glory of monasticism, as it was the period of the highest influence of the Papacy. The numbers, wealth, power, privileges of the monks were enormous. They were now a clerical body (the *regular* clergy, *i.e.* under a rule, as distinguished from the *secular* clergy), and were bound by the strongest obligations to the support of the Papacy. But this very excess of power and wealth proved their ruin. Ere long the monastic Orders, even those instituted for purposes of reform, took the plunge downwards, and soon sank into a condition of disorder and profligacy which made them a by-word to their own contemporaries, a peril to society, whose morals they corrupted at the fountain-head, and on whose vitals they preyed by their rapacity, and a huge incubus on even the material progress of the nations. At the

time of the Reformation in Scotland the monks and clergy possessed fully half the wealth of the country. But the economic evil was the least part of the curse. A historian says: "The corruption of monastic life was becoming more evident day by day. Immorality, sloth, and unnatural vice too often found a nursery behind the cloister walls. Monks and nuns lived in open sin with each other. . . . In the Benedictine Order, the ruin was most complete. Science was disregarded, and they cared only for good living. The celebrated Scottish cloister of St. James, at Regensburg, in the fourteenth century, had a regular tavern within its walls, and there was a current saying, "*uxor amissa in monasteria Scotorum quæri debet*" (Kurtz). The evils were greatly aggravated by the practice which had grown up of granting benefices, when they became vacant, with their lands and tithes, to laymen *in commendam*, as it was called, *i.e.* in trust, but often for life, and sometimes in perpetuity. Favourite nobles, the natural sons of kings, &c., frequently mere infants, were thus put in possession of ecclesiastical offices and titles, and drew the revenues. In neither England nor Scotland was the state of monastic institutions better than elsewhere. For a picture of the shameful condition of the monasteries in England, see Froude's paper on "The Dissolution of the Monasteries" in his *Short Studies*. The state of things in Scotland may be studied in Burton's *History*, or in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*—best of all, in the Canons of the Provincial Councils themselves.

The Reformation brought with it great changes in the condition of monasteries in Protestant countries. In many cases, as in England and Scotland, monasteries were dissolved and their revenues confiscated and secularised—too often alienated and wasted. [It is commonly supposed that the suppression of the monasteries was entirely due to Henry VIII., after he had broken with the Papacy. This is a mistake. The dissolution of the monasteries was commenced, and in part carried through, by Cardinal Wolsey, acting on powers given him by repeated papal bulls (1519, 1524, 1529).] The check thus given to the monastic Orders was, however, more than compensated for by the founding of the Order of the Jesuits by Ignatius Loyola (1540; see JESUITS). The Society of Jesus has been the strongest support of the Papacy in modern times. It differs from other Orders in that its members are exempted from wearing any peculiar dress, and mingle freely with society. It relies on culture, polish, and subtlety in its methods, and is deeply imbued with the spirit of dissimulation (on its code of morals, see MORAL THEOLOGY). Individuals are bound not to hold or acquire personal property; but property may be held by their Colleges and religious houses. At the time of the suppression of the Order in 1773, its wealth was estimated at the enormous sum of £40,000,000. Its time of greatest influence was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; from 1773 to 1814 it was suppressed by papal decrees; it was revived in 1814, and since then has played a part which has led to its repeated suppression in most countries in Europe. The period since the Reformation has witnessed the rise of numerous new Orders, of which may be mentioned the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur (1618), celebrated for its learned studies; the Trappists of La Trappe, in Normandy (1665; expelled, 1791; after Napoleon's defeat they purchased back their monastery), marked by the extreme rigour of their rule; and the Redemptorists (1732). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were again a period of utter decline and corruption. Even Montalembert admits the fact, while laying the chief part of the blame on the *Commende*. "The monastic institution hastened more and more to complete decay. . . . The evil continued and increased, till at last it exhausted the patience of God Himself" (*Monks of the West*, i. pp. 146, 156). Then came the storm of the Revolution, and the movement throughout Europe, so often repeated, for the suppression of the religious Orders. In Montalembert's way of putting it, "That which the Church left undone, was done by the crime of the world" (p. 156). But was it crime?

In concluding this sketch, we confine our view chiefly to the United Kingdom, and simply touch on the debated question of conventual inspection. Religious houses, suppressed at the Reformation, were revived in Britain in 1850, and since then every effort has been made to popularise them and increase their numbers. In 1829 the only monastic institution in England or Scotland was at Stoneyhurst, but in 1903 there were in England, Wales, and Scotland no fewer than 283 religious houses for monks, and 635 for nuns. In view of this rapid multiplication of religious houses, and the increasing penetration of the Anglican Ritualistic party by the monastic ideal, it becomes important that the real character of these institutions, and the kind of effects they uniformly produce, should be kept in remembrance. A pressing question is as to the view that ought to be taken of modern convents, in their relation to the law. A strong objection to convents is their absolute secrecy, and exemption from all proper inspection. It has often been pointed out that a convent is a part of British territory practically withdrawn from the operation and supervision of British law.

No stranger is allowed entrance; its interior doings are an absolute secret; no means exist of testing whether the damaging statements made by those who have escaped from its bondage are or are not true. One immediate effect is to baffle the requirements of British law in relation to deaths, lunacy, &c. If a nun is unfortunate enough to lose her reason, or if it is alleged she has lost it, she is not placed in an asylum in this country, but is hurried off to some conventual asylum abroad, where the law is powerless to reach her. The cases of proved abuse are sufficiently numerous to call for reform here. The conventual system is not less objectionable when viewed in the light of the liberty of the subject. It is easy to reply to all complaints of tyranny in convents that the vows are taken voluntarily, and that the inmates remain there of their own free-will. It is, on the contrary, demonstrable that many have been forced into conventual life at the wish of parents or guardians, who have themselves no desire for it; and, in the event of a nun changing her mind, or desiring to leave her prison, it is in practice hardly possible for her to do so. The law of the Church, in fact, expressly provides for, and insists on, the compulsory retention of nuns (Council of Trent on Provision for the Enclosure and Safety of Nuns). Further, without indulging in any general accusations of immorality and crime, it is not to be denied that the inmates of convents are exposed to quite peculiar moral and spiritual perils; and there is no reason to doubt that some of the minor charges of tyranny and cruelty have frequently too good foundation. That gross immorality exists in convents abroad could, if this were the place to do it, be established on unimpeachable testimony; and the very possibility of such suspicions arising is a strong reason for letting in the fullest light of publicity on the life of this class of institutions.

[J. O.]

MONITION is a direction or warning by an ecclesiastical judge to a clergyman, either directing him to do some duty required by the law, or else to abstain from practices contrary to ecclesiastical law (see Dale's Case, 6 Q.B.D. 376). It is the lightest form of ecclesiastical censure. Under the Public Worship Regulation Act, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 85, sec. 13, obedience by an incumbent to a monition or order of the bishop or judge is enforced by inhibiting the incumbent from performing any service of the Church, or otherwise exercising the cure of souls within the diocese, for a term not exceeding three months. At the expiration of such term the inhibition is not to be relaxed until the incumbent shall by writing undertake to pay due obedience to the monition. If such inhibition remains in force for more than three years from its issue on the final determination of an appeal thereupon, or if a second inhibition in regard to the same monition is issued within three years, the benefice becomes void. The bishop may give the incumbent, however, another three months. An incumbent may in the same suit be suspended *ab officio et beneficio* (Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 3 Q.B.D. 730 and 4 Q.B.D. 697), but whether it would be possible to suspend him *ab beneficio* by proceedings under the Public Worship Act is not clear, as that Act makes the benefice *ipso facto* void with the order of the Court after a certain time.

[E. B. W.]

MONK.—A monk is one who has taken upon himself the vows of a separated ascetic life, either in its solitary form, as a hermit, or in its cœnobitic form, as inmate of a monastery (see MONASTICISM). The vows are primarily those of poverty (renunciation of earthly possessions), chastity (which includes celibacy), and, in the case of a member of an Order, obedience. The mode of life of the monk is determined by the "rule" of his particular Order. In the case of hermit-monks, there was naturally no rule as respected dress. The solitary usually contented himself with his sheep or goatskin, or with the poorest, coarsest, and scantiest of coverings. There was often a studious avoidance even of ablutions. Members of an Order, on the other hand, were commonly distinguished by some peculiarity of garb (see below). But their clothing also was generally coarse and simple (the Order of Clugny a partial exception). Monks at first were simple laymen, but the custom grew of taking clerical orders, at first for the service of the monastery, till at length most of the monks were likewise clerics. They were then known as *regular* clergy, *i.e.* those under monastic rule, in contrast with the ordinary clergy, who were designated the *secular* clergy, from their life in the world.

Of monastic vows the greatest importance was attached to obedience, even more than, in most times, was attached to chastity. The rule of Benedict laid stress on obedience as the first and essential duty of a monk, and was the first to make vows irrevocable. "Submission had to be prompt, perfect, absolute. The monk must obey always, without reserve and without murmur, even in those things which seemed impossible and above his strength, trusting in the succour of God, if a humble and seasonable remonstrance, the only thing permitted to him, was not accepted by his superiors; to obey not only his superiors, but also the wishes and requests of his brethren" (Montalembert). The Order in

which this duty of obedience is carried to the most absolute pitch is that of Loyola. Its constitution provides that the candidate must "regard the superior as Christ the Lord, and must strive to acquire perfect resignation and denial of his own will and judgment, in all things conforming his will and judgment to that which the superior wills and judges. . . . Let every one persuade himself that he who lives under obedience should be moved and directed, under divine Providence, by his superior, just as if he were a corpse (*perinde ac si cadaver esset*)." But the duty of obedience is paramount in all Orders.

The rules of the monastic Orders have been generally of extreme severity. In those of early date the duty of labour is combined with that of obedience, and a rigid discipline is imposed. The rule of Pachomius, *e.g.*, the founder of communal monasticism, enjoins absolute silence at meal times, and forbids the members ever to take off their goatskin clothes. They are to sleep in a sitting posture. The rule of Basil, adopted in the East, is hardly less austere. In a letter to Gregory, Basil limits the food of his recluses to bread, water, herbs with but one meal a day, and allows of sleep only till midnight, when they were to rise to prayer. But in this rule he says: "If fasting hinders you from labour, it is better to eat like the workman of Christ that you are." Benedict's rule is somewhat milder than the Eastern, but is still very strict. The monks are not allowed to divest themselves of their tunic or girdle in sleep. They are to rise two hours after midnight for matins, and to attend eight services daily. At meals a book is to be read, but no conversation is allowed. The rule provides, like the others, for the monks being engaged in suitable manual occupations. Some were to be employed in the training of children. The Benedictines later became noted for their skill in copying and illuminating MSS., in compiling chronicles, and sometimes in carving and gilding. The second Benedict (of Aniane), who laboured for reform in the age of Charlemagne, was of severer spirit. "Some monks who attempted to live with him found themselves unable to support the excessive severity of his system" (Robertson). The strictest of the mediæval Orders was the Carthusian. Each monk ate in his own cell; only on feast days had they a common meal. It was only permitted to break silence on high festivals, and for two hours on Thursdays. Infringement of this rule was punished with flagellation. Of post-Reformation Orders, it will suffice to mention that of La Trappe. The rule of the founder (De Rancé) enjoined on the monks perpetual silence, broken only in public prayer and singing, and in greetings. They slept on a hard board, with some straw; their food was bread and water, roots, herbs, some fruits and vegetables, with butter or oil; study was forbidden.

The dress of the monks varied with the age and the Order. The monks of Pachomius wore goatskins. Benedict prescribed for his monks a tunic and cowl, with girdle, without specifying colour. The ordinary dress of the Benedictines is a long black gown, with large wide sleeves, and a capuche, or cowl, on their heads, ending in a point. The monks of Clugny wore a long frock with wide sleeves, dark in colour (hence "black" monks), and permitted themselves some adornment; while the rival Order of the Cistercians had a tunic and cowl of light grey colour (hence "white" monks). The Carthusians wore a rough under-garment (at first a hair-shirt), and a white upper garment. The four Orders into which the Mendicants (friars) were ultimately divided had each its distinguishing dress. The Franciscans wore a brown frock, with a capuche, or cowl, and a *rope* round the body, and were popularly known as "grey" friars. The garb of the Dominicans was a white frock with a black scapulary and hood (believed to be revealed to St. Dominic by the Virgin); hence the name "black" friars. The Carmelites were the "white" friars. These distinctions perpetuate themselves in the familiar names, Blackfriars, Whitefriars, Greyfriars, of our streets and edifices. On some of the above points see D. O. Zöckler's *Askese und Monckthum*, where, also, the literature is given.

Another distinguishing mark of the monk was the *tonsure*. This custom, adopted from the penitents by the monks, passed over from them to the clergy (sixth century). It consisted originally in shaving the whole head as a mark of humility; then was confined in the Roman Church to shaving the crown of the head, leaving a circle of hair, in imitation, it was said, of the Saviour's crown of thorns. This was called the *tonsura Petri*, in contrast with the *tonsura Pauli*, or shaving only of the forehead, which was the usage of the Greek Church. The Celtic Church had also a form of anterior tonsure, which was one of the main grounds of quarrel between it and the Roman Church. Its monks shaved the front part of the head as far back as the line passing from ear to ear. Finally the Roman tonsure prevailed everywhere in the West.

[J. O.]

MONOPHYSITES.—See HERESY.

MONOTHELITES.—See HERESY.

MONSTRANCE.—The stand in which the consecrated wafer is placed when elevated for adoration or carried about in procession.

It is constructed with a large stem and base like the chalice, the upper portion being circular and fashioned so as to resemble rays. See the subjoined picture.

THE POPE PROCEEDING IN STATE. THE MONSTRANCE IS HELD IN HIS HANDS

(From an engraving published by the Papal authorities at Rome)

MONTANISM was the centre and the exaggeration of a wide-spreading movement caused by changes in the organisation and conditions of the Christian societies in the course of the second century. The causes which provoked this extended conservative revolt were the attempt, successfully carried out, to subordinate the prophetic ministry of the apostolic and sub-apostolic Church to the office-bearers of the local churches; and the resolve to come to some accommodation with the usages of society, and admit into and retain within the Christian Church men who desired to keep their places in the world of life and action.

We meet everywhere in the New Testament writings, and in sub-apostolic literature down to the close of the second century, traces of a unique prophetic ministry who exercised in special fashion that function of teaching and exhortation which afterwards belonged primarily to the office-bearers in the local Christian Churches. These New Testament prophets were believed to be specially "gifted" to speak the Word of God. They were highly honoured in the communities to which they belonged, or which they visited. The "first fruits" were set apart for their support, they presided at the Lord's Supper, and they had an influential voice in matters of discipline and perhaps in the selection of office-bearers. During the second century their influence declined from a variety of causes. The local ministry emancipated themselves from their authority, and claimed control over them. The change may be made apparent by two extracts. "Every prophet who speaketh in the Spirit, ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but that sin shall not be forgiven" (*Didaché*, xi. 7). "Wretched men who wish to be prophets . . . holding aloof from the communion of the brethren;" and the test of communion with the brethren is "to obey the elders who are in the Church" (Irenæus, *Heresies*, III. xi. 9, and IV. xxvi. 2).

Along with this struggle against the power of the prophets and in evident connection with it, went the desire to live more after the fashion of heathen neighbours, as far as conscience permitted, and to relax somewhat the old, hard discipline which had forbidden any pardon whatever for more heinous sins committed after baptism. The Rescript of Hadrian (about A.D. 124) and the hopes founded upon it that the Churches might be recognised as *collegia licita*, the pleadings of the Apologists for this recognition, and the proclamation of Calixtus that the Roman Church would give pardon for sins of the flesh (Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, x. 1), were all manifestations of this change which was coming over the majority of Christians during the second century.

This double movement, undermining the influence of the prophetic ministry and prompting the assimilation of the Christian mode of life to that of surrounding society, was distasteful to very many Christians, and produced that conservative reaction which is commonly called Montanism. The standard of revolt was raised in Phrygia, a region remote from the busy life of the great centres of the Roman world, and where the needs of an accommodation to the usages of society were less strongly felt; a

land where Christians were for the most part converts from a paganism which had cultivated a craving for ecstatic religious enthusiasm. The name came from Montanus, a presbyter of the Phrygian Church, who before his conversion had been in all probability a priest of the local pagan religion. With him were associated as disciples and followers, two prophetesses, Maximilla and Prisca or Priscilla. This occurred probably about the year 157 A.D. The great majority of the Christians of Phrygia seem to have adhered to these leaders. For some years, in all likelihood, the followers of Montanus remained within the Church; but in the end they separated themselves and constituted themselves a distinct body of Christians having sympathisers all over Christendom, particularly in North Africa and in Gaul.

Montanism may be said to have a double meaning, according as we include or exclude these sympathisers. The Montanist movement in Phrygia had features which belonged to itself. Montanus seems to have had the idea that God had commissioned him to gather all Christians together into one community who were to be ready to meet the Lord, who was about to return to earth and begin His millennial reign in Papuza. In preparation for this Advent all Christians, worthy of the name, ought to be ready to renounce all the claims that the surrounding social life made upon them, and to practise themselves in all kinds of asceticism. Montanus seems to have believed and taught that the Church had reached its final term of existence in the world. He and his fellow-prophets represented the last stage of prophecy, and consequently possessed an inspiration such as none of their predecessors could lay claim to. They, and the gifts of prophecy they possessed, were the last and literal fulfilment of the promise given by our Lord in the Gospel of St. John that the Paraclete would come and abide with His people. It is noteworthy in this respect to remember that the most strenuous opponents of the Montanists—the *Alogi*—denied the authenticity and authority of both the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse. Hence the Montanists held that when their prophets spoke they were so entirely possessed by the Holy Spirit that it was not they, but the Spirit Himself, that was responsible for the utterances. The Holy Spirit, in using their human organs of speech, spoke in the first person, and when a prophetess was under the divine afflatus the masculine forms of speech were employed (compare Montanist prophetic utterances collected by Bonwetsch in his *Geschichte des Montanismus*, pp. 197, oracles 1, 3, 4, 5, 12, 18, 21, and 13). These peculiarities in the Phrygian Montanism may be said to be new, but only in the sense that they were the exaggerations of what had been the common belief in the Primitive Church.

When we turn to Montanism in its wider meaning—the Montanism which included men like Tertullian—the conservative character of the movement is conspicuous. The Montanists had no theory of ecclesiastical government to separate them from the majority of Christians. They accepted the threefold congregational ministry of pastor or bishop, elders and deacons; but they contended that the prophets should be maintained in the honourable position assigned to them in the apostolic and sub-apostolic Church. Tertullian makes it clear that he and those who thought with him, insisted that it belonged to the prophets alone to declare that the Church could pardon certain heinous sins, and that it belonged to them to prescribe the manner of life which was becoming in Christians (compare *De Pudicitia*, 21; *De Jejunio*, 1). But these were the acknowledged rights or duties of the prophets in the earlier years of the second century (compare Hermas, *Pastor, Mandata*, iv. 3; *Visiones*, iii. 7; Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, V. ii. 5. 6). The so-called Montanists wished to maintain the prophetic ministry in its old place and with its ancient powers. In fact, this question of prophecy, which is commonly brought forward in order to show that Montanism was a novelty, affords the strongest proof of its conservative character. It is true that *after* the separation between the Montanists and the "great" Church, Christian theologians vehemently opposed the Montanist theory of prophecy, and in particular declared that true prophecy could not be ecstatic; but this was an afterthought for the purpose of discrediting the Montanist claims to represent the ancient usages. That it was an afterthought can be proved by studying the statements made about prophecy before Montanism arose, and during the earlier stages of the movement. The statements made about prophecy by Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 39, 82), by Irenæus (*Against Heresies*, II. xxxii. 4, 5; I. xiii. 4); by Hermas (*Pastor, Mandata*, xi.), and by Tertullian, are wonderfully alike. The famous dictum of Montanus in which he, speaking in the Spirit, described his prophecy: "Behold the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as a plectrum"—was used by others to describe what the Christian prophecy was like. Athenagoras speaks of the Spirit of God making use of the prophets as "a flute-player breathes into his flute" (*Plea for the Christians*, 7, 9); and the author of the *Cohortatio ad Gentes* says that "the divine plectrum descends from heaven and uses righteous men as an instrument like a harp or lyre," in order to reveal to man things divine and heavenly (*cf.* sect. 8). The same result is

reached when we study the details of the Montanist discipline. The movement was a conservative reaction, a protest against the growing conformity with the world, and the repudiation of the special claims of the ancient prophetic ministry. Like all such reactions it exaggerated the characteristics it strove to defend and retain.

Before, and perhaps after, the separation between the Montanists and their fellow Christians in Phrygia, they did not lack sympathisers within the "great" Church. The martyrs of Lyons, we are told by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.*, V. iii. 4), wrote in their interest. The Roman Church, we are informed by Tertullian (*Adversus Praxean*, 1), at first acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and declared itself to be in communion with their followers in Asia and Phrygia. The followers of Montanus were in such a majority in Phrygia itself that they were spoken of as the Kataphrygian Church (the Church according-to-the-Phrygians); and they seem to have held this position for some centuries. During this period there is evidence to lead us to believe that they were sought after by those who had increasing difficulties about the laxity of discipline in the "great" Church, and who held to the old theory that God vouchsafed special revelations in matters of discipline to His prophets and martyrs. Intimate relations, for example, existed between the Montanists and the followers of Novatian.

When the Emperor Constantine recognised Christianity and made it a *religio licita* within the Empire, the Montanists and other Christian societies outside the "great" Church were not included. They did not share what was called "the peace of the Church." The persecutions against them were rather intensified. Sozomen tells us that the result was that Montanism disappeared in most districts (*Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 32; *cf.* vii. 12); but the Phrygians stood firm. Penal laws of increasing severity were enacted against them (*cf.* especially the edicts of A.D. 398, and of A.D. 415) by Christian Emperors. Their churches were confiscated; the ordination of their clergy was made a penal offence; search was made for their religious writings, which were destroyed when discovered. The Montanists were deprived of the power of disposing of their property by will, and their nearest Catholic relatives were allowed to seize their possessions. Still they continued steadfast to their principles. In the sixth century the Emperor Justinian resolved to stamp them out. Troops of soldiers were sent against them. The historian Procopius tells us (*Hist. Arc.*, 11) that the Montanists in their despair took refuge, with their wives and children, in their churches, and setting fire to the buildings perished in the flames rather than submit to the leaders of the so-called Catholic Church who had urged their persecution. The story of the persecution of the populous nonconformist Churches of the fourth to sixth centuries is usually passed over by Church historians. It was one of the greatest blots on the Old Catholic Church.

Authorities.—Albert Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1857), 2nd ed. pp. 462–554; Bonwetsch, *Geschichte des Montanismus* (1881); Renan, *Marc Aurèle* (1882), pp. 208 *ff.*; Harnack, *History of Dogma* (1896), Eng. trans., ii. 94–108; Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries* (1902), pp. 235 *ff.*; also articles on Montanism in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* by Salmon; in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Harnack; and in *Herzog's Encylopædia* by Möller. The difficult question of Montanist chronology is discussed by Harnack in his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, pp. 369 *ff.*, and by Voigt in *Eine verschollene Urkunde aus dem anti-montanistischen Kampfe* (1891). The monograph of Bonwetsch is the most complete. An appendix contains all the recorded utterances of the Montanist prophets, and the contemporary sources of information are carefully set forth on pp. 16–55. [T. M. L.]

MONUMENTS.—Literally, reminders, records; anything that perpetuates the memory of a person or of an event; a memorial structure, stone, or tablet in a church or churchyard. If to be erected in a church of the Church of England, a faculty is necessary, and once erected, such monument may be repaired without the consent of ordinary or incumbent. The latter must not allow inscriptions on monuments or tombstones, inconsistent with the Protestant doctrine of the Church of England. "Pray for the soul of ———," was in one case held to be allowable, but prayer for the dead having always been discouraged by the Reformed Church, a faculty for such an inscription would most likely be refused. (See Whitehead, *Church Law.*) [B. W.]

MORAL THEOLOGY.—The Roman Church claims to rule the *conscience* no less than the *intellect* of her votaries. In dealing with this ethical aspect of the papal system, it is not necessary to assert that the moral teaching of Rome is all bad, or that her catechisms and manuals of devotion do not contain much that is in itself excellent. Considerable exceptions would, indeed, have to be made even here. Catechisms, not only for adults, but for children, could be named, in which some of the answers given are unfit for publication. The student of Romanism, however, would greatly err if he estimated the practical effect of the papal system on the conscience by what is furnished

him in popular manuals. Behind the catechism and books of devotion stands the vast system of what is known as "Moral Theology" (*Theologia Moralis*), in the principles and practice of which every Roman priest is carefully instructed. Behind the text-books of the system, in turn, stands the Confessional, or the place where the teachings of this "Moral Theology" are brought to bear by the priest on the conscience of the penitent, and where its principles are imbibed by the latter. Few, except those who have taken pains to acquaint themselves with this extraordinary branch of Roman theological science, will readily credit its real character.

"Moral Theology," in brief, is the name given to that large body of doctrine which has been gradually elaborated by the doctors, casuists, and other learned men of the Romish Church, and has come to be accepted as the authoritative science of duty, and guide to practice, for the priesthood in the discharge of its duties. It is not inaptly described in Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary* (4th ed. p. 651), as "the science of priests sitting in the confessional, the science which enables them to distinguish right from wrong, mortal sin from venial sin, counsels of perfection from strict obligation, and so to administer the Sacrament of Penance." It is the work of schoolmen, canonists, and in a peculiar degree of Jesuits, though fathers, popes, priests, monks, and religious teachers of all kinds, have contributed to its stores. Its bloom-time was the seventeenth century, when, in a multitude of writers, it developed into the frightfully immoral system so mercilessly exposed and satirised by Pascal in his famous *Provincial Letters*. The summary given by Mosheim of its leading tenets is as good as can be wished (*Church History*, cent. xvii. sect. 2, par. i. 1, ch. 1): "That a bad man, who is an entire stranger to the love of God, provided he feels some fear of the divine wrath, and from dread of punishment avoids grosser crimes, is a fit candidate for eternal salvation. That men may sin with safety, provided they have a probable reason for their sin, *i.e.* some argument or authority in favour of it. That actions in themselves contrary to the divine law are allowable, provided a person can control his own mind, and in his thoughts connect a good end with the criminal deed; or, as they express it, knows how to direct his intention right. That philosophical sins, *i.e.* actions which are contrary to the law of nature and to right reason, in a person ignorant of the written law of God, or dubious as to its true meaning, are light offences, and do not deserve the punishment of hell. That the deeds a man commits when wholly blinded by his lusts and the paroxysms of passion, and when destitute of all sense of religion, though they be of the vilest and most execrable character, can by no means be charged to his account in the judgment of God, because such a man is like a madman. That it is right for a man, when taking an oath or forming a contract, in order to deceive the judge and subvert the validity of the covenant or oath, tacitly to add something to the words of the compact or the oath, and other sentiments of the like nature" (*cf.* for illustrations, besides Pascal's *Letters*, with Dr. M'Crie's Introduction to the same (1846), a work entitled *The Principles of the Jesuits, Developed in a Collection of Extracts from their own Authors* (London, Rivington, 1839); Nicolini's *History of the Jesuits*, ch. ix.; and Cartwright's *Jesuits*).

How has it fared with the system since? The scandal created by Pascal's exposure, and by the outcry of Dominicans, Jansenists, and moralists of a less lax tendency, was so great that the Popes themselves were compelled to interpose. In the years 1665–66, Alexander VII. condemned forty-five propositions; in 1679 Innocent XI. condemned other sixty-five propositions; in 1690 Alexander VIII. condemned particularly the "philosophical sin" of the Jesuits. But the condemnations, as we shall see, have had little effect on practice. Many of the doctrines condemned have been rehabilitated by later decisions; the old authorities are still quoted; it is the very system of probabilism which Pascal denounced, which, with slight modifications, is in the ascendant in the accredited text-books of the Church today. To show the nature of Rome's "Moral Theology," it is not necessary to go back to Escobar, with his twenty-four Jesuit authors, compared by him to the four-and-twenty elders of the Apocalypse; or to his four great authorities, Suarez, Vasquez, Molina, and Valencia, who are likened to the "four living creatures" of the same vision (*cf.* Pascal). It will suffice to take as our guides two authors whose authority no one will dispute: St. Alphonso Liguori, founder of the Redemptionists (died 1787; canonised, 1839; since declared a doctor of the Church); and P. J. P. Gury, S.J. (died 1866), whose *Compendium*, based on Liguori, has gone through an immense number of editions (we use that of 1894, 2 vols.), and, with his *Casus Conscientiæ*, is a principal text-book in Roman Colleges. A third author might be mentioned, Peter Dens (died 1775; long used in Ireland); but Dens, with all his blemishes, is a much stricter moralist than Liguori, and a sworn foe to probabilism, and is now quite superseded by the laxer teachers. It is Liguori who, backed by papal recommendations, may be said, with Gury, to represent existent opinion. The Congregation of Rites,

who examined Liguori's works in the beginning of the century with a view to his beatification, declared that they found in them not one word worthy of censure; and Pius VII., in 1803, confirmed their decree. Liguori's doctrines have, therefore, the highest authorisation which the papal Church can give.

Mention has been made above of the doctrine of "probabilism." This is really the foundation of the scheme of moral theology with which Liguori is identified. It was the view represented in the Jesuit schools of the days of Pascal (*Letter VI.*); it afterwards fell very generally into disrepute (Dens, *e.g.*, denounces it in the strongest terms, as having introduced into Christianity horrid monsters of doctrine, making lawful parricide, adulteries, perjuries, &c.); it is now again reinstated in favour, and is the reigning system (cf. *Catholic Dictionary*, article MORAL THEOLOGY; *Chambers's Encyclop.*, article CASUISTRY). A "probable" opinion, briefly, is one for which some respectable authority among the casuists can be quoted. The common view of the older writers was that "the authority of one good and learned doctor renders an opinion probable." Others suppose that where an action is morally unsafe there is needed at least a balance of opinions to render it probable. This appears to be the view to which Liguori inclines, but Gury dissents, and the prevalent doctrine at present is that a much slighter degree of authority is sufficient to warrant action. It is not necessary that one be persuaded in his own mind of the rightness of the action. Even though he is convinced that the action is wrong, it is enough to justify him in doing it that some casuist or casuists of repute have pronounced it lawful. As authorities are seldom lacking in support of any course of conduct deemed desirable, the precise degree of authorisation required is a matter of secondary moment.

We shall now prove that, by the aid of this elastic principle, the most immoral doctrines find shelter under the accredited teaching of the Roman Church. In Pascal's day the principle was openly defended by the Jesuits that the end justifies the means, and that acts otherwise evil may lawfully be done if they tend to the greater glory of God (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*). The later casuists use freely the expression, "a just cause," or "the glory of God" (the latter covering the greater good of the Church, or of a religious Order, or the extirpation of heresy, or any end deemed pious or religious). For such a cause, as will be seen, it is deemed lawful to equivocate, dissemble, use pious frauds, swear falsely, break oaths, violate faith with heretics; while the lawfulness, in ordinary life, of mental reservation and deceit, if an importa... is to be served, is freely inculcated. Incredible it will be said. Let those who think so study the following examples, or better still, examine the text-books for themselves (a large number of extracts from Liguori, with translations, may be seen in Blakeney's *Alphonsus Liguori*, 1852).

It will be well to have at the beginning Liguori's definition of "a just cause." "A just cause," the saint says, "is any honest end for the preservation of things good for the spirit, or useful for the body" (*lib.* iii. t. 2, No. 151). It is to be shown what kind of actions he deems legitimate for such an end,

Take, first, the doctrines that are propounded on *equivocation* and *oaths*. The following is quoted from Sanchez (one of Pascal's casuists): "To swear with equivocation, when there is a just cause, and equivocation itself is lawful, is not evil; because where there is a right of concealing the truth, and it is concealed without a lie, no irreverence is done to an oath" (ref. as above; *cf.* Pascal, *Letter IX.*). Liguori distinguishes three modes of equivocation, and goes on: "These things being laid down, it is certain, and a common opinion among all, that it is lawful for a just cause to use equivocatio... in the modes explained, and to confirm it wit... an oath." He gives an illustration: "Thus h... who is asked concerning anything which it is expedient to conceal may reply, 'I say no' (*dico non*), *i.e.* I say the *word* no." This principle is carried through in the most ingenuous fashion. Take the following from another place (No. 160): "Likewise, if any one being invited as a guest be asked whether the food is good, which in truth is unsavoury, he can answer that it is good—to wit, *for mortification*." Or this convenient maxim: "Also it is lawful to conceal the truth when there is a cause; *e.g.* if any one should ask money from you, you can answer, 'Oh that I had it!' or, 'I should rejoice to have it'" (*ibid.*). The question arises, "Whether a culprit, being lawfully interrogated, can deny a crime, even with an oath, if the confession of the crime would be attended with great disadvantage?" (No. 156). Some think not, but others, Liguori says, "with sufficient probability," teach that "the accused person, if in imminent peril of death, or prison, or perpetual exile, or loss of all his goods, or the hulks, and such like, can deny the crime, even with an oath." Suppose, however, the oath is sworn with an equivocation *without* just cause, the question is put, Is that a mortal sin? Some authorities hold that it is, but the "more probable" view is that it is only a venial sin, "for at worst it is an error of judgment or indiscretion" (No. 151). It is evident that we have already got

into a region in which it is possible to make what we choose of all ordinary maxims of morality.

Take a few more examples about oaths. Allied to equivocation is the principle of "mental reservation" (*restrictio mentalis*)—another favourite principle of the Jesuits. Here are instances. A Confessor, it is taught, "can affirm, even with an oath, that he does not know a sin heard in confession, by understanding, *as man*, but not as *the minister of Christ*. . . . The reason is, because he who interrogates has not a right to be informed of a matter, unless that matter is communicable; such is not the knowledge of the Confessor. And this also is true, if otherwise he should ask him whether he heard it as a minister of Christ" (No. 153). This is put more strongly in a later passage. Even if he is asked to reply "without equivocation," the Confessor can still answer, with an oath, that he does not know it; nay, this is a "necessary equivocation which could not be omitted without sin" (VI. t. 4, No. 646; Dens similarly). Here is another example out of multitudes, this time taken from Gury, though Liguori states a case of exactly the same kind: "Anna, having been guilty of adultery, and being interrogated by her husband, who has formed a suspicion, answers the first time that she has not violated wedlock; the second time (having in the interval obtained absolution), she replies, *I am guiltless of such crime;* the third time she absolutely denies the adultery, and says, *I have not committed it*, meaning within herself, such particular adultery as I am bound to reveal, or, I have not committed an act of adultery that has to be revealed to you. Is Anna to be blamed?" Gury's reply justifies each answer of the woman, supporting his ruling with a grave array of authorities (*Cases of Conscience*, p.129).

The casuistry and sophistry on this subject of oaths are almost past belief, but come in substance to this, that a promissory oath taken without the intention of being bound by it, does not impose an obligation of keeping it. Some hold that it does, but, says Liguori, "it is a more probable and common opinion that such an oath is not a true oath, both because it wants the necessary condition to the nature of a promissory oath, such as is the intention of binding oneself; and because an oath follows the nature of a promise which it confirms as certain. But an oath made without such a mind is not, indeed, a promise, but simply proposed; therefore, the promise evanishing, the oath does so also, and is considered as made without the mind of swearing, which certainly, as we have seen, is null and void. But if no oath exists, there is no obligation of fulfilling that oath" (III. t. 2, No. 172; so Gury). It does not follow that ordinarily the taking of such an oath is not a sin, but the doctors again decree that the sin is only a venial one (the authorities quoted by Liguori, Gury, &c., are the same whose teachings Pascal exposed). There is another important point in connection with oaths. However solemnly or sincerely they may have been taken, it is an article of faith laid down in these text-books, that the Pope (himself, or through his prelates) has power to absolve from them by a dispensation. "A dispensation," says Liguori, "is the absolute disposing of the obligation of a vow made in the name of God. That such a dispensation may be valid, a just cause is required, such as, for example, the good of the Church, or the common well-being of the State" (No. 250). Earlier we read, "Let (oaths) be never so valid, they can be relaxed by the Church" (No. 192).

The application of these principles to religion, in the dealings of Roman Catholics with Protestants, and in oaths taken by Romanists to the State, opens up possibilities of deception such as the course of history has too often exemplified. Look at some of the applications in this direction. Liguori discusses the question of denying one's religion. "In no case," he begins by saying, "whether by voice or by any other sign, is it lawful to do this, since Christ says, 'Whoso shall deny Me before men, &c.'" But, as usual, it is not long before this brave sentence is explained away by casuistical distinctions. "But," he goes on, "though it is not lawful to lie, or to feign what is not, it is nevertheless lawful to *dissemble what is*, or to cover the truth with words or other ambiguous and doubtful signs, for a just cause, and when there is not a necessity of confessing" (II. t. i. No. 12). One application is, "when you are not asked concerning the faith, not only is it lawful, but often more conducive to the glory of God, and the utility of your neighbour, to cover the faith than to confess it; *e.g.* if concealed among heretics, you may accomplish a greater amount of good, or if, from the confession of the faith, more of evil would follow, for example, great trouble, death, the hostility of a tyrant, the danger of defection, if you should be tortured—whence it is often rash to offer oneself willingly" (No. 14). In this case also, all limitations may be overruled by the dispensation of the Pope. It is a matter of history that in the struggle of Protestantism with Catholicism, Jesuits often obtained permission to appear to deny their faith, and even, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, assume the character of Protestant preachers (*cf.* Hallam). The powers of the Pope would seem, according to

many of these doctors, to go further still, even to setting aside the laws of God. "In those things," we are told, "which are absolutely and unconditionally ordered by God, Sanchez and many others say with great probability that the Pope has the power, in any particular case, not indeed of dispensing with them, but (mark the fineness of the distinction) of saying that the divine law no longer binds" (Busenbaum). Gury says on this point: "The point is one of controversy, whether he is empowered actually to dispense for some very grave cause, or only to declare God's law suspended for the time. In practice," he adds, "it matters little" (*Compendium*, vol. i. p. 104). He confirms also what is said above on the lawfulness of dissembling the true faith. "It is lawful," he declares, "to dissemble the true faith for a while on consideration of very severe inconveniences that might accrue from public profession" (*Cases of Conscience*, p. 61). The case is stated of a Protestant clergyman becoming secretly a Catholic, but asking permission to postpone his public profession till such time as it could be done without injury to his estate. To this, Gury thinks there can be no objection.

Not unduly to multiply instances, only a few specimens of applications to common life may be adduced. Some of them are sufficiently revolutionary. Gury, *e.g.*, states this case: "An individual sets poison or a snare in a locality where his enemy, though very rarely, passes, with the express intention that he might perish if he should chance to come by." Is a man guilty if death is the result? Gury's answer is that, according to the more accredited opinion, he is exempt from guilt! (vol. i. p. 538). He gives his reason: "Because," he says, "on the one hand, the external act is not unjust . . . and on the other hand, the internal act is not rendered unjust in virtue of intention, for intention has influence neither for the efficacy of a cause, nor for peril of injury" (*ibid.*). Here is a case bearing on breach of promise: "A man," says Gury, "who has sworn to a girl rich and healthy, is not bound by his oath should she happen to have become poor or fallen into bad health" (vol. i. p. 316). Again, an engagement may be broken off if a fat inheritance (*pinguis hæreditas*) should accrue, altering the status of either party (ii. p. 310). Glancing at another commandment, we find that our moralists have remarkably strange notions of the *meum* and *tuum*. Here is one solution of the wages question. Are servants, who are of opinion that their wages are inferior to the work done by them, at liberty to help themselves clandestinely to the goods of their masters? (this is called in the books "clandestine compensation"). Gury's answer is, generally not, but exception is to be made of servants who have contracted for inadequate wages, under physical compulsion, or moral fear, or the strain of necessity; all such are entitled to help themselves to what they consider their rightful due (vol. i. p. 533). Liguori, in reply to the same question, would justify the proceeding, provided the servant was a prudent man, gifted with sound judgment, and certain of the justice of the compensation; but he adds cautiously that these things are extremely rare (III. t. 5, No. 524). All the moralists are agreed that in extreme, or very grave necessity, it is no sin to help oneself to another's goods, without any obligation of restitution.

Only one other point may be referred to in this wonderful "Moral Theology." It turns on the distinction of venial and mortal sin. This is a distinction which is a third heaven of delight to the casuist with his refined subtleties. What constitutes a mortal and what a venial sin? And in questions of degree, where is the line between them to be drawn? It seems too ridiculous to quote some of the answers that are given. One general principle laid down is that a little theft is a venial, and a greater theft is a mortal sin; but where draw the line? An array of Jesuit doctors say that to steal two coins from a working man is a mortal sin; others stretch the limit to three. Liguori judiciously splits the difference, and draws the line at two and a half. Below that line, the theft is a trifling offence; above that line it kills. He has a carefully graduated scale for the different orders of men—one julius (about 4½d.) for mendicants; two for ditchers; two and a half for artisans; four for the moderately wealthy; five, or even six, for the rich; as much as an aureus (about a guinea) for the very rich (III. t. 5, Nos. 527–8). We take a much more popular book, a little work, *What Every Christian must Know*, by Father Furniss, published in Dublin in 1856. On the above subject of theft we read there: "It is a venial sin to steal a little; it is a mortal sin to steal much. . . . If you steal from different persons it needs half as much again for a mortal sin, and the same if you steal at different times. If you steal from different persons, as well as at different times, it needs double the sum. . . . Also when materials are given for some work, *e.g.* cloth to tailors, it is a sin to keep pieces which remain, except people are quite sure that it is not against the will of the employer, or there is a common custom of doing it, or *it is necessary in order to gain a reasonable profit.* It is a sin to mix something with what you sell, *e.g.* water with any liquor, except there is a common custom

of doing it, or it is necessary to gain a reasonable profit" (p. 23).

These examples are, perhaps, enough to exhibit the character of the "Moral Theology" devised for the guidance of priests in the confessional. There are immense tracts of the subject on which we have not touched. One such is the treatment in these text-books (Liguori, Gury, Dens) of the sexual relations. The minuteness and pruriency with which this subject is gone into is shocking in the extreme. The sections are too disgusting even to be alluded to, much less quoted, here. Only it should be kept in mind that this is an apparatus meant to be brought to bear on the minds of young girls and married women in the privacy of confession (we have an example in the notorious book, *The Priest in Absolution*, exposed some years ago).

Note on Newman's Controversy with Kingsley.—Newman in his Appendix on "Lying and Equivocation" in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, practically admits all that is said above of Liguori's doctrine of equivocation, but severs himself personally from it, and professes his own adherence to the principle of straightforwardness in speech. (*Cf.* on the views of the Casuists, pp. 348–9 of 1898 edition, and his own repudiation on pp. 355 and 360.) "Of this I am sure," he says, "that if there is one thing more than another which prejudices Englishmen against the Roman Catholic, it is the doctrine of great authorities on the subject of equivocation" (p. 360). [J. O.]

MORAVIAN CHURCH, THE.

1. *The Origin and Early History.*—For the origin of the Moravian Church we turn to the south-east of Bohemia. The precise spot was the village of Chelcic, the date about 1450, the occasion the religious confusion that followed the Hussite Wars. The followers of Hus were disunited. Not one of the numerous sects in the country seemed fit to carry on his work. The Calixtines, now the National Church, were content with the Cup for the laity: the Taborites were routed at the battle of Lipan (1434); and the Chiliasts, Adamites, Orphans, and Picards made the trouble worse. For a while the spiritual gospel of Hus seemed lost amid the jars of sects. At this crisis Peter of Chelcic came to the rescue. In a series of pamphlets written in Bohemian, he interpreted the Sermon on the Mount literally, denounced war as murder, opposed the union of Church and State, and objected to oaths and litigation. He declared that Christ's example and law were guide sufficient for any man. He attacked the character of the Bohemian priests, described the Pope as Anti-Christ, and taught that man was saved by faith, without human intervention. His followers were known as the Brethren of Chelcic, and wore a distinctive dress. With men of this class Gregory of Prague, the Patriarch, had associated himself. He and a small circle of his friends obtained permission from George Podiebrad to settle in the deserted village of Kunwald, by the castle of Lititz; and there, in 1457, the Moravian Church was founded. The first members were of various classes. Some came from Peter's estate, some from Moravia, some from the Thein Church and University in Prague, and some from little Waldensian gatherings scattered about the land. The name of the new Church was *Jednota Bratrska*, *i.e.* the Church or Communion of Brethren. By the term *Jednota* the Brethren took the stand, not of a sect with peculiar views, but of a Church in the proper sense of the term; by the term *Bratrska* they expressed their desire for union among Christians on a broad scriptural basis. From that day to this, this twofold attitude has been a fundamental principle of the Brethren. The next step made their position still clearer. In a series of Church gatherings or Synods held at Lhota (1467), they resolved to part entirely from the Papacy and its priesthood, to institute a ministerial Order of their own, and to organise a free communion on the model of the Primitive Church. For this purpose they held it essential to secure episcopal Orders. To appeal for these to Rome was against their principles, to appeal to the Greek Church equally vain. But in Stephen, a Waldensian bishop, they found precisely what they needed. He informed them that the Episcopacy as held by him had come down direct from the early Church, and was, therefore, historically valid. The Brethren were satisfied with his statements. Bishop Stephen consecrated Michael Bradacius the first bishop of the Brethren's Church; and henceforward the Brethren guarded their Episcopacy as a valuable element of their organisation.[1]

[1] The subject of the Moravian Episcopacy raises questions as to its origin, its maintenance, and its validity. (*a*) *Origin.*—On this three opinions have been held: (1) Gindely, Palacky, and De Schweinitz held that Stephen was consecrated at the Council of Basle (1434), and that thus the Moravian Episcopate was of Roman origin. But recent researches seem to show that this view is untenable. (2) J. Müller and J. Koestlin held that Stephen was consecrated by the Taborite bishop, Nicholas of Pilgram. But this view ignores the fact that the Brethren had broken with the Taborites, and would be no more likely to accept Episcopacy from them than from Rome. (3) The original view of the Brethren was that Stephen represented an Episcopate which, as an *office* of the Church, had come down

The constitution followed in due course. At the head of the Church was a Council of elders; the laws were laid down by Synods; and the bishops, supreme in their own sees, held a share in the general oversight. Thus organised, the Church grew rapidly in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland. We note the following stages: Under Gregory the Patriarch (1457–73) the Brethren abode by the narrow ideas of Peter of Chelcic; under Luke of Prague (1497–1528) they adopted the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice; under John Augusta (1531–72), they issued "Confessions" somewhat similar to the *Confessio Augustana;* and finally, under Wenzel von Budowa (1609–21), they became more combative and ambitious. Meanwhile they contributed much to the cause of Protestant progress. From the outset their distinguishing feature was that they laid more stress on life than on doctrine. In dogma they were broad, in ethics strict. The members were divided into three classes: the Perfect, the Proficient and the Beginners. In every parish a body of elders visited the houses every three months, and inquired whether business were honestly conducted, and whether the children were trained in the fear of God. No person following a questionable calling (such as dicemakers, astrologers, &c.) could belong to the Brethren's Church. The system won the warm approval of Luther, Calvin, and Bucer. Again, the Brethren translated the Scriptures direct from the original into Bohemian. The work was known as the Kralitz Bible (1593). It is used to-day by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and may in time become the means of a Protestant revival in Bohemia. Again, the Brethren laid great stress on education. From 1505 to 1510, out of sixty works printed in Bohemian, fifty were issued by the Brethren. Nearly every parish had its school, the artisans read the classics; and by 1600 Bohemia was said to be the best educated country in Europe. Again, to promote the spiritual life, the Brethren laid stress on music and singing, and were the first Reformers to publish a Hymn Book (1505). Again, the Brethren strove to promote the union of Protestantism. With them a "Confession" was not intended as a test for membership. At the Union of Sendomir, in Poland (1570), the Brethren, Lutherans and Reformed, united on the Brethren's doctrinal basis. Finally, the Brethren contributed a long roll of martyrs. The most noted were Hulava, Poliwka, Petipesky, and Augusta.

For these various services to the Protestant cause the Brethren were widely loved; their leader Budowa, who helped to win the Bohemian Charter (1609), became a popular hero; and the Brethren's Church bade fair to become the National Church of Bohemia. But her very prosperity aided her ruin. As soon as the Bohemian Brethren competed for the position of National Church, they lost their purity of purpose, relaxed their discipline, and weakened their connection with the Moravian and Polish branches. The crisis found them weak and disunited. The downfall was swift and sudden. At the battle of the White Mountain (1620), the Bohemian Protestants were routed, and the Brethren fell among the ruins. On the "Day of Blood" (June 21, 1621), their chief leaders were beheaded at Prague. The Brethren were expelled from Bohemia; their Kralitz Bibles, Hymn Books, and many historical records were burnt; the Polish Branch was absorbed in the Reformed Church of Poland, and many fled to Hungary, Saxony, and Denmark, and were thus lost to view.

2. *The Hidden Seed* (1621–1722).—For the

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with, or without, uninterrupted succession from the early Christian centuries. (*b*) *Maintenance.*—At one point there is a possibility that the Moravian succession was broken. For eleven years the Brethren had only one bishop, John Augusta; and John Augusta lay confined in Pürglitz Castle. In this extremity appointed priests of the Brethren consecrated bishops to perform episcopal functions in manner accustomed. In 1564 Augusta was liberated; in 1571, the bishops, Israel and Blahoslav, consecrated three other bishops; from these three the succession has been maintained to the present day, and the critical question, therefore, is: Did Augusta re-consecrate Israel and Blahoslav between 1564 and 1571? If he did, the Moravian succession is unbroken; if not, there is a missing link. As Augusta, however, did not protest the invalidity of Israel's and Blahoslav's act, the conclusion is probable that he regarded their office as authorised and effective. (*c*) Is the Moravian Episcopacy valid? The answer depends on the test of validity. If validity depend on the ability to prove an unbroken succession from the Apostles, the Moravian claim is unquestionably open to doubt (this defect it has in common with the Episcopate of every other Church). But if validity depends on the purpose to adhere to New Testament sanctions, and to preserve the intention of the Christian Ministry, as held to be instituted by our Lord, then the Moravian Episcopacy may be fully regarded as valid. Amid much uncertainty it is clear: (1) That the Brethren were satisfied with Stephen's statement. (2) That they acted honestly according to their light. (3) That the Waldensian Episcopate was of ancient order. (4) That no break in the Brethren's succession has been proved. (5) That they have ever striven to maintain the episcopal office intact.

next hundred years a "Hidden Seed" lay in a few Bohemian and Moravian villages. With Bibles buried in their gardens, they held their meetings at midnight, sang the old Brethren's hymns, and handed on the traditions from father to son. Meanwhile, Bishop Amos Comenius, the noted reformer of education, spurred up the hopes of the survivors, commended them to the care of the Church of England, published the *Ratio Disciplinæ* (a valuable account of the Brethren's constitution, &c.), and handed on the Episcopacy to his grandson, Jablonsky, at the Court of Berlin.

3. *The Renewal* took place in Saxony. As Christian David, a converted Romanist, was preaching in some Moravian villages, he met with some descendants of the Brethren, and persuaded them to flee with him to a refuge he had found on Count Zinzendorf's estate at Berthelsdorf (1722). The new movement was of a twofold nature. The historic impulse came from Moravia, the spiritual largely from German Pietism. The chief human factor was Zinzendorf. He had been brought up in a Pietist atmosphere, and sympathised with Spener's conception of "*ecclesiola in ecclesia.*" But his genius revolted against the limitations of either Lutheranism or Pietism. On the one hand, he declared that the Augsburg Confession did not contain the whole Christian faith; on the other, he rejected the Pietist doctrine of the necessity of sudden conversion. For him the essential, both in Lutheranism and Pietism, was "heart-religion, with the Person of Christ as the central feature." His ruling ideas were love to Christ, spiritual experience, practical brotherhood, the union of Christendom, and the conversion of the heathen. As the settlers gathered on his estate, which they called Herrnhut, he saw in them materials on which to work. At first the situation was alarming. Among the settlers were discontented Lutherans, Schwenkfelders, Swabian Evangelicals, and Pietists. The result was an outbreak of theological strife. The crisis gave Zinzendorf his opportunity and life-work. He persuaded the settlers to live by a "Code of Statutes." The next event was still more decisive. At the Holy Communion in Berthelsdorf Church (August 13, 1727), the Brethren, according to their own testimony, received an outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and learned thereby to love each other, to sink their differences, and to realise their calling as "Brethren." Thus, by a purely spiritual process, the *Bratrska* element was revived. The *Jednota* element gradually followed. At first Zinzendorf did not design more than a "church within the church." His tenants regarded themselves as Lutherans, and worshipped in the Berthelsdorf Parish Church. But the historic impulse was irresistible. For the sake of discipline the Brethren adopted institutions which they soon discovered, to their delight, to be like those in the *Ratio Disciplinæ*. For the sake of their foreign missions, David Nitschmann (1735) was consecrated a bishop by Jablonsky and Sitkovius; and thus the Episcopate was maintained. For the sake of freedom from human autocracy, the Brethren (September 16, 1741) besought Christ to make a special Covenant with them, and to act as their "Chief Elder"; and, convinced that their request was granted, and that Christ was their only Head, they thereby set open the door for the free development of their constitution. For the sake, further, of legal protection, they obtained recognition in Germany as an independent Church, and in Great Britain and her Colonies, by Act of Parliament (1749), as an "Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church." For the sake, finally, of defining their mission, they adopted the title of *Unitas Fratrum*, the Latin rendering of *Jednota Bratrska*, which had established itself about 1575, and had come through Comenius into general use. Thus the Brethren's Church was revived in all her essential elements.

Meanwhile the Brethren had spread. In Germany their development was peculiar. In order to live in security at all, they were compelled by the terms of the Peace of Westphalia (*cujus regio* clause) to build settlements, on special territorial conditions, on the estates of friendly nobles. For the State authorities these settlements were simply a means of improving their property; for the Brethren, they were a working method of realising their spiritual ideals. For this purpose, therefore, at several "settlements" they conducted Diaconies, *i.e.* businesses managed by and for the Church; erected Brethren's and Sisters' Houses, day-schools for poor children, and boarding schools for the richer classes; and organised a complex system of choirs, bands, classes, love-feasts, hourly intercessions, daily watch-words, and meetings for singing and prayer.

This Settlement system affected the whole future of the Brethren's Church. On the one hand, it checked their growth on the Continent; forbidden to aim at Church-extension, they conducted the work called Diaspora, *i.e.* they ministered to the "scattered" of other Churches, without attempting to proselytise. On the other hand, it fostered an intense religious life. In the days when Rationalism threatened the health of orthodox Lutheranism, the deep, mystical faith of the Brethren became a sheet-anchor for many. From the Brethren the newer German theology draws the most precious element of its teaching, *i.e.* the value of religious experience.

In Great Britain the Brethren helped to mould the course of the Evangelical Revival. (See WESLEY, JOHN.) They evangelised extensively in the country districts, were regarded at one time (1753) as more powerful than the Methodists, and were publicly denounced by an array of pamphleteers. In their hymns they made much of the Passion of Christ, and were among the first to give that theme the prominent position it occupies in modern hymnology. But while in sympathy with the essentials of the Revival, the Brethren resisted three popular tendencies of the day. Against the prevalent theological strife they set forth personal experience of Christ as the one thing needful. Against the wide-spread Antinomianism they set up a strict system of discipline, built three or four "settlements," and regulated their lives by a "Book of Statutes" drawn up in the words of Scripture. And against the schismatic tendencies of the Revival they declared that the English people belonged by right to the National Church, denounced the Separatist tendencies of Methodism, handed over the majority of their converts to the care of Anglican clergymen, and endeavoured generally to keep the Revival within the borders of the Anglican Church.

In the United States, further, from similar scruples, the Brethren barred their own way. For a century they confined themselves to four "settlements," and employed a body of "Pilgrims" to evangelise, with strict injunctions not to draw their converts into church-communion. But in 1843 this plan was abandoned, church-extension was recognised as a legitimate aim, and since then the Moravian Church in America has grown more rapidly.

But the chief work of the Renewed Brethren's Church has undoubtedly been foreign missions. The first missionaries went to St. Thomas in 1732. During Zinzendorf's life-time the Brethren preached in the West Indies, Greenland, North America, Surinam, South Africa, Guinea, Ceylon, Persia, and Abyssinia. At the time of his death (1760) they had already 66 missionaries in the field, 3000 baptized converts, 7000 under instruction, and 13 headquarters of work. The chief distinguishing feature of this work has been the close attention paid to the discipline of the converts. For this reason it has often been valued by Government as a civilising agency. In the West Indies the Brethren's labours made emancipation possible. In Kaffir-land, Bushland, the Gold Coast, and Bengal, the Government urged them to undertake new work. In Antigua, South Africa, and the United States they have received Government aid. In Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Tobago, they were ultimately aided by the planters—the very class that had at first been their bitterest opponents.

4. *Present Condition.*—(i.) At present the chief enterprises of the Brethren are: (1) Foreign missions in Labrador, Alaska, California (Indians), West Indies, Moskito Coast, Demerara, Surinam, Cape Colony, Kaffraria, German East Africa, Victoria and Queensland, and West Himalaya. (2) Leper Home at Jerusalem (founded 1867). (3) Diaspora in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and Poland. (4) Home missions in British and American Provinces. (5) Boarding-schools for secondary education in all three Provinces. The Brethren still lay great stress on scholarship. The candidates for the ministry receive a classical education; in England they are, as a rule, expected to obtain a University degree, and are thoroughly grounded in the problems raised by Science and the Higher Criticism. On the two latter points there is, of course, considerable liberty of opinion. (6) Church Revival in Bohemia and Moravia.

(ii.) *Constitution.*—Since 1857 the Moravian Church has been divided into three Provinces, German, British, American (North and South U.S.A.). Each Province has its own Synod, consisting of ministers and lay deputies, and elects its own governing Board. The General Synod of the whole Church meets every ten years at Herrnhut. Its function is to lay down general rules on doctrine, constitution, and life. From decade to decade these rules are binding on all members of the Church. But the Brethren's Church is not a Communion with fixed, unchanging rules. At present, *e.g.*, the bishops have no dioceses. They are, in point of fact, always represented on the governing Church Boards, but their chief function is to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry; yet this state of things is simply the result of circumstances, and is theoretically open to change.

(iii.) *Doctrine.*—At the General Synod of 1879 the following doctrines were laid down in general terms: (1) The Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice. (2) The total depravity of man. (3) The real Godhead and the real humanity of Christ. (4) Justification through the Sacrifice of Christ. (5) The operations of the Holy Spirit. (6) Good works as the fruit of the Spirit. (7) The fellowship of believers. (8) The Second Coming of Christ. (9) The Resurrection of the dead unto life or judgment. If the Brethren have a peculiarity at all, it is the stress they lay on the atoning death of Christ. "The word of the cross is the beginning, middle, and end of their preaching." This is a Moravian principle,

though in practice it is not so marked as formerly.

(iv.) *Ceremonies.*—The regular public worship consists of a litany, Scripture lessons, preaching, singing, and extempore prayer. The Communion is celebrated once a month, and is generally preceded by a love-feast. Infant baptism is administered on the understanding that at least one of the parents is a Christian. The modes of admission to the Church are adult baptism, confirmation, and reception. The test for membership is faith in Christ, with conduct corresponding. No formal creed is imposed either on members or on ministers.

(v.) *Orders.*—The Orders of the Ministry are bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Their function is the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, but lay preachers can be authorised to occupy the pulpit and to conduct the public worship.

(vi.) *Ecclesiastical Attitude.*—As the Brethren have no distinguishing creed, and do not even hold a brief for any fixed form of government, it may be asked what plea they offer for their separate existence. To this question their history suggests an answer. In view of their past they regard it as their mission to act as a union Church. On the basis of their Episcopal Orders they can cordially associate with the Church of England; on the basis of their broad evangelical doctrine they cultivate friendly relations with all other Protestant bodies, and thus, preserving the twofold attitude expressed by their old title, *Jednota Bratrska*, they offer a means of union between Church and Nonconformity. At the same time they regard it as their duty to recognise the hand of God in their history, to be true to the traditions of their fathers, to uphold the essential doctrines of the faith, to steer clear of theological strife on matters of definite creed, to believe that the God who has led them so far and enabled them to be the pioneers of such great movements, must still have work for them to do, and to take their share in evangelisation both at home and abroad. As they have no quarrel with the Anglican Church, they object to be classed as Dissenters; as they have no distinguishing belief, they do not regard themselves as a "sect"; and as the Ancient Brethren's Church distinguished between "things essential, things auxiliary, and things accidental," so the Renewed Church accepts as a motto the words of Rupertus Meldenius: "In necessariis unitas, in non-necessariis libertas, in utrisque charitas."

Statistics.—Communicants: German Province, 5643; British, 3458; American, 15,773; Bohemia, 465; Missions, 32,287.

Literature.—In English: Schweinitz, *History of the Unitas Fratrum*; Hamilton, *The Moravian Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*; Hutton, *Short History of the Moravian Church*; Hamilton, *Moravian Missions*; *The Moravian Church Book* (1902); *Moravian Manual* (1901); *Moravian Almanac* (Annual); Wauer, *Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England.* In German: Gindely, *Geschichte der Böhmischen-Brüder*; Goll, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der Böhmischen-Brüder*; Burkhardt, *Zinzendorf und die Brüder-Gemeine*; Müller, *Das Bischofstum der Brüder-Kirche, Die Gefangenschaft des Johann Augusta*, and *Zinzendorf als Erneuerer der alten Brüder-Kirche*; Becker, *Zinzendorf und sein Christentum im Verhältniss zum kirchlichen und religiösen Leben seiner Zeit*; Römer, *Zinzendorf, sein Leben und Wirken*; Schmidt, *Zinzendorf's sociale Stellung*; Schultz, *Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüder-Mission.*

[J. E. H.]

MORGANATIC MARRIAGE.—This kind of marriage does not exist in English law. In foreign countries a person of noble or princely birth may contract a valid marriage with a person of inferior degree, which has as one of its conditions that the issue of such marriage shall not have the rank of their noble or princely parent. Where such a marriage is recognised, it would prevent the person so marrying being married again during the subsistence of the morganatic marriage. The only case in which English law attaches special conditions owing to the rank of the persons contracting to marry, is in relation to members of the Royal Family. By the Royal Marriage Act, 12 Geo. III., c. 2, it is provided that the descendants of George II., except the issue of princesses married abroad, shall obtain the consent of the sovereign to their marriages; and this consent is necessary whether he or she wishes to marry a prince or a commoner. For example, Queen Victoria gave her consent not only to the marriages of the royal princes and princesses in England, but to the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland to the Princess Thyra of Denmark. If the sovereign refuses consent, the marriage is null and void altogether. A member of the Royal Family can, however, subject to certain conditions, dispense with such consent if he or she is over twenty-five years of age. For it is provided that if he or she gives twelve months' notice to the Privy Council of the intended marriage, it is a good and binding marriage in spite of the refusal of the sovereign, unless both Houses of Parliament, before the expiration of the twelve months, expressly declare their disapprobation of such marriage. If Parliament does not interfere, the issue of the marriage of a prince or princess with a commoner inherit the full rights of their parent. [E. B. W.]

MORTAL SIN.—See DEADLY SIN.

MORTAR, HOLY.—In the Roman Pontifical, in the service for the consecration of a church, "the Pontiff returns to the altar, and there, his mitre on, he makes mortar with the same holy water and blesses it, saying, 'O most high God, sanctify and hallow these creatures of lime and sand. Through Christ, &c.'" (*Pont. Rom.*, second part).

MORTMAIN.—The possession of land by religious or lay corporations has been considered since the days of Magna Charta as destructive of the safety and welfare of the kingdom. In early times—principally because corporations were not able to perform the services incident to the tenure of the land, and because the feudal superior, by the possession of the land by a corporation, lost his other feudal rights—statutes were passed making the alienation of land to a corporation a cause of forfeiture. The feudal superiors affected could, however, forego their rights by granting a licence to alienate to a corporation. The Crown's right to grant such licences has been recognised from the earliest times, and is recognised up to the present time. The law on the subject is now contained in the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Acts of 1888 and 1891. These Acts define "land" to "include tenements and hereditaments corporeal or incorporeal of any tenure; but not money secured on land or other personal estate arising from or connected with land," and then provide that land shall not be held by, or on behalf of, or given to any corporation in Mortmain except under authority of a licence from the Crown, on pain of being forfeited to the Crown. An exception is, however, made on behalf of charities if certain conditions are complied with.

The following objects have been defined by the law to be charities, as also objects analogous to them: (1) The relief of aged, impotent, and poor people. (2) The maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners. (3) The maintenance of schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in Universities. (4) The repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways. (5) The education and preferment of orphans. (6) The relief, stock, or maintenance of houses of correction. (7) Marriage of poor maids. (8) The supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed. (9) The relief or redemption of prisoners or captives. (10) The aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of fifteens, setting-out of soldiers, and other taxes. There are a few other exceptions to the general law, which it is impossible to give here, owing to want of space.

The conditions on which land may be sold and given to charitable corporations are as follows. The conveyance of the land must be made without any power of revocation or reservation, condition, or provision for the benefit of the grantor or any one claiming under him, except (1) a nominal rent; (2) mines or minerals; (3) easements; (4) covenants or provisions as to buildings, streets, drainage, or nuisances; (5) right of entry on non-payment of such rent or breach of such covenant or provisions; (6) stipulations of the like nature for the benefit of the grantor or any one claiming under him. If the land is freehold, it must be conveyed by deed executed in presence of two witnesses; unless the transaction is on a sale for full and valuable consideration, the deed must be made twelve calendar months before the death of the grantor, or it will be void, and enrolled within six months after its execution in the Central Office of the High Court of Justice.

In three cases all these strict conditions are not insisted upon, *i.e.* where the land is to be devoted to the purpose of a public park, and does not exceed twenty acres, a public museum, and does not exceed two acres, or a schoolhouse, and does not exceed one acre. Land may, however, be given by will subject to this, that it must be sold within a year after the death, unless the Charity Commissioners give special permission for it to be retained as being required for actual occupation for the purposes of the charity. Both Universities, of Oxford and Cambridge, are exempted from the operation of the Act, and a few other corporations. [E. B. W.]

MOTHER OF GOD.—A title given to St. Mary. In the fifth century there sprang up a fierce controversy as to the manner in which the divinity and humanity were united in Christ. Theodore of Mopsuesta, and, following him, Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, explained the mystery by saying that a child was born like other children of men, and that subsequently the divinity united itself to Him. Christ, therefore, consisted of two persons, one human, one divine. The error that they made was in not distinguishing between persons and natures. Our Lord has two natures, divine and human, but they co-exist in one Person. This truth was insisted on with overgreat vehemency and violence by Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus. Resolved to bring home their error to their adversaries, and to stamp it as heresy, the orthodox party adopted the word *Theotokos*, which Nestorius had already refused to accept, as a test of the true doctrine, just as the Council of Nicæa had adopted the word *homoousios*, or *consubstantial*, as a test whereby to try and to reject Arianism. The word *Theotokos* means,

"She who brought forth Him who was at His birth God." The title was applied to the Lord's mother, not at all with the purpose of doing honour to her—that was not thought of—but of maintaining the true doctrine respecting the unity of Person in Christ. But the days were becoming evil. Since the gradual extinction of paganism, men had lost their horror of paying adoration to dead men and women, and the word *Theotokos*, becoming the watchword of Cyril's party against Nestorianism, soon was misinterpreted and misapplied. Men forgot that it had been insisted on only to teach a truth regarding Christ's Person, and looked upon it as a title of honour, devised by the Council, for St. Mary. Already St. Mary had been venerated by Gnostics and Collyridians, who had composed the apocryphal gospels of the Birth and of the Death of Mary, and had offered her cakes in token of adoration. But the Church for four centuries had looked with detestation and contempt on these heretical books and practices. "The whole thing," said Bishop Epiphanius, "is foolish and strange and is a device and deceit of the devil. Let Mary be in honour. Let the Lord be worshipped" (*Hær.*, lxxxix.). But, as a result of the Nestorian controversies, veneration of the *Theotokos* began to spring up within the Church also. The loose translation of the word as "Mother of God," gives to the unlearned the idea that Christ in some way derived His divine as well as His human nature from her. The Madonna and Child became a symbol in art of Anti-Nestorian orthodoxy, and soon the mother overshadowed the Child. So far was Christian sentiment perverted through a mistaken apprehension of the purpose of a word which in itself had no superstitious or idolatrous meaning, that in the sixth century the Gnostic and Collyridian fables respecting St. Mary were brought bodily over into the Church, without protest or remonstrance, by Gregory of Tours, and from him were handed on to Andrew of Crete (a degenerate countryman of Epiphanius) in the seventh century, and again from him to John Damascene in the eighth century, after which they became the basis of what Lord Lindsay has called the "Christian mythology" of the Middle Ages. This seems to have been the course by which the worship of St. Mary, recognised and condemned by the Church for four centuries as heretical, became the faith of the later Church—a worship which, increasing age by age, has grown to the portentous dimensions that we at present witness in the practice of the modern Roman and (in less degree) Greek Churches, and threatens to supersede, if it has not superseded, love and devotion to Christ as the Saviour and Redeemer, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, all which titles are attributed to St. Mary by the appointed Doctor of the Roman Church, St. Alfonso de' Liguori, in his *Glories of Mary*. Leo XIII. was not a whit behind St. Alfonso in his devotion to her, and "Marian Congresses" in Italy and France are day by day pushing her worship into wilder and wilder extremes. [F. M.]

So far from *Theotokos* being identical in meaning with "Mother of God," the Liturgy of St. James (Neale, *Greek Texts*, p. 65), calls her, *τὴν θεοτόκον . . . καὶ μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. Neale, in his supplementary volume of *Translations*, p. 55, indeed translates both phrases by the same words, and says in a footnote, "It is impossible in English, without tautology, to repeat the *μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, after having already given the *θεοτόκον*." But that is "taking away the key of knowledge" with a vengeance. The "Office of the Prothesis," also given by Neale (*Translations*, 7th edit., p. 185), speaks of the "parents of God, Joachim and Anna;" were they also *θεοτόκοι*? At first the Latin Church accepted the Greek word without translating it—like "Amen," or "Jehovah." Pope Leo changed the word into Genetrix. Ephraim of Theopolis translated the phrase back again into *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ*, adding that "Leo was the first person to call Mary 'the Mother of God'; which none of the Fathers before him had done." The Roman edition of the Councils changed the word *theotokos* into the newly coined "Mother of God," and Baluzius the editor says apologetically, "Who doubts that this is a good interpretation?" (Tyler's *Worship of the Virgin*, p. 319). [J. T. T.]

MUSIC, IN CONNECTION WITH CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.—No account of Christian music can be altogether dissociated from the view of ritual, and the history of its development in the service of the Christian Church.

It is impossible to take even the most cursory view of the sacred Scriptures without being struck with the marked contrast between the Old Testament and the New in the matter of ritual observances. The Old Covenant is full of them. They enter largely into the very substance of its religion. Directions concerning them abound. They are rooted in the soil of Judaism. The Temple at Jerusalem, and its courts with their sacrifices, and their continual sacerdotal ministrations, are ever before our view when we turn to contemplate the worship of God's people in the older dispensation.

But we scan the writings of the New Testament, and we find these things, and things such as these, *nowhere*. They have no place. No directions for any ceremonial observances, no ritual ordinances are to be found. And we

can hardly be surprised if we find this very striking change affecting, to some extent, the matter of Christian music, and the use of musical instruments in the worship of the Christian Church.

But here, before we go farther, it concerns us very much to observe that the early Christians were taught to know that the absence of attractive ritual was not to be set down merely to their present poor, despised condition in the world—a condition which made this lack of ceremonial a necessity for them. They recognised *simplicity* as that which was *suitable* for the worship of God's people in the Christian Revelation. (See *Light from History on Christian Ritual*, N.P.C.U., pp. 40, 81, 82.) The treatise "De Baptismo," there quoted, is generally allowed to have been written by Tertullian before he became a Montanist. See Bishop Kaye's *Eccl. Hist. of Second and Third Centuries*, pp. xv. 32 (*Works*, vol. i.). They learnt to turn away from, to shun, and even to abhor everything that they regarded as Jewish in their worship. And they recognised the distinction between the two Covenants as requiring a marked change in the ideas of divine service. In this we cannot doubt that they were right. The τετέλεσται of Calvary, the finished work of divine redemption, had opened a way by which believers passed at once from under the yoke of legal and ceremonial bondage into the glorious liberty of the sons of God—a liberty in which typical shadows had no place, and in which the true worshippers were to worship God in spirit and in truth. On their standing-place in grace Christians might indeed very well admit a certain modest observance of such outward ceremonial observances as might be made ancillary helps (adjuncts, movable and variable) to united devotion, and might secure that all things should be done decently and in order; but they could never find place for any such rites and ceremonies as might claim admission on the ground of their forming any part of the true substance of Christian religion.

And it was only natural that the clear perception of this strongly marked distinction, in the matter of ritual, between the Jewish and the Christian dispensation, should have had its influence on the matter of the use of music in the Christian Church. If simplicity in the matter of ceremonial was a fitting characteristic of Christian worship, it would follow almost as a matter of necessity that simplicity also should mark that which was suitable for Christian song.

There is, however, an important observation which should be made as affecting our subject in this connection. Israel's music was older than Israel's law. The history of Israel's song is to be traced up to a time before Israel had come to Sinai, before the ordinances of the law had been promulgated. It was the utterance of the thankful praise of the redeemed people, when they stood on the other side of the Red Sea, when the sister of Aaron, and all the women with timbrels and dances, answered the joyous song of a multitude just brought out by the power of their God from the bondage of Egypt, making their voices to sound aloud in the chorus, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea" (Exod. xv. 21).

Moreover, in later times, the development of musical art in the history of the Jewish Church did not come out of the obedience to any ceremonial injunction contained in the law. There are no such injunctions to be found there at all.[1] It came out of the pious devotion of believing hearts, exercising themselves in the endeavour to give suitable expression to the grateful joy and joyous praise which should animate the souls of the elect people of God (see *Light from History*, pp. 14, 16).

Nay, more than this; we should not fail to mark how, in the inspired Scriptures of God, we find the Holy Spirit setting this—the heart's music (even its instrumental music as an organ of spiritual utterance of praise), which rested on no commandment given on Sinai—on a higher level than the thanksgiving offerings which were strictly enjoined among the cere-

[1] The blasts of the trumpets which were ordained in the law, formed no part of the instrumental music of the Service of Praise. They were for a different purpose (see Edersheim, *Temple*, &c., pp. 53, 142, 143, 252, 253). The sound of the trumpet was rather the call as of God's voice to the people than the voice of the people's praise to God (see *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iv. pp. 599, 605). If an exception is to be made in the use of trumpets recorded in 2 Chron. v. 12, 13; vii. 6; xxix. 27, 28, it must be remembered that this use was no original ordinance of *the law*, but was a royal commandment sanctioned or authorised "of the Lord by His Prophets." (See 1 Chron. xv. 16; xxiii. 5; 2 Chron. xxix. 25; Ezra iii. 10; Neh. xii. 45–47. See also *Light from History*, pp. 14, 15, and Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 443, 444; also Elliott in *Speaker's Commentary* on Ps. xcviii. 6.) The "shofar" was used to summon the people to attention. It is first mentioned at the giving of the law in Exod. xix. In time of war it summoned the army. (See Hastings, *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii. p. 462. See also Kay on Psalm xxvii. 6; xxxix. 15.)

monial observances of the law.[1] Witness the words of the sixty-ninth Psalm: "I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify Him with thanksgiving. And it shall please the Lord better than an ox or a bullock that hath horns and hoofs" (vers. 30, 31). And add from the seventy-first Psalm: "I will also praise Thee with the psaltery, even Thy truth, O my God: unto Thee will I sing praises with the harp, O Thou Holy One of Israel" (ver. 22). It should be observed, however, that even in the service of the Jewish Temple, instrumental music was held to be only for the purpose of sustaining the song. The Service of Praise was *only* that which was *with the voice* (see Edersheim, *Temple*, &c., p. 52).

And this makes it all the more observable, that the feelings of the early Christians, desiring to mark the contrast between the Old Dispensation and the New, led some of them, in their rejection of all that was Jewish, not only to seek simplicity in ritual, but also in seeking simplicity in the matter of musical art, to reject all use of musical instruments, and to content themselves (speaking generally) with simple singing (τὸ ἁσαι ἁπλῶς) as the best expression of spiritual praise and thanksgiving.[2] And it is an interesting inquiry, which (though it would be outside our purpose to investigate fully) we cannot altogether pass over: What was the simple singing of the early Christian Church?

When we read of our Blessed Lord's "singing an hymn" with His disciples after the institution of the Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. 30), it is generally agreed that we are to understand the intoned recitation of Psalms 115, 116, 117, 118, which formed the second part of the Paschal Hallel, and which, according to Jewish custom, was sung or chanted at the conclusion of the Passover Supper. And when we find St. Paul admonishing the Ephesians that their Christian enthusiasm is not to be stimulated by the intoxication of wine, but by the filling of the Spirit, "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody (or music) in your hearts to the Lord," we are not, of course, to have our thoughts turned towards anything very like what we are accustomed to speak of as hymn-singing. If the word ψάλλοντες is taken to include (as it naturally should) the use of some instrumental accompaniment—the language employed must be understood as implying variety in the use of such chantings of Psalms, with perhaps rhythmical and poetical paraphrases of portions of Holy Scripture which were in use among God's people (see Bingham, book xiv. ch. i. § xvii., and Eadie on Ephes., 411). And all was to be done—to use Bishop Moule's words—"not as 'music worship' (God forbid), but as worship full of music, paid to the remembered, adored, loved, present Lord" (*Ephesian Studies*, p. 277).

But, while we have evidence that some sort of antiphonal song was in use in the early ages of the Christian Church, we can hardly be mistaken in coming to the conclusion that the Psalmody of these *earliest* Christians was, speaking generally, like their ritual, of a very simple kind, mostly something of an unartificial chant, and commonly, in some parts of the Empire at least, without any help from musical instruments (see Bingham, book xiv. ch. i. § xv., and *Light from History*, pp. 38–42). Moreover, it would appear that the singing which was approved in the early Church was always, or generally, congregational singing (see *Light from History*, p. 36).

It is not to be wondered at that, with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, a great change came over the Christian Church—a change which speedily made itself remarkable in many particulars. What had been outcast

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[1] "The Prophet David having therefore singular knowledge, not in poetry alone, but in music also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the house of God, and left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely indited poems, and was further the author of adding unto poetry melody in public prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental for the raising up of men's hearts, and the sweetening of their affections towards God" (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, book v. ch. xxxviii. § 2).

[2] The organ was never adopted among the Greeks or Orientals. Chrysostom regarded musical instruments generally as only permitted in the Old Testament worship on account of the weakness of the Jews. Theodoret uses similar language. And a treatise formerly attributed to Justin Martyr, but really written after the conversion of the Empire, says expressly, that whereas instruments were allowed in the Temple, only singing without instruments is permitted in Christian Churches (see Bingham, *Antiquities of Christian Church*, book viii. ch. vii. § 14). "The Greeks and Russians at this day rigidly follow the same rule" (see *Catholic Dict.*, p. 682). The objection to the use of any musical instruments could only have rested on the broad general principle of cultivating simplicity, and avoiding what might lead to meretricious attractions in divine service. Hooker truly observed, "They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental music, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must show some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other" (*Eccl. Pol.*, book v. ch. xxxviii. § 2).

and despised now became fashionable and admired. There was room now for the display of Christian Art. Architecture could show what was magnificent and gorgeous in the building of churches. And the interior of Christian churches began to show what was attractive and beautiful in the ceremonial of Christian worship. And as a natural consequence, while the antipathy to everything Jewish was still fostered in the hearts of Christians, the Christian Church was more and more, by continual onward steps of progress, becoming more and more assimilated to something more or less corresponding to a Jewish law of ceremonies. The simplicity of its original worship was being overlaid with the elaborations of ritual—all of human device, but by degrees tending towards the making of a claim to be accounted sacred with a sacredness almost as, in some sense, divine (see *Light from History*, pp. 82–86). And this change undoubtedly had a tendency to affect the psalmody and the hymnology of the Church, hardly, however, with a movement which carried it along always *pari passu* with the progress of ritual.

There are three particulars in the history which demand a little special attention.

1. The first important change in the Christian use of music is due, as generally acknowledged, to Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, towards the close of the fourth century. But, strange as it may seem, there is considerable difficulty in defining wherein exactly the Ambrosian music differed from that which had been in previous use. It is known that his method was borrowed from the East; and it has been supposed that "secundum morem orientalium partium" means *antiphonally*, the people joining in (see Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. p. 1744). But it does not appear that he was the first to introduce antiphonal singing into the West.[1] It must suffice us here to observe—what will be generally allowed—that Ambrosian music was rhythmical, and that its strains were melodious with a melody such as was unknown before in the use of the Western Church.[2] There seems no reason to doubt that, before this, in the time of Basil the Great, Psalms—not songs—had been instrumentally accompanied, and that the music of the Psalms was probably as elaborate at times as the condition of musical art permitted (Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. p. 1746). But what it concerns us specially to note in this connection is the effect produced upon St. Augustine when he heard these new strains at Milan. He was moved at the time even to tears. And afterwards he could not but acknowledge that the result *might be* wholesome and profitable. Nevertheless, he looked with evident apprehension to the future of these innovations. He dreaded the effect of bringing into the worship of God that which ministered delight to the natural carnal heart of man. And he sometimes felt that it was a thing to be desired that there should be banished from his ears, and from the ears of the Church itself, the sweet melody of those chants with which the Psalms of David were then performed (see *Light from History*, pp. 41, 42). And he judged it safer to follow the oft-repeated recommendation of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, who would have the Psalms chanted with such a moderate inflexion of the reader's voice as should make the utterance more like distinct speaking than melodious singing ("ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti").

2. For the next important point in our history, we have to take a step forwards of about two hundred years. We come to the time of Pope Gregory the Great. But we must not suppose that Gregory's work was altogether to add to the artistic attractiveness of the music of St. Ambrose. In the interval of two hundred years the tendency which St. Augustine had so dreaded had indeed been manifesting its dangerous results. Innovations had been gradually coming in from the corruptions of paganism rather than of Judaism. It has been said, "The simplicity and plainness of the Ambrosian chants had been overlaid with frivolous embellishments, so that there was little difference between secular music and sacred. Gregory changed all this.

[1] Duchesne, following Theodoret, considers that antiphonal singing was introduced at Antioch in the time of Bishop Leontius (*Christian Worship*, p. 114, S.P.C.K.). Much earlier appears to have been the *Psalmus Responsorius*, which was a Psalm chanted as a *solo*, the congregation taking up the last modulations of the chant (*ibid.* p. 58). But there is some reason to believe that antiphonal singing had been in use in the service of the Jewish Temple (see Edersheim, *Temple*, &c., p. 57). And it need not, therefore, be supposed that it was altogether unknown in the Christian Church before the middle of the fourth century. Augustine, indeed, appears to regard antiphonal singing as due to Ambrose. But Theodoret traces it to Antioch (ii. 24), and Socrates ascribes it to Ignatius (vi. 8), while Nicephorus Callistus (xiii. 8) says that the practice had been received by tradition from the Apostles. See Eadie on Ephes., p. 409, who says, "Λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς, different from λέγοντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς, may, perhaps, signify 'in responsive chorus,' or *dicere secum invicem*, as Pliny's letter describes it."

[2] On the subject of the changes made by Ambrose, the reader may be referred to the article HYMNS in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, as well as to that on AMBROSIAN MUSIC.

His aim was to simplify the music of the Church, regarding, as he did, all rhythmic singing as too light and frivolous for the purpose of worship" (Schaff-Herzog, vol. iii. p. 1600). It should be added that whereas the Council of Laodicea had thought right to confine the music to the choirs[1] and forbid congregational singing, Gregory set himself against such prohibitions and restored to the congregation their right (*ibid.*). Canisius says of Gregory that he "composed and arranged and constituted the *Antiphonarium* and Chants used in the morning and evening service." He also established schools at Rome for musical education, which he often visited to hear or to lead the singing (*ibid.*).

The general character of Gregorian music is pretty well known. It is supposed that in the so-called Gregorian *tones* we have preserved a close approximation to the ancient hymnody of the Jewish Temple (see Edersheim, *Temple*, &c., p. 57). Those who desire, from a professional point of view, to investigate particulars, may be referred to Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, under the title MUSIC, vol. ii. pp. 1346 *seq.*, as well as to the article PLAIN CHANT in *Catholic Dictionary*.

It may be added that Augustine the monk appears to have brought with him, in his mission to England, some singers who taught the Gregorian method in Kent. And Bede informs us that exertions were made in several instances to spread this over England. But before this, it has been supposed that music was unknown in the early British Church, which seems to have made no provision for a choir (Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. p. 1364). There are indications, however, that considerable pains were bestowed upon the singing of the ancient English Church, and Gildas praises the sweetness of the British Chant (*ibid.*, p. 1744).

3. It remains that something should be said concerning the introduction of organs into the use of the Christian Church—and this in connection with further advances in the elaboration of musical art.

Organs were long under a ban as Judaical accessories not to be admitted into the Christian service (see Suicer, *s.v.* Ὄργανον, and Bingham, book viii. ch. vii. § 14). Such instruments were not unknown, indeed, in the time of Augustine; and history tells us something of their finding their way into the palaces of emperors. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that, as time went on, they occasionally found their way into some of the larger and more magnificent churches, though not, it is believed, into any but monastic churches in England. The evidence, however, of their occasional use comes down to us sometimes in the midst of voices restraining their use,[2] sometimes among sounds of warning against their misuse, sometimes amid words of more decided disapproval, sometimes along with the expression of strong, not to say violent, objections to their admission (see *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 683).[3] And it is remarkable that even in the darkness of the Middle Ages a certain feeling against them continued strong quite up to the time of Aquinas, who regarded them as suitable and useful for Jews, but (to say the least) of doubtful profit and dangerous tendency for Christians (see *Light from History*, p. 40).

But the progress of ritual in the way of Judaical or pagan accessories was now nearly reaching a point at which Christianity was apparently being reduced to a ceremonial law. Magnificent cathedrals, gorgeous pageants, splendid spectacles, were the prominent fea-

[1] This canon, however, is understood by Bingham to have been intended only as a temporary provision, for the purpose of reviving the ancient Psalmody (book iii. chap. vii. § 2).

[2] It is quite possible, however, that in the language of the Council of Cologne, the word *organa* may be used in a generic sense, including all sorts of musical instruments (see *Light from History*, p. 44).

[3] Platina ascribes to Pope Vitalian, in the latter half of the seventh century, the introduction of organs into churches. But there are those who would give it a higher antiquity (see Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. p. 1524). Others, however, with stronger confidence, regard its use as more recent, and reject as a fable what is said of Vitalian (see *Cath. Dict.*, p. 682, and Bingham, book viii. chap. vii. § 14). "The first epoch which distinguishes the antique organ from the mediæval one, viz., the invention of the keyboard, is very nearly synchronous with that which distinguishes antique from mediæval music, the invention of the stave, being about the end of the eleventh century" (Smith and Cheetham, vol. ii. p. 1522).

Bingham's assertion may be too sweeping, but the natural inference from the words of Aquinas certainly leads to the conclusion that, in his day, the organ had clearly not won for itself a place of general approval, much less an established position in the services of the Christian Church. Lorinus, who claims the higher antiquity for the use of organs, asserts, "Pontifex in Capella et graves quidem religiosi eorum abstinent usu" (see Smith and Cheetham, vol. iv. p. 1524). Du Cange says, "Organa vero habuisse Veronensem Ecclesiam Carolo M. imperante docent aliquot chartæ descriptæ ab Ughello" (tom. iv. p. 734, s.v. *Organum*).

tures of an age in which Christianity itself was wallowing in the mire, debased with a debasement which history might well shrink from recording. There had been a time, indeed, when the Romish Church had seemed to be mindful of the warning of St. Augustine. It had retained a comparative simplicity in worship, and had not yielded to the sensuous innovations which were filling the Churches of the West (see *Light from History*, pp. 26–29).[1] But the prevailing flood before this had overflowed its banks, and Rome had become the hot-bed of evil, the Papacy was now the grand centre of ceremonial, and the stronghold of religious and moral degradation.

And we need not wonder that in the midst of all this growing corruption the warning voice of St. Augustine had been drowned by the sounds of the organ, and the music of the Church was becoming depraved. Restraints, indeed, had from time to time been laid upon its exercise. We are told that even in the fourteenth century a bull of John XXII. had insisted on the strict observance of plain-song, confining the use of concords to the great festivals. Yet, before the Council of Trent, all such authority had been practically defied and habitually disregarded.[2] Dr. Dykes states that no musical abuses of modern times are comparable to those which existed three centuries ago. Every sort of excess was committed with the plain-song. Secular ditties were introduced, and . . . it is a fact that there were at least one hundred masses in common use founded on the tune of a common ballad, "The Armed Man" (see Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, 2nd ed., p. 257). Indeed, such had become the depraved style of Church music, that a commission was appointed by Pius IV. to advise whether or not music should be allowed in the churches. And we are assured that the decision of the question was long doubtful. Finally, however, it was decided that music should be allowed, owing, it is said, to the influence on Carlo Borromeo of the Mass of Pope Marcellus (see Schaff-Herzog, vol. iii. p. 1601, and *Light from History*, pp. 41, 42).

This state of things could not but be affected by the Reformation. The difference between the Old Covenant and the New was once more proclaimed by the trumpet voice of the Gospel. But we should err indeed if we were to suppose that the Reformers rejected or neglected the use of Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. The singing, indeed, which they cultivated was congregational singing. And the songs of Zion sung with loud voice by multitudes making melody in their hearts to the Lord—to the Lord whose message of glad tidings they had received from those who taught, indeed, no new doctrine, but told "the old, old story" of Redeeming love — these songs were a power in the cause of the Reformation. Luther gave much time and attention to popular music, and published a book of hymns. It was received with avidity, and the air became full of the sound of sacred song. Cardinal Cajetan said of Luther, "By his songs he has conquered us" (see Schaff-Herzog, vol. iii. p. 1601). The "infectious frenzy of sacred song," as it was called, became almost coextensive with the Reformation.

In England we find Bishop Jewel writing thus to Peter Martyr in 1560: "Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in Church music has very much conduced to this. For as soon as they had once commenced singing in public (*cani publice*) in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the service, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note" (*Zurich Letters*, i. p. 71, P.S.).

It need not be maintained that there was perfect unanimity among our Reformers and Reforming divines as to particular details in the application of the warning and advice of St. Augustine. But a general agreement there was as to the principles on which all questions should be determined in the matter of what was desirable to be encouraged, and what should be decidedly discouraged, in the use of

[1] Dr. Batiffol says that the office of Amalarius excluding metrical hymns was in agreement with the traditional use alike of Lyons, the Imperial Chapel, and the Roman Church (see *Hist. of Breviary*, p. 188, E.T.). The Roman influence was opposed to the admission of the Benedictine hymnal; but this influence gave way in the ninth century, and was followed in the tenth century by the influence of Cluny (*ibid.* p. 189).

[2] An author of Queen Mary's days, quoted by Dr. Wordsworth (*Eccl. Biog.*, vol. iii. p. 36), speaks of "an unholy Mass of the Holy Ghost, rolled up with descant, prick-song, and organ, whereby men's hearts are ravished wholly from God, and from the cogitations of all such things as they ought to pray for" (See Ridley's *Works*, P.S., p. 511).

music and singing in the Christian Church. (See *Light from History*, p. 37, and *Ritual, its Use and Misuse*, E. Stock, p. 18. See also especially Durel's *Vindiciæ*, pp. 315–322, London, 1699).

The hearts of worshippers were to be attracted, not to the delights of music, but to the joy of faith. Christians were to beware of the influence which would so debase the service of God as to make it minister to that which is fascinating to the natural heart of man, bidding it wait upon the love of what is luxurious in life, attractive to every sense, a delight for the eyes, a treat for the ear, a pleasing exercise for the mind, a soothing draught for the conscience. Strangers and pilgrims here, we may not think to live on earth as if earth were our heaven. The Church Militant on earth may not seek to forget her lot of affliction, nor to put away from her the garments of her widowhood. Alas! for the Church which in the midst of the æsthetic delights of ritual which is lovely, and music which she calls heavenly, is learning to exchange the widow's cry for the world's song—"I am rich, and increased in goods, and have need of nothing." Yes, alas! indeed, for this is surely the Church which has to learn that she is the wretched one, and miserable, and poor and blind and naked. And here, certainly, is one of the Church's great dangers in a time when religion of some sort has become fashionable, and it costs nothing to make profession of Christianity.

But, on the other hand, for believing souls who know "the joyful sound," who have been called to sit down together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, receiving the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls—should we forbid them to show forth their joy unspeakable and full of glory—to give expression to the praises of their souls in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, joining in faith with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven to laud and magnify God's glorious name? Surely, we may say, to do this would be to extinguish one of the means of grace, and to keep souls bound in sadness on earth, which should be rising up on eagles' wings, in joyous faith, to heaven. In this matter, for so much as this, it will probably be allowed that the Churches of the Reformation were agreed.

While there were, no doubt, some among our English Reformers who would have preferred to follow the example of "Reformed Churches" on the Continent in rejecting all use of instruments, there were none, it may be affirmed with some confidence, who would not have willingly subscribed to the dictum of Hooker: "In Church music curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions, which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do than add either beauty or furtherance unto it" (*Eccl. Pol.* book v. chap. xxxviii. § 3). [N. D.]

MYSTERIES.—The word appears to be used in the New Testament to denote that which was originally hidden, but afterwards revealed by God (see Rom. xi. 26; xvi. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 51). "The mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. xiii. 11–52) were the divine truths which our Lord taught the people in parables, but expounded to His disciples. The admission of the Gentiles into the Church on an equal footing with the Jews is spoken of as "the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began" (Rom. xvi. 25), but manifested by the preaching of the Gospel as predicted by the prophets (Rom. xvi. 26; 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. i. 9, 10; iii. 3–9). The "mystery of the Gospel" (Eph. vi. 19; Col. i. 26, 27) includes the union of Christ and His people which is typified by marriage (Eph. v. 32), in which text the word "mystery" is mistranslated in the Douay Version by "sacrament." A secret revealed by God is termed "a mystery" in Rom. xi. 26; 1 Cor. xv. 51; and an allegorical representation is also spoken of under similar language in Rev. i. 20; xvii. 5. The word "mystery" was used in post-apostolic times to express what is symbolical or sacramental, *e.g.*, in the Church of England Office for the Holy Communion, "these holy mysteries" signify the bread and wine regarded as symbolising Christ's body and blood. In ecclesiastical language the sacraments came to be styled "mysteries," because the *real simplicity* of the elements used in those rites was kept *concealed* from the heathen (see Bishop Fitzgerald, *Lectures on Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 183). In the same way the "mystical Body" of Christ means the Church as distinguished from His literal and glorified body. The sacraments themselves are never called "mysteries" in Holy Scripture. Some, indeed, assert that they are, quoting 1 Cor. iv. 1, where St. Paul speaks of ministers as "stewards of the mysteries of God," but the "mysteries" there spoken of are those doctrines to which our Lord refers in Matt. xiii. 11; Mark iv. 11; Luke viii. 10. [M. E. W. J.]

NATIONAL CHURCH.—The Church of a country or nation. In the fourth century Constantine divided the Roman Empire, which

was conterminous with the civilised world, into fourteen "Diœceses," each of which, says Gibbon, "equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom" (chap. xvii.). Each was ruled for administrative purposes by a prefect or vice-prefect, and was itself divided into more or fewer "Provinces." The fourteen Diœceses were those of (1) The East (so-called), with Antioch for its capital; (2) Egypt, with Alexandria for capital; (3) Asia (so-called), with capital Ephesus; (4) Pontus, capital Cæsarea; (5) Thrace, capital Heraclea (afterwards Constantinople); (6) Macedonia, capital Thessalonica; (7) Dacia, capital Sardica; (8) North Italy, capital Milan; (9) South Italy, capital Rome; (10) Illyria, capital Sirmium; (11) Africa, capital Carthage; (12) Spain; (13) Gaul; (14) Britain.

It was the practice of the Church to conform her external regimen, so far as she was able, to the political constitution of the countries in which she was, and she accordingly formed fourteen Diœcesan Churches, one for every civil Diœcese. Each of these Churches was ruled by its own chief bishop, who bore the name of Patriarch, Exarch, or Primate (all of which were equivalent in meaning), and generally lived, like the prefect, in the capital; in the metropolis of each of the Provinces into which the Diœceses were divided there was stationed a Metropolitan, subject to the Primate; and the smaller units into which each Province was again civilly and ecclesiastically divided were supervised ecclesiastically by bishops, who were suffragans of the Metropolitan. The only exception to this order was that Spain, Gaul, and Britain, while they had bishops and Metropolitans like the other Diœceses, had no primates of their own, unless the bishops of Seville, Lyons, and Caerleon are to be so regarded.

All the Diœcesan Churches were autonomous and independent wholes; and yet not independent in such sense that they had nothing in common, and stood in no relation to each other. They were united by the bond of love shed abroad in the hearts of all true Christians by the indwelling Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which made them regard each other as sister Churches, joined to their one Head and to one another by the one Spirit and by their common faith, which was therefore called "Catholic," because held by all alike. If any question arose as to what was the common or Catholic faith, there lay an appeal to a Council consisting of the delegates of all the Churches assembled for consultation, who coming, as they did, from all parts of the world, and bringing with them their several testimonies, might be expected to arrive at a true conclusion on the point at issue.

The equality of the fourteen Churches into which Christendom was thus divided was disturbed by the claims of the two great Sees of Rome and Constantinople for higher consideration. At first it was rather the pride of the Roman Emperors than the ambition of the Roman Bishops which pushed Rome forward. Gratian, A.D. 378, and Valentinian, A.D. 445, felt that their dignity required that *their* bishops should be regarded more highly than others, and they gave them a right to receive appeals from the other bishops of the Western Empire, whence they obtained an undefined authority over them. This privilege, derived from the civil ruler, they were authorised to exercise until the overthrow of the Roman power in France and Spain by the Franks and Goths, and the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, when the rights granted by the now fallen imperial throne necessarily ceased in those countries. The second and fourth Œcumenical Councils having recognised that it was but right that the bishops of the city in which the Emperor lived and the Senate sat should derive honour from their presence, Constantinople, which was also the seat of the Emperor, would not be left behind Rome, and to satisfy her, the Council of Chalcedon—the fourth Œcumenical Council—decreed that she, too, should be honoured in like manner, and for a like reason; and to balance the Imperial grant to the Bishops of Rome, it gave to the See of Constantinople authority over the three Diœcesan Churches of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, with a right of receiving appeals from any part of the Church.

But in spite of these encroachments in favour of the two great Sees, the Diœcesan constitution of the Church still continued till the Diœceses were most of them overrun and occupied by the barbarians who pressed in on the falling Roman Empire. As soon as the barbarous tribes were settled and Christianised, the Nations thus formed took the place of the Diœceses, and National Churches of Diœcesan Churches.

The National Churches still retained the autonomy or independence that the Diœcesan Churches had enjoyed, and the Canons of the Œcumenical Councils (*e.g.* Canons v. vi. of Nicæa; ii. iii. vi. of Constantinople; i. viii. of Ephesus; ix. xvii. xxviii. xxx. of Chalcedon), commanding and guaranteeing Diœcesan autonomy, applied now to the National Churches.

How carefully autonomy was guarded may be seen in the history of the Spanish Church. Spain, as we have seen, had no Primate, but it was constituted and governed under its five Metropolitans. The most prominent of these was at first the Bishop of Seville. But when the Gothic kings took up their residence at

Toledo, they insisted on Toledo being raised, first to the Metropolitan dignity (A.D. 610), and then still higher. In 681 the Metropolitan of Toledo was accepted as Primate of Spain by the twelfth and thirteenth Councils of Toledo, representing both the Church and the State of Spain. Both before and after that event the Church of Spain was equally firm in maintaining its independence. In 553 the fifth Œcumenical Council was held. The Spanish Church was not represented at it, and the Council's decrees were not submitted to it for consideration; therefore it refused to admit them into the Church's Code, though not objecting to them, or to their teaching. The Canons of the sixth Œcumenical Council, A.D. 680, were submitted to that Church, and were sent by the Primate to the several Metropolitans for consideration in Synod. They were approved, and therefore the decrees of the sixth Council was admitted into the Code of the Spanish Church. But in admitting it the Primate thought it right to state his views on the subject which had been discussed at the Council, and his views were thrown into the form of canons by the fourteenth Council of Toledo. Two years later Pope Benedict II. ventured to object to some of the statements contained in them, as at least incautious. The Spanish Primate, Julian, at once convened the fifteenth Council of Toledo, which endorsed all that the previous Council had said, and told the Bishop of Rome that Spanish Churchmen would "follow the steps of their ancestors," however much "ignorant rivals might be displeased." The Italian Primate shrank from measuring his strength with the Spanish Primate, behind whom stood the Church of the Nation, with its power as yet unbroken by the Moorish invasion, and the affair blew over; but it shows how greatly National Churches valued the independence which they had inherited from the Diocesan Churches, and from the primitive constitution of the Church, and how unconscious men were in the seventh century (before the False Decretals had been forged) of any theory of Church unity which militated against the autonomous character of National Churches.

The same lesson is taught by the early history of our own Church. The spirited answer of the British bishops to Augustine, ignoring and repudiating the papal and all foreign jurisdiction, is well known. The Anglo-Saxon Church also retained its autonomy unalloyed down to the time of the Norman Conquest. Then there was brought in from France a new idea, based on the False Decretals, which, having been forged in the ninth century, had now affected belief in France and Italy—their spurious character not being demonstrated till the fifteenth century. This idea was that of the monarchical character of the constitution of the Church, and it was adopted the more readily at the time of the Norman Conquest in consequence of the prevalence of the Feudal System, introduced into England by William I. Still, in spite of errors on the part of archbishops, misled by the False Decretals, and in spite of the weakness of such kings as John and Henry III., the Church and nation stubbornly insisted on their autonomy, as is shown by the Statutes of Provisors, Præmunire, and the rest, in the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., and Richard II.; and when the time was come, they resumed their full ecclesiastical independence by the abolition of the Papal Supremacy in 1534. Her liberty of action being thus restored, the Church used it for the purpose of rejecting the mediæval doctrines which her subjection to the Papacy had led her to admit, and by the blessing of God she recovered the purity of faith which had been hers before it had been corrupted by too close a contact with the Papal Church during the Middle Ages.

A question has been asked, whether it is lawful for one National Church to reform itself apart from the other National Churches? The question shows an imperfect apprehension of the independent character of National Churches. It is adequately answered by Laud and Hooker. "Is it," says Archbishop Laud, "such a strange thing that a particular Church may reform itself if the general will not? Was it not lawful for Judah to reform herself when Israel would not join? To reform what is amiss in doctrine or manners is as lawful for a particular Church as it is to publish and promulgate anything that is Catholic. . . . I make no doubt but that as the universal Catholic Church would have reformed herself had she been in all parts free of the Roman yoke, so while she was, for the most part, in these western parts, under that yoke, the Church of Rome was, if not the only, yet the chief hindrance of Reformation. And then, in this sense, it is more than clear that if the Roman Church will neither reform nor suffer Reformation, it is lawful for any other particular Church to reform itself, so long as it does it peaceably and orderly, and keeps itself to the foundation and free from sacrilege" (*Conferences with Fisher*, § 24). And Hooker: "The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God. Even a desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty. With Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations" (*Eccl. Pol.*, iii.).

But while each National or particular Church is bound to reform herself as soon as she realises that her faith has become corrupted, the individual members of a Church, and indeed of any society, must regard the judgment of their Church or society, as being, to them, final. This is evidently the case as to forms and ceremonies, which, once instituted by a society, whether a Church or a club, are binding on each member of that society (see Article XXXIV.). It is also the case in matters of faith. The Church to which a man belongs declares, by what it says and by what it does not say, what is the true Christian faith. Her voice is to him the voice of the Church Catholic. Any appeal from her to the Catholic Church is in effect an appeal from her judgment to his own as to what is, or is not, the Catholic Faith. In the exercise of his private judgment he may differ from her on the point, but in that case he has no rightful place within her. [F. M.]

NAVE.—The body of the church is generally so termed. The word is sometimes derived from the Greek *νάος*, but with more probability from Latin *navis*, a ship, the comparison between the church and a ship going back to times as early as the sixth century, and probably even older.

NEOPHYTE.—A newly baptized person, or one newly received into the Church. Used by St. Paul in 1 Tim. iii. 6, where the A.V. has "a novice."

NESTORIAN CHURCH, THE.—Nestorian is really a misnomer or nickname for the descendants and remnant of that great Church which, beginning in the earliest Christian times in Mesopotamia, soon spread throughout Persia, and all the adjacent countries. Their official designation, *e.g.* in headings of the Patriarchs' letters, is "Easterns and Chaldeans"; *eastern*, however, to dwellers in Asia, conveys a different meaning from that which it bears to us, *the West* and *Westerns* to them being Syria and Western Syrians, while the more suitable name, Chaldean, is usurped by those former East-Syrians, who now form a Uniat Church with its centre in Mosul.

The traditional founders of this ancient Church were two of our Lord's seventy disciples, St. Addai, and St. Mari, who were sent after our Lord's Ascension to Abgar, King of Edessa, in response to the embassy he had sent to our Lord entreating Him to come and heal him, and offering Him half his kingdom. Abgar and many of his people accepted instruction and baptism, and the Gospel spread far and wide. St. Addai and his companion St. Aggai, returning to Edessa from missionary journeys, were successively slain by Abgar's heathen son and successor, while St. Mari went southward and became the first Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, capital of the Persian Empire. He died A.D. 82. Three hundred and sixty churches are said to have been erected during his lifetime.

Mari had sent his disciple, Abrosius, to greet the church at Antioch, and on his death the Eastern Christians sent to desire that Abrosius might be consecrated as their bishop. A strong connection between Antioch and Mesopotamia continued through the Middle Ages, but the custom of election by the flock and dependence on Antioch was after a time given up by Synodical permission, and the head of the Church of the East added the title of Patriarch to that of Catholicos, both of which are in use to this day. After the sack of Ctesiphon by the Arabs (A.D. 637), the seat of the Catholicos was at Baghdad.

The three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, are each subdivided thus:—

1. Catholici or Patriarchs.
2. Metropolitans.
3. Bishops.
4. * Chor-episcopi.
5. * Visitors.
6. Priests.
7. Deacons.
8. * Sub-deacons.
9. * Readers.

Those offices marked * are now obsolete.

The Sacraments or "mysteries" are generally counted as seven, probably from Western influence; they are variously reckoned by different writers, but usually as: (1) The Priesthood. (2) Baptism. (3) Unction. (4) Offering of the Body and Blood of Christ. (5) Absolution. (6) Holy Leaven. (7) The Sign of the Cross.

Martyrdom.—The missionary spirit and learning have ever been marks of the Church of the East. The persecution under Sapor II. (310–381) is counted one of the three great persecutions of the Christian Church, and the martyrologies of Syrian writers are too numerous to be mentioned here.

Syriac Literature, whether Nestorian or Jacobite, is for the most part ecclesiastical. It is characterised rather by patient assiduity than by original thought, and consists largely of translations from the Greek. Its earliest and most important work is the Peschitta, or "simple" version of the Bible, which probably dates back to the second century; other versions and many commentaries on Holy Scripture followed, and with much grammatical, lexicographical, and historical work continued till the eighth century, and feebly till the fourteenth, while many Nestorians, encouraged by the Caliphs of Baghdad, were, from the seventh to the tenth century, eminent in science, and through the knowledge of Greek medicine and philosophy

supplied by them to Mohammedan scholars, influenced the revival of learning in Europe.

The teaching of the school of Antioch was in great part a reaction against Apollinarianism, which was stronger in Asia than elsewhere. Theodore of Mopsuestia taught *conjunction* in reference to the two natures of the Christ, not *union*, the term decided on by the Catholic Church; his disciple, Nestorius, followed him in this, and was accused also of denying the title of Theotokos to the Blessed Virgin Mary. When Nestorius was excommunicated by the Council of Ephesus (431), the Eastern bishops took his side, and were cut off from communion with the orthodox. Nestorians to this day affirm that, as a matter of history, Nestorius was wrongfully judged.

The continued existence of Nestorianism was in great part due to the famous school of Edessa, the great Christian literary centre for all the neighbouring lands, Armenia, Syria and Persia; it was dissolved by the Emperor Zeno in 489 on account of its adherence to Nestorianism, and its scholars had twice previously been scattered. One of these, Barsumas, Bishop of Nisibis (435–489), had much influence with the Persian kings, and politically advanced his religious party, representing that the encouragement of religious variance would emphasise the distinction between the subjects of Persia and those of the Roman Empire. Hence, while the orthodox were proscribed in Persia, fugitives of Nestorian opinions were warmly received there; also the school of Nisibis carried on the traditions of Edessa under Barsumas and Narses, the latter of whom taught there for fifty years.

Heresy did not check the great missionary activity of the Church of the East. The celebrated stone monument of Siganfu records in Chinese and in Syriac that Nestorian bishops and priests were sent to China by successive Patriarchs from the year 636 to 781, while a later testimony to the thoroughness of their labours is that a Chinese Christian was considered worthy of election to the office of Catholicos, as Mar Jaballaha III. (1281–1317). The legends of Prester John current in Europe in mediæval times, refer to a Christian kingdom founded among the Tartars, and on the coast of Malabar the Christians of St. Thomas still exist to bear witness to their spiritual descent from the Nestorians, with whom they still have occasional relations. In the eleventh century, when the prosperity of the Church of the East reached its highest level, twenty-five Metropolitan Bishops of such far-apart sees as Balk, Samarcand, India, Arabia, China Cathay, and Turkestan owned allegiance to its Patriarch.

Even among the troubles of the invasion of Genghiskhan and his successors in the twelfth century, the Patriarchs frequently had some influence with the Mongol conquerors and mitigated their savagery. But after the devastations of the relentless Timurlane at the end of the fourteenth century, the Christian population was almost exterminated, and since then the Church of the East has never raised its head.

Present State.—The small remnant of this once powerful Church and nation, estimated at about 150,000, exists in a very feeble state among the mountains of Kurdistan, in a few neighbouring plains of Azerbaijan the most northerly province of Persia, and in the plain of Mosul. They suffer in both Persia and Turkey from Mohammedan misrule, and are harassed by the Kurds. They have, for the most part, appealed in vain to Western Christianity for help to maintain their existence as a Church and a people; a Dominican mission at Mosul has done good educational and literary work, but, with the usual policy of the Roman Church, has insisted on the abandonment of independence, and has formed a Uniat Church with the title Chaldean (1778). So strong, however, is their attachment to their own rites and customs, that Rome finds it necessary to allow their own liturgies, though to some extent tampered with, and the marriage of the clergy. The same policy is pursued by a Lazarist mission, which has its headquarters at Urmi.

An American mission, also at Urmi, begun by Dr. Grant in 1835, laid down as its rule that it would purify and revive, but not destroy, this ancient Church, but a later generation of missionaries has departed from this wise and pious determination, and while carrying on excellent educational and philanthropic work, results in Dissent and a consequent weakening of fibre.[1] They have good hospitals and schools both for boys and girls; even lately they have determined to give up the teaching of Old Syriac, so as to wean their pupils from their ancient liturgies and learning. They have well-printed translations of the Bible, and a parallel edition of the Old Testament in the old and modern languages, the work of their older missionaries.

Of late years Russia, which is slowly but surely grasping Northern Persia, made offers of protection which won many to join the Ortho-

[1] There were, however, very good reasons for this change of attitude on the part of the American missionaries, and we cannot agree with the mode in which work among the Nestorians has been conducted by the Mission set on foot by the Archbishop of Canterbury.—C. H. H. W.

dox Church, but her few missionaries have done little or nothing beyond causing a schism.

The Church of England mission, known as the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians, was first sent out in 1842, and was re-established by Archbishop Benson in 1886, in response to repeated and touching appeals from the Patriarch and other chief men to "the rich and blessed Church of England." Its aims are to strengthen the ancient Church, especially by the education of its clergy, and by encouraging village schools, by reviving and re-organising, while avoiding all proselytism. Its chief schools are at Urmi, where also Service Books, a Catechism, &c., have been printed. The liturgies had never before been printed in the original Syriac; by internal evidence they are pre-Ephesine and contain no trace of heresy. Diodorus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius are, however, commemorated in a long litany of later date, which is introduced into the sacred rite. The chief liturgy is called that of "the Apostles," *i.e.* of Mar Addai and Mar Mari.

By desire of the Patriarch one of the English missionaries resides near him at Qudshanis.

It is much to be regretted that the admirable work among the girls and women, of the Sisters of Bethany during eight years, was abruptly stopped in 1898, partly from want of funds.

Authorities.—Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol iv., Rome, 1728. Renaudot's *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716. Bar Hebræus' *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. Lamy, Paris, 1877. Badger's *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852. Maclean and Browne's *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, S.P.C.K. 1892. Duval, *Littérature Syriaque*, Paris, 1900. [J. P. M.]

NICE, COUNCIL OF.—See COUNCILS.

NICENE CREED.—The Nicene Creed obtains its name from the first Œcumenical Council in the history of the Church, which was held at Nicæa, in Bithynia, in the year 325. The crucial point in the Nicene discussions was the question whether Christ was to be described as "of like substance (*homoiousios*)," or "of the same substance (*homoousios*)," with the First Person of the Trinity. The complete victory of the Homoousian party, represented by Athanasius, finds expression in the declaration that Christ is "very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father."

The familiar formula commonly known as the Nicene Creed, or, more fully, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, as we find it in the Roman Missal or in the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer, is not the original creed which was drawn up by the 318 bishops of Nicæa. Nor, again, is it, as has traditionally been supposed, and as the name Niceno-Constantinopolitan would indicate, a revised form of that creed adopted by the Council of Constantinople in 381. The investigations of Caspari, Hort, Gwatkin, Harnack, and others have shown that this view has no real grounds of history to rest on. The Council of Constantinople adopted no new form of the Nicene Creed; the old form still firmly held its place. But alongside of it there had meantime been growing up in the East, through the dogmatic instincts of the Church in her struggles with varying shapes of heresy, an enlarged symbol, the germ of which is probably to be found in the baptismal formula of the Jerusalem Church. By the middle of the fifth century this longer creed had taken in the East the place of the original Nicene; but it was not till towards the middle of the sixth century that it began to find favour in the West. After that, however, it spread rapidly till it came into general use, and altogether supplanted the original creed of Nicæa. The chief differences between the new and the old form of the creed lay in the expansion of the clause with regard to the Holy Ghost, and the addition of the clauses referring to the Holy Catholic Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

At the Council of Toledo in 589, the Western Churches added the well-known *filioque* clause, which asserts the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father. From that time no further changes have been made in what is known as the Nicene Creed.

[J. C. L.]

NIMBUS (Latin, *nimbus*, a cloud or halo), is of purely heathen origin. Virgil describes Juno as *nimbo succincta*. The nimbus was supposed originally to envelope the whole body, but gradually the head only was represented as surrounded by a radiant circle which encircled the heads of both gods and emperors who claimed divine honours. In later times the nimbus was simply a distinguishing mark of honour, or of notoriety; therefore Satan and the Beast of the Apocalypse both appear with the halo in the work of the Byzantine artists. The nimbus began to be appropriated in Christian art about the sixth century. In Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, there is a copy of a mosaic, as late as that century, where the Archbishop Maximinius and the Emperor Justinian appear side by side, but the imperial head alone has the halo.

When the nimbus was introduced into Christian art, a curious distinction was made between saints departed and those still living. A circular halo adorned the head of the de-

parted saints, while the sanctity of the living saints was evidenced by a square-cornered, slightly elongated nimbus, resulting in an appearance more grotesque than dignified. See AUREOLE. [M. A.]

NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE.—Presence at the celebration of the Lord's Supper for the purpose of gazing and worshipping, but not receiving. This practice may be regarded (1) theologically, (2) historically.

(1) Theologically, the effect of such attendance, and, when people know what they are about, its purpose also, is to separate the two ideas of sacrifice and sacrament, and to change the sacrament of the Lord's Supper into a sacrifice of Christ to God by the priest, by witnessing which attendants may derive benefit, and by praying to the Christ whom the priest has brought down upon the altar. After these acts have been performed by the priest and by the gazer, there ensues another rite in which bread and wine are administered to the congregation or some of them, or partaken of by the priest alone, during which the non-communicants may continue their prayers until the bread has been all consumed, though indeed the obligation of Hearing Mass, as the practice is called in the Roman Church, is fulfilled by presence alone without prayer, and with little, if any, attention. The two rites of watching the alleged sacrifice of Christ and communicating at the Lord's Table, are essentially distinct. The communicant receives the symbols of Christ's body and blood, and receiving them faithfully, obtains the blessings brought by Christ's bloodshedding on the Cross, while he lifts his soul to heaven in prayer and thankfulness to Him who once died for him, and now sits at the right hand of God. The non-communicant gazes on the priest performing his sacrifice, and, if he pleases, prays to the host or bread which he supposes the priest has caused to become Christ, or to contain Him.

(2) Historically. The first time when men began to remain in the Church during Communion without communicating, was the fifth century. At that time there were men who ventured to do this in Constantinople, but their presumption met with the sharpest and severest lashing from St. Chrysostom, and the bad practice was amended. These men did not act as they did with the purpose that non-communicants have in the present day. They could not, for the idea of any Objective Presence of Christ in the elements was not broached till the ninth, nor adopted till the thirteenth, century. The action of the people of Constantinople probably proceeded from a careless negligence which led them, as they were unwilling to brace themselves up to a due preparation for reception, to make a compromise with themselves by remaining without communicating. Such is one of the temptations to which the practice is liable, and to which those who habitually use it are sure to succumb, while their attendance becomes more and more a merely mechanical act. When Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass were adopted, non-communicating attendance followed, on the ground of benefit to be derived from presence at the sacrifice of Christ. But it was not then called Non-communicating Attendance, it was called Hearing Mass, and it goes under that name in the unreformed Churches now. Probably the title Non-communicating Attendance was invented because Hearing Mass was an ill-sounding name in the ears of English Churchmen.

When the Church of England rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and the mass, non-communicating attendance went with them. On those doctrines creeping back again in their unscientific form of objective presence in the elements, it has been restored wherever the latter doctrine has been taught. In her Prayer Book of 1552, the Church of England warned her children against the practice. "Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you that to this unkindness ye will not add any more; which thing ye shall do if ye stand by, as *gazers and lookers on* them that do communicate, and be *no partakers* of the same yourselves. . . . What will this be else but a neglecting and despising and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than that ye should do so, *depart you hence*, and give place to them that be godly disposed." These words she repeated in 1559 and in 1604, using similar words in her Homilies of 1563. "Every one of us must be guests and not gazers, actors and not lookers on. . . . We must be ourselves partakers of this Table, and not beholders of others" (Hom. xv.). Her children listened to their mother's words and acted upon them The practice became so obsolete that it was not found necessary to repeat the exhortation at the revision of 1662. Nor for two hundred years after that date is an example of the practice found in the Church of England. Then it was reintroduced under the name of Non-communicating Attendance, and it is made use of (by those who know what they are doing) for inculcating the Adoration of the Sacrament.

The grossest form of the practice is that called Children's Eucharists, when children are brought to the Communion Service and taught to worship Christ, who, they are given

to understand, has been just made to descend upon the altar, and is now being offered by the priest. Some years ago a Children's Service Book was published by Mr. Woodward of Folkestone, which is used with edification in many churches. Mr. Woodward died. A second edition has been issued bearing the same title as before, but containing the Communion Service (with some interpolations from the Breviary), and hymns translated from Roman sources, teaching transubstantiation with such plainness that Bishop Andrewes selected the original of one of them to say of it that Zion shuddered at it and totally repudiated it. This book is sold by the thousand, with what results the next generation may see.

The truthfulness of statements made in the *Congregation in Church* may be judged by the following quotation: "The Church has always from the very earliest times commanded the presence of the faithful at the Holy Mysteries every Sunday as a thing *wholly distinct from actual reception*, and the Church of England has *never* in any of her formularies or directions given the slightest hint of anything different. . . . All baptized children should be taken to Holy Communion with great regularity as soon as they are old enough to sit still in church." The clergy who pause after the Prayer for the Church Militant, for non-communicants to retire, are told that they "act in direct contrariety to the rubrics and the spirit of the Prayer Book; nay, more, they countenance and encourage an insult to Almighty God, which is a scandal to any Church, and for which no words of condemnation can be too strong" (p. 47). "We are to be present at the celebration that we may worship God in His own appointed way, and that we may join in pleading for ourselves and for others the merits of the one great sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (p. 94). These strong words show what value those for whom the Manual is prepared place upon non-communicating attendance and children's Eucharists. *Fas est doceri.*

See on this subject Scudamore's *Communion of the Laity*, and Exposure of the Reply of the E.C.U. Tomlinson's "Hearing Mass" in *Tracts on Ritual*, or Tract LXXIII. of Church Association. [F. M.]

NON-JURING LEAVEN IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND OXFORD HIGH-ANGLICANISM.—The relation between the Non-Jurors of two centuries ago and the Oxford High-Churchmanship of to-day is a subject of much interest, and also of no little importance. Modern Oxford High-Anglicans sometimes seem to imagine that they fully account for the Tractarian Movement in all its developments, and at the same time entirely justify it, by asserting its direct lineal derivation from the Non-Jurors of 1688. Finding the Popery of James II., with all that it involved, too evil and pernicious to be endured, and therefore welcoming William III. as their deliverer from intolerable tyranny and destructive error, the Non-Jurors nevertheless refused to accept William as king, or as anything more than a sort of Regent for the time being, clothed with the royal executive power and jurisdiction. They took up this attitude on the ground that having subscribed the oaths of allegiance to James, they could not, for conscience' sake, violate those oaths by accepting William as their sovereign *de jure*. The incongruous and untenable position which Non-Jurors thus chose to occupy is luminously shown by Lord Macaulay, where, in his *History of England*, he has dealt with this period. But if any should seek for a more impartial judgment than that of a Scotch Whig like Macaulay, he may refer to Dean Plumptre's sympathetic biography of that most charming and Christian of Non-Jurors, Bishop Ken, which furnishes a mild but convincing view of the irreducible difficulties and contradictions in which that excellent and gifted prelate found himself entangled by the verbal quibbles and puzzles involved in this Non-Juring attitude. From the whole history it can hardly be doubted that he would have retreated from his false position on to the ground of sane logic and of common sense, if he had not found it beyond his power to extricate himself from his antecedents. He, therefore, silently accepted the disability he had imposed upon himself and declined controversy on this subject.

For the devout High-Churchman, to whom the memory of Charles I., and the principles of hereditary loyalty and of absolute submission to the anointed sovereign as the divinely appointed head of Church and State, were scarcely less sacred than the Christian creed, to accept a Dutch Presbyterian as the head of the English Episcopal Church could not but be a very bitter hardship—all the more so because of the memories of fanatical excesses and oppressions from which not a few loyal Churchmen had suffered during the Commonwealth, when Episcopacy was disallowed and a sort of latitudinarian Congregationalism, or else some form of continental Presbyterianism, was allowed precedence and privilege in the kingdom. Nevertheless, such Churchmen had found the tyranny of James II. a more intolerable yoke than even the rule of Cromwell, and the memories and records of the blind and cruel Popery of Philip and Mary had left behind for English Churchmen, a keener and stronger abhorrence of

Popery than their hatred of William's Dutch Presbyterianism. They now, moreover, saw that their only hope of deliverance form James's tyranny and the domination of Romish cruelty and superstition, was to be found in the wise and able Prince who had married James's daughter, and who ruled over Holland. Such was the dilemma of the Non-Jurors. Their attitude of passive disloyalty may be understood, and in a sense sympathised with, but can hardly be regarded as wise, or tenable as a practical policy. Its unreasonableness savoured of superstition. The party numbered some exemplary saints and many estimable adherents, but practical wisdom can hardly be attributed to them. A fatal weakness infected the whole party, scholarly as not a few among them were, and wise within certain limits. That the Primate and six of his suffragan bishops, and no fewer than 400 of the clergy, were counted among them, are facts which show how strong was sectarian prejudice in the evil times of the Stuart dynasty. Their religious opinions may be summarily described as a combination of Laudian principles in Church and State with an intense abhorrence of Popery. They had good reason to abhor the Popery which had plotted against Queen Elizabeth, and excommunicated both the Queen and Realm of England. The Non-Jurors, moreover, besides the Laudian grounds of antipathy against Popery, had the recent experience of the Popish blindness and the contemptible character of James II. to deepen and make still more intense their Protestantism.

If we compare the religious creed and sympathies or antipathies of the Non-Jurors with those of the early Oxford Leaders of our present-day Anglo-Catholicism, we may say that, in a general sense, the Tractarian Churchmen of Oxford have held opinions which seem to link them with the Laudian school of High-Churchmen, but that they differed greatly from them as respects their feelings towards Rome. The prime leaders and inspirers of Oxford Tractarianism, Newman and Froude, while they were stealthily inlaying in the minds of their Oxford intimate associates the first principles of their special High-Church inspiration, were already smitten with admiration for the Romish Church as such, and were longing for union with it. Dr. Pusey, also, long before his death, outwent the advances made by Newman and his confidential associates towards Rome while they remained within the Church of England, though he himself never left, nor meant to leave, but only to leaven the Church of England. Lord Halifax to-day is never weary of asserting, and commending to English Churchmen for acceptance, some of the characteristic principles of Popery, and of uttering aloud his longing desire for re-union with the Church of Rome.

So much as this is matter of plain history, but it is another question whether, within the precincts of the Oxford University itself, there has been preserved since the days of William III. and of his successor Queen Anne, a tradition and a line of doctrinal opinion and influence, which, though at one time it became feeble and faltering, never absolutely died out, and which has revived, so to speak, from its ashes during the last half century; and whether, accordingly, the present development of Romish ideas and Romanising activity, taken as a whole, may be said to be a natural English revival, derived from the Non-Jurors of two centuries ago.

That in the University of Oxford there has till recently, if not till now, been maintained more or less, a sympathetic veneration for the ideals of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, is scarcely to be questioned. Oxford was the chosen seat and centre of Charles's religious and political inspiration and influence. It was absolutely identified with his cause and his principles, absolutely identified not only with Charles, but with the Church of England of that age, which claimed him as its royal head, and with its masterful and all-powerful High-Church archbishop. Oxford stood for the hereditary monarchy and the national Church with its Episcopacy. It was an Anglo-Catholic stronghold. Cambridge was never so identified with ecclesiastical ideas. Oxford, in short, stood for hereditary monarchy in the Stuart line, and for Laudian High-Churchmanship. The University was the school for inspiring and training adherents of "high" principles in Church and State; its representatives had in this sense made its memory famous and its influence commanding. Its earnest adherents among bishops and clergy were counted by hundreds; its spell touched with something like awe the great majority of English people. The result upon the country as a whole was to inspire the nation generally with a horror of Popery, and at the same time a dislike of all forms of Dissent. The combination of these two deep-seated prejudices rendered, for a century or more after the Restoration, all thoughts of a generous and enlightened parliamentary policy of religious liberty for the nation vain—all proposals looking in that direction futile. Hence, the leaden materialism of the eighteenth century, during which no political measures of national enlightenment or modern largeness of thought and sympathy were possible, and the one great motive force for moral education and Christian progress was—as is now generally

acknowledged—the Evangelical Revival with which the names of Wesley and Whitfield are associated. The old fashions and habits of religious opinion and observance remained in the soil of the national life; they were the legally recognised religious and educational forms and forces of the country. Of these the University of Oxford was the chief source and centre. Cambridge was less famous and less influential; in particular, it was not a national school of religious conviction.

Oxford stood, as has been said, for Church and King, and in this relation had famous memories. It contributed the ground-tone for the religious convictions and activities of the nation. Canon Overton, who has probably studied more deeply and thoroughly than any-one else the history of the Non-Jurors, has shown us how powerful was the influence of the Non-Juring school of religious feeling both in England, and also—still more perhaps—in Scotland, during the greater part of the eighteenth century; and that by certain sections of the non-Jurors a separate clerical organisation, though of necessity loose and hard to keep alive, was maintained till the later years of the century. There was even a distinct line of Non-Juring bishops preserved for many years by voluntary zeal and sectarian feeling. The influence of this old Anglo-Catholic school of religious opinion has indeed as I shall try to show, never quite died out, and did undoubtedly help to gain for the Oxford High-Anglican movement, initiated sixty years ago, a favourable entrance into the University, during that introductory period of its history, especially, when it seemed to wear the aspect, not of advance to Rome, but of return to the ideals of such good men as Bishop Ken and Mr. Nelson, the saints whose memory and life fascinated the regard of several of the early Methodists at Oxford.

The history of the Wesley family, in this aspect of the question, is interesting and instructive. Samuel Wesley of Epworth and his accomplished wife, were both descended from an unbroken succession of staunch Puritans, Puritans who held Protestant Evangelical views as to Ordination and the Sacraments, and some of whom had suffered severely from High-Church persecution. But both Samuel Wesley and his wife, in their youthful days, in disgust with the spirit of Low Dissent, renounced the views of their Nonconformist parents and conformed to the Church of England, Samuel Wesley having left a Dissenting Academy to enter an Oxford College. The father, indeed, was not a Non-Juror or a Laudian High-Churchman; but his parishioners found him to be not only an enemy of Dissent but a strict disciplinarian, and set his parsonage on fire. He was a plain and strict High-Churchman. His wife, herself an accomplished woman — an admirable writer on theology holding the doctrinal views, in the main, of her noble and cultivated Nonconformist ancestors—nevertheless leaned so far to the Non-Juring side as to seriously disapprove of her husband taking the oaths of allegiance to William. Their sons all went to Oxford; Samuel, the eldest son, was through life a high Tory, and not without reason was suspected of Jacobite proclivities. He was not, however, a Non-Juror, but a moderate High-Churchman. John Wesley, when he entered the University, held views similar to those of his elder brother, and was of a bright and gay temper, and not "righteous overmuch." But he read Law's *Serious Call*, and became his disciple. For many years, Law, the Non-Juror, was to him as a prophet, and under his influence John Wesley, while at Oxford, became an extreme High-Churchman, holding views nearly resembling those held by Keble a century later, except that he did not believe in the "conversion of the elements in the Holy Supper," to use his own phrase, or sympathise with any degree of Mariolatry. It was not till years afterwards that Wesley came to abandon his High-Church views, or to understand and admire the eminent goodness of not a few of the persecuted Puritan Confessors in Stuart times. Charles Wesley admired and followed in his doctrine his brother John, but, with a poet's temperament, retained to his death his admiration for Charles I., and never, like his brother, became a broad Evangelical in his tolerance for orthodox Dissent and his sympathy with the best Puritanism of the Stuart period. When, in his *History of England*, John Wesley gave a discriminating estimate of Charles I., such as no Non-Juror or Jacobite could have accepted, Charles remonstrated with his brother on his too little favourable judgment of the "Martyr," and John made answer that he could not in conscience revise his estimate of the king, or "speak less evil of him." Notwithstanding what he afterwards spoke of as the "vehement prejudice" of his education, Wesley totally abandoned, in middle life, after reading Lord Chancellor King's book on the Primitive Church, and Archbishop Tillotson's writings on the same subject, all his old Oxford High-Church principles, as his whole subsequent course, his Journals, and in particular his Ordinations for America and Scotland abundantly prove. He did this, however, without becoming in any sense or degree a Dissenting Nonconformist.

It can be no wonder that such Churchmen as Bishop Ken and the saintly Nelson—and there were not a few other eminent saints

among the Non-Jurors, if not so illustrious as these—left behind them among serious Oxford Churchmen a godly savour and sacred memories, the influence of which lingered in the University for many years. There are historical traces and biographical memories, as is shown in the writings of Abbey and Overton on the Church of England since the Revolution, and especially in Dr. Overton's *Non-Jurors*, which prove that till within the last ten or twenty years of the eighteenth century, the savour of Non-Juring piety was still distinctly traceable in Oxford, and perhaps yet more distinctly in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which, of course, was for many years intensely Jacobite as well as High-Church, and which had counted an illustrious saint in Archbishop Leighton.

Nor was the ancient tradition of the saintliness of Laud and the orthodoxy of such High-Anglicanism as belonged to the Stuart period of the Church's history, ever quite effaced at Oxford. As on all else that was unworldly or savoured of high religious ideals, the influence of the eighteenth century rested as a blight on Oxford High-Church devotion. For more than fifty years the line of strict High-Anglican tradition had little more place than Methodism in the University. And yet there is reason to believe that it was still traceable here and there. It was, indeed, a purely English and Protestant influence. It had no sympathy with Rome, and was not ashamed of Protestantism. It was content to be no less avowedly Protestant in its antagonism of error than High-Church in its doctrinal teaching. But while it had no leaning towards Popery, the devout High-Churchmanship of Oxford a century ago construed the Prayer Book strictly, and believed in Lenten observance, in daily services, and in weekly communion.

The question here naturally arises, whether the memory and traditions of Oxford afford reason to believe that a leaven of eighteenth century Oxford High-Churchmanship still remained at Oxford during the early years of the nineteenth century; such as, without any indulgent feeling towards Popery, or any loss of sympathy with the Protestant English Reformation, nevertheless provided a favourable soil for the Tractarian Movement in its earlier stages, before its leaders had begun to hanker consciously, though with subtle reserve, after Romish teachings and re-union with the Papacy. My own knowledge of the opinions and clerical influence of Thomas Keble of Bisley, nearly sixty years ago, joined to my study in later years of his brother John's life in the earlier stages of his course, had led me to suspect that a hereditary High-Church indoctrination, derived from the Stuart or Non-Juring period, might perhaps have prepared John Keble to be the poet of the "Christian Year" at a period when later Tractarian developments were never thought of. What I could learn of that antique survival, Dr. Routh seemed to confirm this idea, although Dr. Routh was a friend and correspondent of a learned and godly Dissenter, Dr. Pye Smith. A letter which I have lately received from my friend Dr. Overton, more than confirms my surmises on this subject. Keble's High-Church views, I learn from Dr. Overton, were ancestral, and can be traced back through a succession of clerical ancestors to John Keble, of Fairford, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, who was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and an admirer of William Law, not indeed as a Non-Juror, but as respected his type of piety. Dr. Overton is "quite sure that the theological (not political) views of the Non-Jurors never died out of Oxford." Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, he says, "was absolutely at one with the theology of the Non-Jurors, as was a little later William Adamson, Fellow of Merton and Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and author of the *Shadow of the Cross*." Dr. Overton's maternal grandfather, who took his degree at Oxford in 1772, held the same theological views. All these, it appears, were more or less Laudian in their theology, without the least sympathy with Rome or doubt as to the Protestantism of the Church of England.

It must not be forgotten that, however contradictory to modern evangelical ideas and phraseology the High-Church theology of the earlier Stuart period may appear to us to-day, the choice for the Oxford of the eighteenth century lay between that theology—of which Andrewes and Ken perhaps afford the most favourable types, and of which the Articles of the Church of England are the statutory standard—and the Calvinism of the Westminister Confession, with its doctrine of the Decrees and its high Presbyterianism. It must also be remembered that if the Anglican views as to the "Priesthood and its prerogatives may seem to have been unevangelically high, and even to savour of Popery, the Presbyterian platform of pastoral prerogative was in the Stuart period hardly less extreme, when practically regarded, in its views of ministerial authority and of Church discipline, than that of the English High-Churchman of the seventeenth century. The Church which numbered among its worthies such men as Andrewes and Ken might claim a high place among the Protestant Churches of Europe, and can hardly be denied the title of an Evangelical Church.

From the whole of the evidence it seems to

result that the High-Church Anglican School of Oxford was Protestant, and, in the spirit of its central teaching, Evangelical, until the direct Popish leaven was introduced by Newman and accepted by Pusey, who, before very long, under the influence of Newman, started on the road towards Rome, and who presently far outwent Newman's advance Romewards, up to the period of his passing across the barrier and seeking a place within the Roman precincts. The Stuart High-Churchmen—the Non-Jurors and their descendants—were Protestants, whereas Pusey adopted Romish doctrine and discipline in all essential particulars —its doctrine as taught by Bossuet, its penitential discipline, the Confessional as administered by priests—some of whom might have been ordained, as it were, but the day before—and as enforced by spiritual intolerance and moral compulsion on women and children, and carried out in a monastic spirit by means of sisterhoods; all this having been brought about by a persistent subtlety combined with spiritual terrorism, under the inspiration and direction of Pusey as chief guide and master-spirit. The controversy between Dr. Hook and Dr. Pusey, as revealed not only in Dr. Stevens' *Life of Hook* but in the volumes of Dr. Pusey's biography, for which Canon Liddon was chiefly responsible, shows very clearly the wide and deep separation between the Oxford High-Anglicanism of Pusey and that of Dr. Hook, or of the Non-Jurors. As for Pusey himself, his biography proves that under the influence of something like panic, and largely through his contact with Newman, he went over from a sort of Germanised Broad Churchmanship into the Tractarian Fellowship of which he became afterwards the revered oracle. Pusey, throughout his earlier years at the University, had not been taught doctrine by any theologians under Non-Juring influences. The credit for the full Popish development of our Oxford High-Anglicanism must be divided between Newman and Pusey as chief leaders.

Bishop Ken's will contains what may be regarded as a strict definition of the platform of Christian faith and doctrine common to the best type of Non-Jurors, and handed down to the days of Routh and Keble. "As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England as it stands distinctly free from papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross." In this definition of Anglo-Catholic doctrine there lurks no germ of Tractarian veneration for Rome and its distinctive errors and corruptions.

Authorities.—*The Nonjurors*, by J. H. Overton, D.D., Canon of Lincoln. Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*. Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. v. Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* (Harper Bros., New York). Dean Plumptre's *Life of Bishop Ken* (2 vols). *The Mother of the Wesleys*, by the Rev. John Kirk (Wesleyan Conference Office). *Oxford High Anglicanism*, by the Rev. Dr. Rigg (C. H. Kelly; 2nd ed. enlarged, with Appendix, 1899). [J. H. R.]

NONES.—One of the "Hours" or daily services of the Romish Church, occurring at 3 P.M. These "Hours" have been revived by Ritualists, although they were abolished at the Reformation and have no place in the Prayer Book of the Church of England.

NOVATIAN (Novatianus, Cyprian; Novatos, Eusebius).—Novatian was archdeacon, presbyter, and eventually Anti-bishop of Rome. He was martyred under Valerian. Supposed to have been born in Phrygia, he was originally a philosopher, but there is not sufficient ground for the presumption that he belonged to the Stoics. He was converted in middle life, after severe frenzy, from which he was exorcised, and was baptized upon his sick-bed; the terrible mental disorder from which he had suffered was afterwards cruelly used by his enemy, Cornelius, as an argument that his "faith was of the devil." Novatian only having undergone clinical baptism (*i.e.* by sprinkling), never received confirmation or imposition of hands, which at that period usually formed a portion of the baptismal service; this circumstance rendered his ordination very unpopular among the clergy. "How then could he possibly have received the Spirit?" was the question of the narrow theology of his day; but the larger-hearted Fabian, acting on the spirit, instead of the letter, of the 12th Canon of the Council of New Cæsarea, convinced that his faith, as shown by his life, did "spring from conviction," ordained him presbyter of Rome in opposition to the views of all his clergy.

Novatian was from the moment of his conversion eminently a man of faith united to purity of life and morals, and notwithstanding the austerity of his nature (which has probably led certain writers to associate him in his unenlightened days with the followers of Zeno), few clergy of his day were more highly esteemed for eloquence, learning, and piety. In a work attributed by Erasmus to his powerful adversary, Cyprian, he is described as "a precious vessel, an house of the Lord;" "bewailed the faults of other men as his own, bore the burdens of his brethren as the apostle directs, and by his exhortations strengthened such as were weak in the faith." Such a

testimony from such an opponent is an absolute denial of the calumny of Pope Cornelius that Novatian fell away in time of persecution.

By the martyrdom of Fabian (250), the Roman see became vacant. At this period, the subject of dealing with the lapsed during the still existing Decian persecution occupied the chief place in the deliberations of the clergy. Departing sadly from her ancient fidelity under persecution, the Church of Christ no longer remained, as a whole, loyal to her Lord. The Imperial Edict being chiefly directed against the clergy, so many of these either recanted or fled, that there did not remain a sufficient number to carry on the ordinary services and pastoral duties. The magnitude of this apostasy filled the hearts of those who remained faithful with sorrow and righteous anger, and foremost among these latter was Novatian, whose convictions regarding the subject were accentuated by the natural moroseness of his nature. There was, it appears, a special class of the lapsed—the "Libellatici"—which called for his sternest displeasure. It is interesting, but equally painful, to trace in the circumstances of these special seceders from the faith the first conception of purchasing by money a freedom from moral obligations, which resulted in the indulgences of the Middle Ages. "Libelli" were governmental documents given to those who subscribed to the civil ritual of offering incense and sacrifice to the gods, and denied having attended, or having any intention of attending, the Christian gatherings for worship. To all those thus subscribing the Libelli were given, as an imperial guarantee of exemption from penalty or punishment on account of their faith. Those who received the Libelli were called "Libellatici." The wealthier citizens, however, had the option of purchasing these Libelli from the civil officers, instead of subscribing to the conditions; and we read that thousands were base enough to avail themselves of this alternative. It was especially against these Libellatici that Novatian wrote to various bishops during the interim in the Roman See. According to some writers of the present day, Novatian commenced his attack upon the lapsed with a degree of moderation, but no doubt impelled forward by the extreme laxity of some of the highest leaders of the Church upon this question, his opinions gradually became crystallised into a rigid sternness which culminated in his rigorous sentence that those who had denied the faith, although still united to the salvation of God, ought never again to be re-admitted into the ranks of the visible Church. This inexorable judgment, contrasted with the extreme laxity, not to say indifference, of many of the clergy,[1] drew numerous sympathisers to the support of Novatian, and when, opportunity being taken of the absence of the persecuting Decius in Thrace (where he had gone to oppose the Goths, and from which expedition he never returned), Cornelius, leader of the party of laxity, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, the friends of Novatian, inspired by the Carthaginian presbyter Novatus, at once secured his election in opposition to the appointment of Cornelius, who is suspected of having been himself a "libellaticus."

Novatian (who in spite of the insinuations of Cornelius that he had secretly longed after the position, had in reality been greatly averse to it), according to the customary usage, wrote to the chief bishops to apprise them of his election. The beautiful answer of Dionysius of Alexandria still exists, in which he urges Novation to give up life itself rather than produce schism in the Church. Fabius of Antioch received his missive so favourably that he is supposed to have been on the point of yielding. Cyprian of Carthage indignantly repudiated his communication, and became from that moment one of his most zealous opponents. His cause also lost favour from the augmentation of its adherents by the arrival of the infamous Novatus. The well-known violence of character, united to looseness of morals, of this furious agitator, alienated many of the more thoughtful followers of Novatian from their allegiance to their leader; and before many months had passed away, at the close of A.D. 250, he was solemnly excommunicated by a synod of sixty bishops.

From this time Novatian threw all his zeal into forming a fresh sect. He ordained bishops, and sent his emissaries to the farthest confines of the Roman world. All we know of his further career is that it closed in martyrdom (according to Socrates) under the Emperor Valerian. He appears to have been a voluminous writer. Of his works, however, only two have been preserved, *De Cibis Judaicis* and *De Trinitate*, the former of these, on Jewish meats, was written to refute the Judaising contention which raged in his day, and was evidently penned in some retreat from persecution. His work, *De Trinitate*, was inferior in literary merit to the two great kindred works of the succeeding centuries. But not even the towering genius of Augustine, or the persuasive eloquence of Hilary, enshrined purer doctrine or showed more accurate fidelity to scriptural truth. Some writers, indeed,

[1] A document of this period is still extant, containing an absolution of "all the lapsed by all the confessors."

have accredited Novatian with the authorship of the *Refutation of all Heresies*.

The founder of the Cathari schism, with all his mistakes, stands out as perhaps the only orthodox teacher of his century who saw salvation outside the pale of the ecclesia. Neander points out very clearly that the great error of his teaching lay in confounding the visible Church with the invisible. In his intense zeal to conform the former to the glowing description of the latter, as given by the inspired apostle, he ruthlessly cast out all that might contaminate her purity; while on the other hand, he urged upon the lapsed, even on the Sacrificiti, repentance, in order to receive the eternal salvation of God. Surely the fact that a man of such high moral character and universally acknowledged orthodoxy of creed separated himself from the body of his fellow-believers on the question of discipline only, speaks with no uncertain sound of the corruption which had begun to leaven the Church even in the third century of her existence.

Novatianists (called also Cathari, pure; hence, Puritan).—Although Novatian gave his name to this sect, yet their chief doctrine (*i.e.* regarding the condition of the lapsed) was as ancient as the orthodox Hermas early in the second century, and of the unorthodox Montanists somewhat later. Novatianism differentiated, however, from all the sects which had previously disturbed the Church, in the one respect that all others had separated voluntarily or had been expelled, on the ground of unsound views respecting the nature of the blessed Trinity, while the cause of Novatianist severance was that of discipline only. The nature and more important particulars of that separation the reader will find amply discussed above. See NOVATIAN. When a member of the Novatian (or, of the Cathari, as they preferred to call themselves) schism desired to return to the body Catholic, he was received merely by the imposition of hands, whereas even a Montanist could only be received back into the visible Church by re-baptism. This fact furnishes a strong attestation to the universally acknowledged orthodoxy of the Cathari creed. Indeed, on the occasion of their spirited defence at Mantinum against the soldiers of their common foe, Constantius, the Catholics were so filled with admiration at their heroism, that had the Novatianists themselves been willing to unite, it is strongly conjectured that they would have received them again into communion. As it was, so closely were the two parties drawn together by the Arian persecutions, that the Catholics worshipped in Novatian churches, and at the Synod of 383, the orthodox Patriarch Nectarius and the Novatian Patriarch Agelius defended the Homoousian doctrine side by side. The influence the Cathari exerted in the East over public thought is evidenced by the following fact given by Socrates, who was himself supposed to have been a follower of Novatian, and which throws a strong side-light upon the history of auricular confession. In order to prevent Puritan scrutiny, a presbyter was set apart by the bishop to hear privately the confessions of those among the lapsed who were desirous of partaking of Holy Communion, in order that he might, as seemed advisable to him, allow or forbid their doing so; but in the time of Nectarius (390), so grave a scandal arose from this custom, that it was entirely put a stop to, and the inquirers were left to follow their own judgment in the matter—a wise conclusion, which it is to be regretted all our Churches to-day do not imitate.

During the following century the Novatianists continued to flourish. Bishop succeeded bishop at Constantinople of their following. The whole Christian community of Thyatira at one period were said to be wholly Puritan; but as the position of the Church of Christ gradually changed in consequence of the cessation of imperial persecution, and discipline concerning the lapsed therefore became an obsolete question, other sins, in the place of apostasy, began to be regarded as an insuperable bar to communion. This, it may be imagined, gave rise to numerous differences in the Puritan ranks, with the inevitable consequence that many fresh sects sprang into existence, each united to the parent stem of Novatianism; but although some of these became unsound and erratic in doctrine and practice, yet a small and insignificant stream of Christianity, wholly separate from the main body of the visible Church, permeated the centuries, not entirely undeserving the ancient name still retained; and there are those among the most thoughtful and esteemed theologians of our day who behold in the persecuted sects of the Middle Ages, especially in those of the Waldenses and Albigenses, the spiritual descendants of the Cathari of the third century. Nay, further, standing beside the quiet resting-place of a Richard Baxter, or in the sacred precincts of the Bedford jail, they trace backward through buried ages the line of a spiritual ancestry of martyrs which links the Puritan of to-day to a genealogy as remote as it is honourable. [M. A.]

NOVICE.—A probationer in a religious community. See MONASTERIES and NUNNERIES.

NUNCIO (Latin, *nuntius*, a messenger).—The *nuntius apostolicus*, or nuncio, is a permanent diplomatic agent representing the Pope of Rome politically at the Court or seat of govern-

ment of any state willing to receive him. He differs from a legate, whose mission is temporary only, and whose powers are greater.

In England regular diplomatic relations with the Pope were broken off at the Reformation, and have never been resumed. Indeed, from the Reformation up to 1848, it seems to have been considered illegal for the Sovereign to hold friendly relations with the Pope in any capacity. By the Bill of Rights (1689) it was enacted "that all and every person or persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with the See or Church of Rome" should be excluded from the throne. In 1848, however, it having been doubted whether our Sovereign could not treat with the Pope as a temporal prince, an Act was passed (11 & 12 Vict. c. 108) enabling Queen Victoria to establish and maintain (under certain conditions) diplomatic relations with the Sovereign of the Roman States. Under this Act, no diplomatic agent from Rome could be received at the Court of London who was in Holy Orders of the Church of Rome, or a Jesuit, or a member of any Order of the Church of Rome bound by monastic or religious vows. Since 1870, when the Pope's temporal power was taken away, there has been no "Sovereign of the Roman States" other than the King of Italy; so the Act of 1848 having become obsolete, it was repealed by the Statute Law Revision Act, 1875. The law on the subject of reconciliation with the Pope therefore seems to stand in the same position as prior to 1848 (Whitehead on *Roman Catholic Disabilities*). [B. W.]

NUNS and NUNNERIES.—A nunnery (Fr. *nonnerie*) is a house in which nuns reside. A nun (Gr. *νοννος*, a monk; *νοννα*, a nun; from Coptic or Egyptian *nane, nanu*, good, beautiful) is "a woman devoted to a religious life who lives in a cloister or nunnery, secluded from the world, under a vow of perpetual chastity" (Webster).

Long before the monastic life was known in the Christian Church, it had its ascetics, female as well as male, the female known as *virgines Deo sacratæ* ("virgins dedicated to God"), or "ecclesiastical virgins," regularly enrolled as such, self-devoted to the life of holy charity among the poor and sick; consecrated to their office by the bishop before whom they made their vows, receiving at his hands the habit of their Order—the veil (*sacrum velamen*), the sombre-coloured mantle, and a kind of coronet, gold-embroidered. But, unlike the later monastic virgins, they lived with their families, though in retirement, and for a long time their vows were not so strict as to make marriage afterwards a cause of reproach against those who had taken such vows. The tonsure of virgins was not permitted in the Church for centuries. These and other differences prove that Christian monasticism is not in its origin and development Christian at all, but heathen, almost certainly Egyptian; having more in common with the communities who lived entirely secluded from the world in the Serapis temples of Egypt than with ascetics, male and female, of the Church's first centuries. The Romish nun does not find her pattern or model among the holy women who ministered to our Blessed Lord, or His apostles, co-workers and helpers, or Dorcas and her companions, or "the widows" in 1. Tim. v. 1–12; whilst Tertullian (A.D. 160–240) tells us of Christians in his time: "We are not Indian Brahmins or Gymnosophists, dwellers in woods, or exiles from life; . . . we sojourn with you in the world" (*Apol.*, xlii.). The *De Singularitate Clericorum*, ascribed to Cyprian, illustrates the general dissatisfaction occasioned by the *proposal* for monastic insulation when *first* made towards the close of the third century.

As the change from asceticism to monasticism took place concurrently, and in much the same mode among the female ascetics as among the male, so the corruptions, attempted abortive reformations, and dissolutions of monasteries and nunneries all through the centuries run in parallel lines. The indictment of history, loud and persistent, against the whole conventual system, mainly consists of two counts—immorality and cruelty. In our day and country it is mainly on the latter point that the demand for State inspection of nunneries is based.

The cruelties of the conventual system are not merely contingent or dependent on the caprices and tempers of superiors within doors and windows closed against the light of public opinion. Cruelty, as Englishmen understand the word, is of the very law of the system. Liguori tells us, p. 26, *Spouse of Christ*: "I have been accustomed to say that a religious in her convent enjoys a foretaste of Paradise, or suffers an anticipation of hell." For the discontented nun "in a word, it is to be in continual torture without a moment's peace." But is there no "cruelty" for the "contented" nun? In page 186 we read: "Disciplines or flagellations are a species of mortification . . . universally adopted in religious communities of both sexes. . . . Surely it would not be too much for you to take the discipline (scourging) once in the day, or at least three or four times a week. However, the practice of this penance should be regulated by the confessor." From this it is plain that instruments of torture are in use ("regulated by the confessor") in every convent in the United Kingdom. The Syllabus of Pius IX., no less

than the Tridentine Fathers, declares absolute seclusion without the leave of the bishop an essential law: those who try to escape and fail are to be punished as apostates, while even the Civil Government is forbidden under any circumstances to aid such.

Three great *litterateurs*, so far apart as De Foe, Walter Scott, and Rider Haggard, have recorded their conviction that inmates of nunneries are subjected from time to time to the same atrocious penalty (immurement) as the Roman Vestals who broke their vows. See Scott's own note to the lines in *Marmion*:

> "And now that blind old Abbot rose,
> To speak the Chapter's doom,
> On those the wall was to enclose,
> Alive, within the tomb."

De Foe, in his *Memoirs of an English Officer, by Captain George Carleton*, tells of two nuns who had been regrettably persuaded by two English officers to quit their vows, but the two nuns were taken, "and, as in like offences, condemned directly to the punishment of immuring." But "the Earl of Peterborough, though highly exasperated with his officers . . . after a great deal of labour, first got the penalty suspended, and, at last, though with great reluctance, got them received again into the nunnery." In a note to *Montezuma's Daughter*, first and second edition, Mr. Haggard, speaking in his own person, wrote: "Lest such cruelty should seem impossible and unprecedented, the writer may mention that in the Museum of the city of Mexico he has seen the desiccated body of a young woman in the walls of a religious building. With it is the body of an infant. . . . There can be no doubt as to the manner of her death. . . . Such, in those days, were the mercies of religion." In the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1894, a lengthy correspondence was raised by a Jesuit Father who protested against this footnote. In the result Mr. Haggard, whilst acknowledging he has found "no proof that so barbarous a punishment was ever enforced at any rate in this country," insists that "The immurement in *Montezuma's Daughter* is supposed to have occurred in Spain, where, as I presume, the most ardent defenders of the Inquisition will admit, cruelties as great, or greater, were in those days commonly practised in the name of religion." For a summary of this correspondence, with testimonies of eye-witnesses, see W. L. Holland's *Walled up Nuns*, chaps. iii.-vi.

Even here in the United Kingdom, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, facts and records have leaped to light proving that the system, left to itself, is irreclaimable, and illustrating the imperative necessity that exists that nunneries, as all other institutions in the land, should be under inspection by the State. It is the leading journal (again we quote no Protestant partisan) that wrote, discussing one of these cases: "It is only now and again we get a glimpse at the interior of one of these ecclesiastical shambles. A gust of wind raises for a moment the edge of the pall, and we see the festering rottenness hidden beneath its dark folds. . . . The novelist, or the poet, cannot outdo reality, when he endeavours to depict the terrors under which the tenants of these dismal abodes of superstition are bent to the will of their spiritual superiors" (*The Times*, July 27, 1848). Again, respecting Saurin *v.* Starr case, 1868: "Feminine ingenuity seemed almost to exhaust itself in devices for doing that which a Nero or a Tiberius would not have done more terribly, but yet in one day."

We are not unmindful of the good that can be set to the account of workers belonging to this system, but we insist that such good is in spite of the system, and has been always in proportion to the measure in which the light of public, especially Protestant, opinion was brought to bear upon its working. And when we are assured that the monastic life as organised by the Church of Rome is cultivated in abodes that are simply homes of happiness and holiness, among many others we venture to quote two witnesses so widely apart as the late Rev. Hobart Seymour, and the late Pope Pius IX.

"If nuns were indeed so happy, there was no necessity for such lofty walls to keep them there. . . . If all was a type of heaven, it seems strange to have such bars of iron and such gratings of iron to compel these spirits of holiness to remain in the enjoyment of it. . . . It is nothing else than rank hypocrisy to say that these lofty walls and iron bars are designed for any other purpose than the enforced constraint and imprisonment of the inmates" (*Pilgrimage to Rome*, p. 179).

The late Pope, discussing with an English Roman Catholic bishop the dissolution of monasteries, convents, &c., in Italy, said: "It was the devil's work; but the good God will turn it into a blessing, since *their destruction was the only reform possible to them*" (Rev. R. R. Suffield in *Modern Review*, vol. ii. p. 359, April 1881). See ASCETICISM, MONASTICISM, MONK. [T. C. O'C.]

O

OATH.—An appeal to God in testimony of the truth of any statement. In consequence of the prohibitions against swearing in Matt. v. 34, and James v. 12, some Christian sects (*e.g.* the Quakers and Moravians) decline to take

any oath, even in a Court of justice. The Church of England, according to her XXXIX. Articles, considers that the prohibition relates only to "vain and rash swearing," and holds that "a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth" (see Jer. iv. 2; Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; Rom. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 23; Gal. i. 20; Rev. x. 5, 6). By the Oaths Act, 1888, a solemn affirmation is permitted, instead of an oath, to any person stating that taking an oath is contrary to his religious belief, or that he has no religious belief.

OBLATES.—Properly *offered*, applied to children dedicated to the monastic life and trained up in monasteries—then to persons, laymen, or in later times secular priests, dedicated to some special work or service. A number of such congregations of priests pledged to perform various works exist under different titles in the Church of Rome, such as the oblates of the B.V. and St. Ambrose, Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

OBLATIONS. — Oblations are the offerings of bread and wine, or fruits, brought every Sunday by the first Christians to their minister for the social meal called Agape, out of which bread and wine sufficient for the administration of the Holy Communion were selected, the remainder being eaten at the meal.

Down at least to the commencement of the Middle Ages (the ninth century) all the faithful were bound to bring their offerings. If they did not, they were reproved, as guilty of meanness (Cyprian, *De Op. et Elecmos.*; Regino, *De Discipl. Eccles.*).

The officer, whether deacon, priest, or bishop, separated from the rest the bread and wine required for the sacramental use, and placed them on the Lord's Table without any form of oblation (until after the twelfth century), while a short anthem, called "Offertorium" was sung. If by mistake too much of the bread and wine thus offered was consecrated, the surplus was eaten and drunk by the boys of the church school at Constantinople, or at Jerusalem was cast into the fire and burnt. The remainder of the oblations, which had not been consecrated, went to make the midday or evening meal of Agape, or if there were no Agape, they were divided in stated proportions among the bishops, presbyters, deacons, and minor clerics. Hence, it is interesting to remark, our rubric that "if any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated, the curate shall have it to his own use;" and hence, too, the practice (though its pedigree is more difficult to trace) of giving blessed bread to non-communicants after a Mass, still witnessed in Continental Cathedrals.

Besides being types and symbols of the body and blood of Christ, the bread and wine were, in the estimation of the whole Church down to the middle of the third century, a gift of homage to God for His goodness in supplying to us the necessaries of life. Justin Martyr represents the bread and wine as offered "in memorial of our food, both dry and liquid," and "that we may thank God for having created the world with all the things therein for the sake of man," as well as in memorial of the Passion (*Dial. cum Tryph.*) Irenæus' teaching is that as we show honour and affection to a king (according to Eastern customs) by making him a gift of homage, so we make oblations to God of the fruits of the earth in token of our gratitude to Him for supplying us with necessary sustenance. And this is the new oblation of the new covenant (in contrast to the oblations under the old covenant); when this oblation in gratitude for temporal mercies has been completed, we proceed to participate in the bread and wine as emblems of the body and blood of Christ (*Haer.*, iv. 17; see also *Fragm. Secund.*). In like manner the "Teaching of the Apostles," earlier than Justin and Irenæus, regards the Eucharist as an offering of thanksgiving made in joyous acknowledgment of God's goodness and power in giving food to support man's life, and in supplying spiritual sustenance to Christians (ch. x.). It was not till the time of Cyprian (A.D. 250), that the idea of the oblation of bread and wine being a gift of homage to the Creator for supplying us with food and drink, was divorced from the Eucharist.

Oblations were at first made chiefly in kind, but afterwards were changed into money contributions. The alms for the poor, collected at the administration of the Holy Communion, represent those oblations that were in excess of what was wanted for sacramental use, and the bread and wine used for consecration is now the only relic of the old oblations *in kind*. The rubric orders that they shall be provided at the cost of the parish, just as the original oblations were brought by every well-to-do member of the congregation, which, owing to changes that have occurred, is no longer possible.

After consecration there is no oblation. After the idea became prevalent that Christ Himself was being offered to His Father by the priest, it became necessary to introduce one. Accordingly, in the Roman Mass, there are two oblations, termed popularly the Lesser Oblation (the memorial offering before consecration), and the Greater Oblation (the supposed offering of Christ Himself after the consecra-

tion). The latter still testifies to its original intention by the words in the Missal, "We offer to Thy Glorious Majesty, out of Thine own gifts and the things that Thou hast bestowed upon us, as a pure, holy, and immaculate offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of never-ending salvation."

There is in the English Communion Service a prayer, often called the prayer of Oblation, because in it we offer the sacrifice of our praise and thanksgiving, and of ourselves. It has been put in the Post-communion instead of coming after the consecration prayer, to mark emphatically that the Church of England does not recognise any oblation of the consecrated elements. [F. M.]

The word oblation is used in the Communion Office of the Church of England (1) in the Prayer of Consecration, in reference to Christ's sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross, in the words, "Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world;" (2) in the Prayer for the Church Militant in respect to the "Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the people." Gifts of articles to be used in divine service, or for the maintenance thereof, were also "oblations." The bread and wine are "placed" upon the Table, and not "presented," as are the "Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent bason" (*Rubrics before Prayer for Church Militant*). Moreover, communion occurring without alms is contemplated by the Prayer Book (see second *Rubric before Prayer for Church Militant*), and in that case the words concerning "alms and oblations" are omitted (see *Prayer for Church Militant*). The distinction between "alms" and "oblations" appears to be that "alms" are for the poor, and "oblations" for the minister. See Whitehead's *Church Law*, "Alms."

Prior to the Reformation, the term "oblations" was in use for gifts for the support of the clergy or of divine service. "The words oblation and devotion coupled with alms in Edward VI.'s Prayer Book are altered into oblations and devotions in Elizabeth's, evidently because the word alms, which is of course the French *almesse*, was thought plural. 'Their oblations and alms,' 'their devotions and alms.' Perhaps it was from this source that the plural form, unfortunately it may be thought, got into the Prayer for the Church Militant[1] in the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1661—'our alms and oblations.' It may be added that the word *oblatio* is never plural in the Latin missal" (Dixon, *Hist.*, v. 134). See Bishop Dowden on "Alms and Oblations" in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1900; and Dean Howson's "Alms and Oblations" (Elliot Stock).

[1] Through the Scotch Liturgy of 1637.—EDD.

OCTAVE (literally, eighth).—A period connected with certain festivals of the Church, beginning on the Feast Day itself and terminating on the eighth day from it. A remnant of the observance of the octave exists in the Book of Common Prayer, in which certain appropriate "Prefaces" are appointed to be used in the service for Holy Communion for seven days after Christmas, Easter Day, and Ascension Day. The preface for Whitsunday is used for six days only, because the seventh day, being Trinity Sunday, has a preface of its own.

OFFERTORY.—The collecting of alms for the poor, and other offerings, and the presenting and placing of them by the minister upon the holy Table, before he places there the bread and wine, which latter are not to be "presented." Under the Prayer Book of 1552–59 the Offertory was not even accompanied by the "placing" of the elements. This is ordered in the Prayer Book to be done after the sermon and before the Prayer for the Church Militant. While the collection is being made, the rubric directs the priest shall "return to the Lord's Table . . . saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion."

OFFICIAL PRINCIPAL.—The principal officer to whom the bishop commits the charge of his spiritual jurisdiction when acting as *judge*. The bishop exercises his voluntary jurisdiction of giving licences, &c., *i.e.* in matters not litigious, through various officers; the principal of these is called the Vicar General. The two offices of Official Principal and Vicar General are generally held by the same person, who is known as the chancellor of the diocese. The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 provided for the Archbishops of Canterbury and York appointing the same person judge of the Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York, and provided that he should be Official Principal of both provinces when the then holders died, and exercise the jurisdiction then exercised by each of them. [E. B. W.]

OFFICE, DIVINE.—A name given in the Roman Church to a form of prayer consisting of psalms, lessons, hymns, &c., used by all the clergy and the so-called "religious" of both sexes. The form contains the seven "Hours" or services for different periods of the twenty-four hours. See CANONICAL HOURS.

OIL.—Olive oil is used largely in the ritual of the Church of Rome. There are three different kinds of "holy" oil, viz., the oil of

Catechumens, used in the ceremonies before baptism; the oil of the sick, used in Extreme Unction; chrism, or a mixture of oil and balsam used in baptism, confirmation, &c. By various ceremonies, inclusive of breathing "in the form of a cross" by the bishop or "pontiff" and "twelve vested priests," the devil is first supposed to be driven out of the oil or chrism, and the latter is then saluted with the words, *ave, sanctum chrisma* ("hail, holy chrism").

Oil is not used except at the consecration of a sovereign by the Church of England, yet Ritualists teach exactly the same uses of oil as the Roman Church, and unction is said to be in use by them in several dioceses (see *Church Intelligencer*, Aug. 1902, p. 117).

OLD CATHOLICS.—Old Catholics is the name adopted by those former members of the Roman Catholic Church who, in protest against the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility by the Vatican Council in 1870, seceded from the Roman communion, and formed themselves into an independent organisation. Though the new dogma had been strenuously opposed at the Council itself by a large and influential body of bishops, especially from the German-speaking countries, the members of the hierarchy without exception submitted to the decree. Among the educated laity, however, in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, the feeling of indignation was deep and strong. In particular, forty-two Professors of the University of Munich, headed by the well-known Dr. Döllinger, whom Gladstone described as "the most famous and learned theologian of the Roman communion," issued a solemn protest. Similar action was taken at other universities, and in the autumn of 1870 an important assembly was held at Nuremberg, by which the recent dogma was formally repudiated. In the autumn of 1871, the first conference of the Old Catholics, as they had come to be called, was held in Munich, attended by about five hundred delegates from almost every part of the world. Even yet there were some who shrank from a definite secession from the Church of Rome. But congregations of adherents had sprung up in many districts; provision had to be made for their religious needs; and some kind of ecclesiastical organisation became necessary. The claim of the Conference, however, which is embodied in the name of the movement itself, was that there was no real breach with the Church Catholic, but only a breach with Rome in view of her adoption of a novel and impossible dogma. The difficulty presented to an Episcopal communion by the fact that no bishop had joined the movement, was overcome by the sympathetic action of the little Church of Utrecht, the remnant of the Jansenists of Holland, which had preserved the apostolic succession, and for nearly two hundred years had maintained an Old Catholic tradition of its own; and Professor Reinkens, who had been popularly elected as the first bishop of the secessionists, was duly consecrated to that office. Soon after this, a synodal constitution on very liberal lines was adopted, and such reforms in church law and practice were introduced as communion by the laity in both elements at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the abolition of compulsory celibacy for the clergy, and the use of the vernacular in the services.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Old Catholic movement did not realise the hopes either of its friends or its enemies. Its enemies predicted that it would speedily disappear; while Dr. Döllinger considered that the religious history of Europe was entering upon a new phase. Certainly the movement showed no signs of disintegration; and at the close of the century had more than 100,000 adherents. Still, its growth was slow, and its prospects not very promising. Within the last two or three years, however, there have been indications of revival. Old Catholicism has taken root in the United States among the Polish Romanists, who have now an Old Catholic bishop of their own, with seven congregations in Chicago and the neighbourhood. In Austria, too, marked accessions have been received through the influence of the *Los von Rom* movement, which has been prompted by the hostility of the papal Church to the aspirations of the German Nationalist party, and which, while it thus partakes to a considerable extent of the nature of a political demonstration, has had no small effect in enlightening the minds of the people with regard to the true character of the papa claims, and in so quickening their religious convictions that large numbers of them have joined either the Protestant Church or the Old Catholic party. [J. C. L.]

OMOPHORION.—A dress worn over the shoulders, generally applied to a particular dress used by patriarchs or bishops in the Greek Church (see Goar's *Euchologion*). See PALLIUM.

ONE KIND.—The practice of giving and receiving bread only instead of bread and wine in the Holy Communion. "Although this Sacrament was received in the Primitive Church by the faithful in both kinds, nevertheless henceforth let it be received by the officiating priests in both kinds, and by the laity only under the species of bread, inasmuch as it is to be most firmly believed, and no way to be doubted, that the whole body of Christ and

His blood are truly contained as well under the species of bread as under the species of wine." This manifesto emanated from the Council of Constance, A.D. 1405 (Sess. xiii.), and it has regulated the practice of the Roman Church from that time. It was the result of the new form of Christianity which Innocent III. introduced in 1215, and more especially of the doctrine of transubstantiation then first approved. The argument brought forward in its favour was twofold. (1) The wine was to be given up because it might be spilt or cling to the moustache. (2) The wine was to be given up because its administration led men to doubt that Christ was equally present in the integrity of His Person (Body, Soul, and Spirit) in either element, in the bread as well as in the wine, and (still more difficult to believe) in the wine as well as in the bread.

1. There was not more danger of the wine being spilt or adhering to the moustache in the thirteenth century than in the previous twelve centuries. But in the earlier Church the wine was regarded as the symbol of Christ's blood, and not actually as His blood. If it was accidentally spilt, it was wine and nothing else, and though the incident was to be regretted, the misadventure might easily be corrected. But when it was recognised as the very blood that ran in the veins of Christ, nay, as Christ Himself, it could not be lightly treated.

2. The more imperative cause of prohibiting the wine was the proposition that Christ was present in the integrity of His Person in each element. Bellarmine laid it down, that both kinds were wanted for the sacrifice, though only one for communion, and as the priest was sacrificing, both kinds must be consecrated and be consumed by him. But if the whole of Christ be received when a layman eats the Host, why not when a priest eats it? If a layman would receive Christ twice in taking both the bread and the wine, why not the priest? The Roman Church is therefore guilty of a manifest inconsistency.

The first time that this mutilation of Christ's ordinance is heard of is the twelfth century, after Gregory VII. had accepted in the previous century Paschasius' doctrine, afterwards called transubstantiation. Even in the twelfth century only two writers are to be found to advocate it. It was Thomas Aquinas (A.D. 1226–74) and Bonaventura (A.D. 1221–74) whose authority ruled the point. No one can doubt that they were right, if the Schoolmen's doctrine that "the whole Christ is taken under either species" (a consequence drawn by Anselm from the doctrine of transubstantiation) be true. If then the practice is wrong (and if it is right, Christ's contrary precept is wrong), then the doctrine from which the practice sprang is wrong, and incompatible with Christ's doctrine. It is a grave consideration that no Roman Catholic communicant has received Christ's ordinance as He appointed it, since the thirteenth century, and that a doctrine was then sanctioned which legitimately produces a practice directly contrary to Christ's command. [F. M.]

OPUS OPERATUM.—*Work wrought*, as though it were said that the benefit of a rite accrued *ex opere operato*, by virtue of the work wrought, *i.e.* by virtue of the due administration. The doctrine meant by the expression *opus operatum* was first enunciated in form by the Schoolman Duns Scotus[1] (*ob.* 1308), who thus wrote (as Robertson translates): "A sacrament confers grace through the virtue of the work which is wrought, so that there is not required any inward good motion such as to deserve grace, but it is enough if the receiver place no bar" in the way of its operation.[2] The doctrine thus stated makes the passive reception of a sacrament sufficient, and if it does not intentionally teach that the ordinance works mechanically like a charm, it must inevitably spread among ordinary people the perilous notion that it does. The German Schoolman Gabriel Biel (*ob.* 1495), taught the doctrine in no more guarded a way, though avoiding some dangerous expressions, saying that *ex opere operato* meant "by virtue of the very consecration, oblation, and reception, of the venerable eucharist."[3]

On March 3, 1547, the Council of Trent, in its seventh session, passed Canon 8, *De Sacramentis*, anathematising those who should say that "by the sacraments themselves of the new law, *ex opere operato*, grace is not conferred, but that faith alone in the divine promise is sufficient to obtain grace." In Edward VI.'s 42 Articles[4] of 1553 (since made 39), there occurred (Article XXVI., now XXV.) after the word "operation" this passage: "not as some say, *ex opere operato*, which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little piety but of

[1] Gieseler, *Text-book of Ch. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 490, *n.* 22 *sub. fin.*; Robertson, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. vi. p. 446, ed. 1874.

[2] Scotus, *Quæstiones in Lib. IV. Sententiarum*, distinctio i. quæstio vi. sec. 10 *sub. fin.*, in his *Works*, ed. Lyons, 1639, vol. viii. p. 125, col. 1. Sacramentum enim ex opere.

[3] Biel, *Sacri Canonis missæ Expositio*, lectio xxvi. fol. 50, col. 1, *sub. fin.*, Basel, 1515; quoted in Jewel's *Works*, ii. 751, Parker Society.

[4] To be seen in Burnet (vol. iv. p. 311, ed. Nares; vol. v. p. 314, ed. Pocock), with notes giving the later changes.

much superstition." The Articles signed by Convocation in 1563, omitted this passage and never again mentioned the *opus operatum*; but even without mentioning it they clearly enough assert a view as to sacramental efficacy entirely opposed to the *opus operatum* theory, however expounded. Moreover, the addition of Article XXIX. in 1563 fully made up for the withdrawal of the clause referred to. On Dec. 4, 1563, ended the Council of Trent, which on Jan. 26, 1564, received papal confirmation, and its decrees then became binding.

Bishop Jewel's Challenge Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, March 31, 1560, included among its twenty-seven points one (No. 20) on *Opus Operatum*,[1] and this article in the controversy which the sermon produced with Harding in 1564, 1565, was discussed at some length. Jewel, speaking of the ancient superstitions connected with the Eucharist before the terms *opus operatum* were invented, went on to say: "This old error our adversaries of late years have taken up and made it catholic, bearing the people in hand that their Mass itself, *ex opere operato*, only of itself, and because it is said, is available for the remission of their sins."[2] Harding had asserted[3] that the Challenge Sermon misrepresented the Roman doctrine, referring *opus operatum* to the bare act of the priest; not so, it was the work which God Himself worked by the ministry of the priest, namely, the body and blood of Christ offered in sacrifice to God, which was available "where there is no stop nor let on the behalf of the receiver." Thus, with Harding, the recipient was simply passive, just as Duns Scotus put it. Jewel, therefore, produced his authorities, successfully, as it seems to us, to make good his original point. The Reformation period, therefore (that of Trent, the 42 Articles, Jewel), was an active one in the debate on this subject, and the Roman side seems to have made then no real advance beyond the *dictum* of Duns Scotus, which, to the Reformers, looking to Scripture, was repellent in the extreme.

Perhaps it was the severe handling the papal Article received from them that made its exponents more cautious; for later on we find Bellarmine (*ob.* 1621) asserting the need of faith and repentance in the recipient; still, however, adding: "But that which actively, proximately, and instrumentally effects the grace of justification is only the external act called sacrament, and this is called *opus operatum*, by receiving it passively (*operatum*), so that it is the same thing (to say) that the sacrament confers grace *ex opere operato* as (to say) that it confers grace by virtue of the sacramental act itself, instituted by God for this purpose, not by the merit of the minister or the recipient."[4] If in that language there seems some degree of concession, it is more apparent than real. Bellarmine may be held the chief authority for the current Roman view, as this is expounded in Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, where what we have given above from that writer, somewhat differently rendered, and much more of his, is quoted. See BAPTISM, GORHAM CASE. [C. H.]

ORATORY.—A name given in the Roman Church to a building adapted for prayer.

ORDERS, HOLY.—The Greek, Roman, and English Churches acknowledge in common the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. But there are considerable differences on the point of the number of "Holy Orders." For the Roman Church includes among the higher orders that of sub-deacons, and among minor orders *porters*, *readers*, *exorcists*, and *acolytes*.

Orders are usually conferred by the apostolic practice of "laying on of hands" (Acts vi. 6; xiii. 1-3; 1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6). But although hands were laid on St. Paul (Acts xiii.), St. Paul did not view that act as what is now termed ordination, for he distinctly denies that he received his authority even mediately by the hands of men (Gal. i. 1). See IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

The Church of Rome numbers "Orders" among the seven sacraments. The Church of England does not hold Orders to be a sacrament, because Holy Scripture makes no mention of the institution of such a "sacrament" by Christ. The English Church recognises as a matter of outward discipline the Orders of the Greek and Roman Churches; but, on the other hand, those Churches do not admit the validity of English Orders. The English Church requires all persons admitted to the exercise of any office within her pale to acknowledge their belief in the *doctrines* held by that Church. The episcopal succession in the Reformed Church of England was transmitted through Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. The consecration of Archbishop Parker is therefore attacked by the Romanists. At one time a fabulous tale was in circulation called "The Nag's Head" story, which asserted that Parker and the other Elizabethan bishops were ordained at a London tavern of that name by a single bishop, and with no other ceremony than the placing of a Bible on

[1] *Works*, vol. i. pp. 21, 103; vol. ii. p. 749.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 751. [3] *Ibid.*, 749.
[4] *De Sacramentis*, lib. ii. c. 1, in *Works*, 1872, Naples, vol. iii. p. 87. col. 1.

their heads. A duplicate account of the actual consecration of Parker has entirely refuted this story, and it is no longer seriously urged by Romanists. It has, however, been denied that Barlow, Parker's consecrator, was himself a bishop at all. The reply to the latter point is that besides Barlow, three other bishops took part in Parker's consecration, two of whom had been consecrated according to the unreformed ritual, and the third according to that of Edward VI. Each one of those consecrators pronounced the consecrating words, and laid his hands on the new archbishop's head. Barlow's own consecration is, moreover, morally certain.

The validity of the form of consecration in the Reformed Ordinal has also been called in question by Roman writers. But no particular form of words has ever been prescribed either by Holy Scripture or by the Church.

ORDERS OF REFORMED FOREIGN CHURCHES, RECOGNITION OF BY OUR REFORMERS.—Tractarian leaders are divided among themselves as to this question of fact. Thus Dean Hook, *A Call to Union*, &c., pp. 140, 141: "One of the falsehoods propagated in these modern days is that the Reformers did not hold the *divine right* of Episcopacy." Whilst Mr. Keble admits—see *Preface to Hooker*, pp. lix.–lxii: "It is notorious, however, that such was not the line preferred [it was never adopted, as is *confessed* presently] by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy [with the Puritans] was entrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. . . . It is *enough with them* to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is *ancient and allowable;* they *never* venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy sacraments."

Between both these testimonies we would place the witness of Mr. Hallam, simply as that of an able and impartial historian (*Const. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 389, 390, 4th edit.). "Bancroft and his imitators, Bishops Neyle and Laud, with the approbation of the King . . . began by preaching the divine right, as it is called, or absolute indispensability of Episcopacy . . . regularly derived from the Apostles . . . ordinations by presbyters were in all cases null. . . . They *began* to speak of them [Lutherans and Calvinists] not as brethren of the same faith, united in the same cause, and distinguished only by differences little more material that those of political commonwealths (WHICH HAD BEEN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EVER SINCE THE REFORMATION), but . . . as wanting the very essence of a Christian Society. . . . The disciples of Rome . . . they all acknowledged to be part of the Catholic Church, while they were withholding that appellation, expressly or by inference, from Heidelberg and Geneva."

But what say (I.) The Reformers themselves expressly? (II.) The Articles and other formularies of the Church, so largely their handiwork? (III.) Authentic records of appointments, made and sanctioned by them, to the ministry of the Church of England, of men who had been ordained by presbyters only?

I. As early as 1537, in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth by the bishops and clergy, we read: "The truth is that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders, but only of deacons *or* ministers, and of priests *or* bishops."

Again, in 1543, in a revision of this work set forth by the King, we find the same doctrine only more emphatically expressed. In 1540, the chief bishops and divines of the day, replying to certain questions proposed by the King, by their answers respecting bishops and priests, afford further confirmation of the fact that *even then*, during the period to which the Tractarians are especially fond of appealing, the Tractarian doctrine of Episcopacy was not held by the great body of our Reformation divines; but rather that, as Archbishop Cranmer replies, "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion;" and as Archbishop Lee: "The name of a bishop is not properly a name of order, but a name of office. . . . That any other than bishops *or priests* may make a priest, we neither find in Scripture or out of Scripture," *thus implying that priests may make a priest.*

As regards the Elizabethan divines, we note Mr. Keble's acknowledgments as quoted above. Their own testimony, though abundant and convincing, is more frequently incidental than direct, because in their days (see Hallam above) no doubt was thrown on the validity of the Foreign non-Episcopal Churches' Orders, except by the professed Romanist.

Bishop Pilkington (*Works*, Parker Society, pp. 493, 494) says: "The privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers, are *rather granted by men* for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths, *than commanded by God in His Word.*" Dr. Whitaker, Reg. Prof. Cam., *De Pontif.* quest. iii. cap. 3, 69: "*Munus Episcopi nihil est ad munus Apostolicum.*" Also Opp. V. i.; 509, 510, fol. Geneva, 1610: "As for bishops being afterwards placed over presbyters, that was a *human* arrangement for the removal of schisms, as the histories of the times testify." Bishop Jewel, whose *Defence* (embodying the *Apology* also) was placed in the parish churches

to be read by all, and which, therefore, as Dr. Randolph says, "may be relied on as containing the *final and decided opinion of our Reformers*, approved in the general by the Church at large," says (*Defence*, part ii., *Works*, p. 202): "Is it so horrible a heresy, as he (Harding) maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one?" Having quoted from Chrysostom, Hierome, Augustine, and Ambrose, he proceeds thus: "All these and other more holy Fathers, together with St. Paul the Apostle, for thus saying, by Mr. Harding's advice, must be holden for heretics."

But we need not labour the proof about Jewel, seeing how he has been surrendered, and with how much contumely, by the representative Tractator, Hurrell Froude, *Remains*: "Jewel was what you (the Oxford Tractmen) in these days call an irreverent Dissenter. His *Defence* of his *Apology* disgusted me more than almost any work I ever read. He laughs at the Apostolical Succession both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of *Doctrine*."

Hooker, in opposing the exclusive claims for the divine right of Presbyterianism, never once denies the validity of Presbyterian Orders, or sets himself to establish the divine right of Episcopacy. See Books III. V. and VII. for the following quotations and much more to same effect: "The clergy are either presbyters or deacons." "There may be sometimes very just and sufficent reason to allow ordination made without a bishop." "He which affirmeth speech to be necessary amongst all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language; even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all churches may be held, *without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all*." "Let them (bishops) continually bear in mind, that it is *rather the force of custom*, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them in that respect, *than that any such true and heavenly law can be showed*, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear, that the Lord Himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops;" adding that "their authority" is "*a sword which the Church hath power to take from them*."

We call one more witness out of so many to hand, Hadrian Saravia, simply because of his association with Hooker's great name; that Mr. Keble, claiming him in support of "the doctrine of exclusive divine right in bishops," insists that since they two were so closely associated in their works and aims, Hooker may be interpreted by Saravia wherever the former seems ambiguous" (*Preface to Hooker*, p. lxvii. Fuller quotation with reference in Goode's *The Divine Rule*, chap viii.).

"Although all who had assembled there before the King had not the same kind of ordination, and some were ordained by bishops of the Church of Rome, *others by the Reformed Churches, none of them ought to have been ashamed of his ordination* . . . so that a presbyter clearly may ordain a presbyter. . . . For *I do not think* that either he [Beza] or Nicholas Gelasius, or any other that may have been there present, *not ordained by Romish bishops*, took upon themselves the ministry of the Word *without a legitimate calling* received *in the Churches of Christ*."

The reader who would have a brief but clear and full statement of the grounds on which the Reformation divines founded their distinction between priests and bishops—that the superiority of bishops consists "*not in the superiority of their Order*, yet in the office of their dignity" (Bridges), will find it in a work *On the Church*, by Dr. Field, a learned divine of the Church of England in the days of Elizabeth and James I. (fol. ed., pp. 155–57 and 704; Thus: "Hence it followeth that many things which in some cases Presbyters may lawfully do, are peculiarly reserved unto bishops, as Hierome noteth, *rather for the honour of their ministry than the necessity of any law*. And therefore we read that Presbyters, in some places and at some times, did impose hands, and confirm such as were baptized. . . . And who knoweth not that all Presbyters, in cases of necessity, may absolve and reconcile penitents: a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto bishops? *and why not, by the same reason, ordain Presbyters and Deacons?* . . . There is *no reason* to be given, but that in case of necessity . . . Presbyters, as they may do all other acts, whatsoever special challenge bishops in ordinary course make unto them, might do this also. *Who, then, dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by Presbyters in sundry churches* of the world, at such times as bishops, in those parts where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as professed it?"

The Reformation divines of England, at all events, did not so condemn them, but to a man seem to have held with Bishop Cooper, one of their leading champions against the Puritans, that these foreign Churches, "and the learned men whom God sent to instruct them" had been *directed by the Spirit of God to retain this liberty* as regards "external government and other outward orders" (*Admonition to the People of England*, 1589).

II. Article XXIII. seems the only place in which the Church of England touches on

Ordination in the abstract, and seems specially worded so as not to exclude from "lawful calling" the ministers of the foreign Protestant Churches; and, as a matter of fact, requires nothing more as necessary for such "lawful calling" than what is required in several of those non-Episcopal Churches themselves, namely, that it be "by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation." Thus, Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, in his *Exposition of the Articles*, published 1604, quotes "the Churches Protestant" as "by their confessions" approving each of the six propositions which he deduces from this Article: referring thus to the Helvetic, Belgic, Bohemic, French, and other Reformed bodies. This book is of special authority as having been approved by so high a Churchman as Archbishop Bancroft; also on its title-page proclaimed to have been "perused and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public;" and which every parish in his province was ordered by the archbishop to supply itself with. Bishop Burnet also comments thus on this Article: "Not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches, so constituted, to be *true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church*, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an imperfect state. And therefore the general words in which this part of the Article is framed, seem to have been designed *on purpose not to exclude them.*"

But what about the Preface to the Ordinal and the Act of Uniformity? Do they not require every minister of the Church of England to be episcopally ordained or consecrated? Yes; but these say nothing against the validity of non-Episcopal Orders—neither deny nor affirm—*in other Churches;* and *neither of them touches the question of the Reformers' relationship with the foreign Churches, as both documents date only from the year* 1662. In any case, they simply and solely require, and very properly require, that an Episcopal Church shall have an episcopally ordained ministry; whilst the Bidding Prayer at the commencement of the Sermon, ordered by Canon 55, and requiring all the clergy to pray for "the Church of Scotland" (which was Presbyterian when this canon was passed, even as it is to-day), plainly recognises a valid ministry without episcopal ordination.

III. In his *Preface to Hooker*, p. lxxvi., Mr. Keble confesses that "nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian Orders; and it appears by Travers' *Supplication to the Council* that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth," &c. By this Act, and also the 12th Car., cap. 17 (see for both Powell *On Apostolical Succession*, sect. vii.) it was, that "numbers"—Mr. Keble might have said "hundreds"—of ministers who had only Presbyterian Orders held their livings as true ministers of the Church of England. Bishop Cosin writes to Mr. Cordel, February 7, 1650: "Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge and cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have done so of late, and can instance in *many other* before my time), *our bishops did not re-ordain* him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done, if his former ordination here in France had been void. *Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent* to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the Articles established." [Note the words "done so of late"]; whilst Bishop Burnet reports of Scotland still later (*Vindication*, pp. 84, 85, published 1696): "No bishop in Scotland, during my stay in that kingdom, ever did so much as desire any of the Presbyterians to be re-ordained."

Two names are specially prominent as of persons so allowed to minister in the Church of England—Morison, who was given a licence by Archbishop Grindal "approving and ratifying the form of ordination" by a Scotch Presbytery; and giving him commission "throughout the whole diocese of Canterbury to celebrate divine offices, to minister sacraments," &c.; and Whittingham, Dean of Durham, 1563–79, who had no other Orders than those received from Calvin in Geneva, as Knox's successor in the ministry of the English Church there. Yet to him was offered choice of the Bishopric of Durham or the Archbishopric of York (both void at one time). See J. G. Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, chap. vi. and App. 1875.

The only one, of any weight, of our early divines, whom Dean Goode can find to have denied the legality of the practice of admitting persons having only Presbyterian Orders to the cure of souls in the Church of England, is Archbishop Whitgift, and he only on account of "the laws of the realm," which all through, in his judgment, "required that such as are allowed as ministers in this Church of England, should be ordered by a bishop." But he held as strongly by the validity of the Presbyterian Orders of the foreign Churches as any quoted above. In speaking of the platform of Church

government contended for by Cartwright (p. 658), he says: "Yet would I *not* have any man think, *that I condemn any Churches where this government is lawfully and without danger received;* only I have regard to whole kingdoms, especially this realm, where it cannot but be dangerous" (see also pp. 81, 84, 383–85). So he admits that Dean Whittingham "was ordained minister by those who *had authority* [apparently referring to Article XXIII.] in the Church" in which he was ordained. And Archbishop Sandys, who did question his Orders, did so, not out of disrespect for the foreign Churches. He writes thus to the Lord Treasurer: "The discredit of the Church of Geneva is hotly alleged. Verily, my Lord, *that Church is not touched.* For he hath not received his ministry in that Church, or by any authority or order from that Church, so far as yet can appear."

The fact is that the very Act which properly requires for an Episcopal Church a ministry Episcopally ordained, recognises (§ 15) those communities as "the foreign Reformed Churches;" that the Article which lays down the conditions of admission to the ministerial office is still the same as when ministers of those Churches were freely permitted to minister in the Church of England; that the great majority of English divines in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and a considerable part of the nineteenth centuries, including such pronounced "High Churchmen" as Andrewes, Bramhall, Cosin, Hall, &c., were at one on this question with the illustrious leaders of the English Reformation; in illustration of which we recall the fact that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which every English bishop is *ex officio* a leading governor, for so long sent as ordained missionaries ministers who had received Lutheran Orders only.

That the Reformation bishops, in recognising the validity of Orders given by Presbyters only, did not adjudge them in all respects perfect, or would encourage schism by over-readiness to sanction Presbyterian ordination; and that the post-Restoration bishops, in requiring re-ordination from men with Presbyterian Orders only, did not disown the action and principles of their predecessors, is plainly illustrated by the story of the consecration to Scottish sees in 1609 and subsequently to 1661, as told by Spottiswood, *Hist. of Church and State*, and Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Times*: "When the Scots bishops were to be consecrated . . . a question was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely," who said they "'must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no Ordination from a bishop.' Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was by, maintained that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had *the Ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawful*, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches." (Note, in passing, this "High Church" archbishop's jealousy in behalf of the Reformed Churches.) Burnet tells us that the English bishops (besides pleading the Act of Uniformity) "also made this difference between the present time and King James's: for then the Scots were only in an imperfect state, having never had bishops among them since the Reformation; so *in such a state of things*, in which they had been under a real necessity, *it was reasonable to allow of their Orders*, how defective soever, but that of late they had been in a state of schism," &c., &c.

That this re-ordination did not necessarily imply denial of the validity of the Orders already given is maintained by Bramhall, *Works*, vol. i. p. xxxvii.; Leighton, *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 140; Bingham, *Antiquities*, vol. ix., ed. 1845, pp. 296, 297, as quoted by Dean Goode in *A Reply to the Bishop of Exeter's Second Arraignment*, pp. 20–23.

Our English divines in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. and of their immediate successors, had opposed to them the intolerant claims of Popery on the one hand, and of ultra-Puritanism on the other; and the moderation (for which they do not always get credit) with which, as a whole, they waged both wars, is well illustrated by their conduct of this particular campaign. They never once meet the claims for the divine right of Presbyterianism with the counter-claim of the exclusive divine right of Episcopacy, or denial of the validity of Presbyterian Orders. "It is enough with them to show that Episcopacy is ancient and allowable" (Keble, as above); in defence of which contention two "High Church" divines shall now sum up:—

Archbishop Laud, *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*, sect. 39, vii., denies the necessity of "continued *visible* succession, and can find no promise of its uninterrupted continuance in any Church: "For succession in the general I shall say this; it is a great happiness where it may be had visible and continued, and a great conquest over the mutability of this present world. But I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible, and continued succession a necessary mark or sign of the true Church in any one place."

Bishop Cosin, while severe in criticism of the foreign Churches' "defect of Episcopacy," says, "I dare not take upon me to condemn or determine a nullity of their own Ordinations against them;" and then proceeds to

say, writing to Mr. Cordel, who scrupled to communicate with the French Protestants: "There have been both learned and eminent men (as well in former ages as in this, and *even among the Roman Catholics* as well as Protestants) who have held and maintained it for good and passable divinity, that presbyters have the intrinsical power of ordination *in actu primo* . . . [this power remains in them, though its exercise is restrained 'by the strictness of the canon,' 'for the avoidance of schism,' &c. yet that the same act shall not be simply void in the nature of the thing, in regard that intrinsical power remained when the exercise of it was suspended."]

Then he illustrates what we may term the Apostolic Succession and catholicity of this doctrine, in the whole Christian Church, furnishing a list of names of great doctors who supported it, from "St. Hierome and his followers," down to his own day; several from "among the Roman Catholics," and Jewel, Field, Hooker, and Mason from "among the divines of our own Church." [Note Cosin's views as to the sentiments of those four Reformers.] . . . "*All* which authors are of so great credit with you and me, that though we are not altogether of their mind, yet we would be loth to let the world see that we would contradict them all, and condemn their judgment openly; as *needs we must, if we hold the contrary, and say*, that the ministers of the Reformed French Churches, for want of Episcopal Ordination, have no Order at all."

He then recommends his correspondent, in case of need, to "communicate reverently with them of the French Church," reminding him, "there is no prohibition of our Church against it (*as there is against our communicating with the Papists*, and that well grounded upon the Scripture and will of God)."[1]

This article cannot more suitably close than with the following paragraph from Bishop Cosin's last will: "Wherever in the whole world Churches, reckoned as Christian Churches, profess the true, ancient, and catholic religion and faith, and with one mouth and mind adore and worship God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; with such, though distance, or the disagreements of mankind, or any other obstacle, may prevent my actually holding communion (*jungi*) with them, yet in heart, mind, and affection I shall always be united and form one (*conjungor ac coalesco*): *which I wish specially to be understood of the Protestant and well-Reformed Churches.*" [T. C. O'C.]

ORDINAL.—We take the word "Ordinal" in the sense in which it is now usually applied to the Service Book by which men are admitted into the Holy Orders of the Christian Church. It will thus correspond in part to the *Pontificale* of the Roman Church. In the Mediæval Church the word was in occasional use, but in another sense.[1]

The history of the Ordinal in its growth is an interesting and instructive study, as illustrating and evidencing the development of ecclesiastical teachings and traditions by gradual and continuous accretions from thoughts which (it may be, many times, with pious, though mistaken, intent) were making human additions to divine revelation. This history "is sufficient to show how gradually the Apostolic laying on of hands gathered round it, in the course of centuries, the complicated ceremonial of mediæval times." (See Prof. Swete's *Services before the Reformation*, p. 206. See also especially, Morinus, *De Sac. Ordin.*, par. ii. cap. 1, p. 23, Antw. 1685.[2]) This portion of the subject, however, must necessarily be left outside of the purpose of this article, except so far as it may incidentally find a place in our hasty and imperfect examination of the way in which the Reformation dealt with the Ordinal as it was found in use at the close of the mediæval period.

We are concerned especially with the history of the Ordinal in the sixteenth century—not, indeed, with that of the great Western or Eastern Churches, whose Ordinals may be said (speaking generally) to have *then* had their history closed—but with that of the Protestant Churches, and specially with that of the

[1] The same High Church bishop wrote, as quoted in a work entitled, *Dr. Cosin's Opinion when Dean of Peterborough and in Exile for Communicating with Geneva rather than with Rome*, pub. 1684. "It is far less safe to join with those men who alter the *credenda*, the VITALS of religion [meaning the Romanists], than with those that meddle only with the *agenda* and RULES of religion [meaning the Foreign Protestants], if they meddle no further."

[1] See Lyndwood and other authorities as quoted by Du Cange, s.v. *Ordinale*.

[2] Referring to the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, Morinus says: "Gliscunt et in hominum mentes facillime sese insinuant istæ fabellæ. Nam doctrinæ, pietatis, religionis plerœque speciem habent. Quis autem est, qui non ista lubens ambabus manibus amplectatur, atque etiam veneretur? Malum autem iis insitum conspicere quis potis est? non unus ex mille. . . . Plerœque autem ejusmodi fabellæ ita fortunatæ fuerunt, ut iis seculis exortæ sint, quibus istorum argumentorum versandorum nulla erat peritia: Ideo eas statim omnes amplexi sunt, et deosculati, quamvis in eis nulla esset et rationis, et veritatis intelligentia" (cap. i. §§ 1, 11. See also Exercit. VII. pp. 105 *sqq.*).

Reformed Church of England. This history is not merely interesting, it is very important, on account of the witness it bears to the position which was taken by the English Church in respect of certain doctrines and practices which have now become matters of controversy by reason of the recent revival of certain mediæval errors in the midst of us.

We are not, indeed, to suppose that we are dependent on our Ordinal for testimony against such erroneous teachings. Our Articles speak (as we are persuaded) plainly enough in their condemnation. But the additional witness of our Ordinal is very valuable, and should in fairness be acknowledged to be very forcible, as showing how far from the mind of our Reformers, and from the intent of our Formularies, are the plausible and popular misinterpretations which would tend to detract from the genuinely Protestant character of our Articles.[1]

It concerns us primarily and very specially to give attention to the Service for the Ordination of Priests. And we must confine our view to a few salient points.

We observe, then, that in the Roman Pontifical we have in the earlier part of the service an admonition addressed by the bishop to the *ordinandi*, which commences by setting forth the functions of a priest ("Officium sacerdotis quale sit," margin). And these are the words to be spoken: "Sacerdotem etenim oportet offerre:[2] benedicere: præesse: prædicare: et baptizare" (*Pontificale Rom.*, fol. 17 *a*, Venice, 1572).[3]

Then, after silent imposition of hands, the bishop *reflectit stolam*, saying, "Accipe jugum Domini, jugum enim Ejus suave est, et onus Ejus leve"[4] (fol. 19 *b*). This is followed by the rubrical direction: "Imponit cuilibet successive casulam usque ad scapulas," the bishop saying, "Accipe vestem sacerdotalem, per quam charitas intelligitur." After this the bishop, rising without his mitre, pronounces a benediction, in which the words occur: "et in obsequium plebis tuæ panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transforment" (fol. 19 *b*). This benediction is followed by anointing the hands of the *ordinandi* with oil, accompanied with a prayer. After this, the bishop delivers to each of the *ordinandi* a chalice with wine and water, "et patinam superpositam cum hostia," and says: "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo: missasque[5] celebrare: tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis: In nomine Domini" (fol. 20 *a*). And it should be observed that from this point the recipients are no longer spoken of as *ordinandi*, but as *ordinati*.[6]

[1] See *Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium* (Elliot Stock), pp. 101–110. *Missarum Sacrificia*, pp. 47, *seq.* *Romish Mass and English Church*, pp 46 *sqq.*

[2] This formula is comparatively modern. Dr. Swainson (in *Guardian*, Jan. 30, 1878) expressed his belief that it cannot be traced further back than 1300. The older English Ritual had the words: "Presbyterum oportet benedicere, offerre, et bene præesse, prædicare, et baptizare atque communicare" (see *Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, p. 44). In the *Sacerdotale Romanum* (Venice, 1585), after the usual derivation of *sacerdos*, it is added: "Dicitur etiam a sacrificando, quia eorum officium est offerre sacrificium et hostias pro populis" (*Præm*, fol. ii.). The Papal Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* speaks of the "gratia et potestas" of the *Sacerdotium* thus: "Quæ præcipue est potestas consecrandi et offerendi verum corpus et sanguinem Domini, eo Sacrificio, quod non est nuda commemoratio sacrificii in Cruce peracti" (p. 40, edit. Burns).

[3] This edition was superseded by the revision of Clement VIII. in 1596, which revision was again corrected under Urban VIII. in 1644. But no material change was made in respect of the particulars with which we are here concerned. The Sarum *Celebratio Ordinum* may be compared, as given in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Angl.*, vol. iii. pp. 154 *sqq.* from a Cambridge MS., on the date of which see *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1499. The first printed edition of the Roman Pontifical is dated 1485. See *Catholic Dictionary*, p 725.

[4] See Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Angl.*, vol. iii. pp. 207, 208, 209.

[5] In the Sarum form we find, "missamque celebrare." See Maskell, vol. iii. p. 214.

[6] In the margin we read: "In hoc actu imprimitur character hujus ordinis." These marginal notes have since been omitted from the Pontifical. So Durandus teaches that, "In datione patenæ et calicis cum materia imposita imprimitur character sacerdotalis" (in 4 Sent. dist. 24. Qu. 3, § 8). See *Notes on Vindication of "Apos. Curæ"* (E. Stock), p. 4. See also pp. 6, 7, for the teaching of Aquinas. Many of the Scholastics held this view. But of the later Scholastics several held that the Church's determination on this matter has been different for different places—that the matter and form for the West consist partly in the tradition of the instruments with accompanying words, partly in the imposition of hands with accompanying words. See *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 677; see also Maskell, vol. iii. pp. 220, 221. It may be observed that in the Sarum Pontifical, those receiving ordination are called "Thy Priests" before the *traditio instrumentorum*. (See Pullan, *Book of Common Prayer*, p 264.). They are also called *ordinandi* afterwards (see Maskell, vol. iii. p. 216) and Morinus, Exercit. VIII.

The celebration of Mass follows,[1] after which the bishop (*cum mitra*) lays both hands on the head of each of the *ordinati* ("imponit ambas manus super capita singulorum") and says: "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueris retenta sunt" (fol. 21 *b*). Then, unfolding the *casula* (previously laid on the shoulder), he says: "Stola innocentiæ induat se Dominus." Finally, the bishop blesses the *ordinati* thus: "Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis: Patris: et Filii: et Spiritus Sancti: descendat super vos: ut sitis benedicti in Ordine Sacerdotali: et offeratis placabiles hostias pro peccatis: atque offensionibus populi: Omnipotenti Deo: Cui est honor et gloria: in secula seculorum" (fol. 22 *a*).

Now, of seven[2] particulars which may be noted in this brief description, it concerns us to observe, that while most have been discarded with a purpose which can hardly be called in question, there is one which has been retained, and is still in use in our English Ordinal. It is the saying,[3] "Receive the Holy Ghost,"[4] &c.,

[1] From early times ordinations were accompanied by, and formed a part of, the administration of the Eucharist. See Maskell's *Monumenta Rit. Eccles. Angl.*, vol. iii. p. 159.

[2] Viz. (1) Prefatory Address, with statement of sacerdotal functions. (2) Delivery of *casula* (*i.e.* the *chasuble* which is the mass vestment, see CHASUBLE) with a benediction containing the doctrines of Real Presence and of Transubstantiation. (3) Unction. (4) *Traditio instrumentorum*, with power to offer sacrifice and celebrate masses. (5) The words (following the second imposition of hands), "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, &c. (6) Unfolding the *casula*. (7) The final Blessing with the words, "ut . . . offeratis placabiles hostias pro peccatis." The Cambridge MS. of the Sarum *Celebratio Ordinum*, which can hardly be later than the fifteenth century (see Maskell, vol. i. p. 1), will be found to contain all these particulars. In the statement of sacerdotal functions it adds the word "Conficere" before "baptizare," on which see Maskell, *Monumenta Rit.*, vol. ii. p. 204.

[3] That is, in the case of the Ordination of Priests. This phrase is not used in our Service for Deacons. It had been regarded by Scholastics as *the Form* in the Ordination of Deacons. But it was certainly of late introduction. See Maskell, *Monumenta Rit.*, vol. iii. p. 194.

[4] The justification of the use of these words is to be found in scriptural, not ecclesiastical warrant (see Beveridge, Cosin, and Burnet, as quoted by Walcott, *On Ordinal*, pp. 240–244; also Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 1513). The reformers could not reasonably be expected to know how recent had been their insertion in the Service of Ordination. Even in the seventeenth century the learned Bishop Andrewes supposed them to be the effective form ("the very operative words") of Ordination (*Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 263. Anglo-Cath. Lib.). It was to the learned and laborious investigations of Morinus (published in 1655) that we owe our knowledge of the fact that their use was a novelty of the Middle Ages (see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 1513). The words are unknown in the Greek and Syriac Rites (see *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 677). It should be observed, however, that Hooker's defence of the words rested not at all on any claim of antiquity. "The Holy Ghost," he says, "may be used not of the Person only, but the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous . . . but also that the very authority and power, which is given in the Church to the ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is Author" (*Eccl. Pol.*, book v. c. lxxvii. § 5). And he asks, "Seeing, therefore, that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish?" (§ 7). (See *Sacerdotium of Christ*, pp. 76, 77. See also especially Whitgift's *Works*, vol. i pp. 489–491, P.S.) It should be noted that the words which follow, conveying the power of absolution, are more modern than the form "Accipe potestam offerre Sacrificium" (see Walcott, *On English Ord.*, p. 261). It may also be noted that the Eastern Church has never formally given the power of consecration or of absolution at Ordination (*ibid.* p. 260). It should also be observed that the sense of these words ("Whose sins thou dost forgive, &c.") receives restraining interpretation from the following words which are added in our Ordinal: "And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments." (See *Doctrine of the Sacraments*, pp. 146, 147; and *Sacerdotium of Christ*, p. 77. Compare also Badger's *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 332.) The words "for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God," were added at the last Review to meet an objection to the earlier form as not sufficiently indicating the order conferred (see especially Cardwell's *Conference*, pp. 386–388). Of the gift given: "It is," says Bishop Andrewes, "no internal quality infused, but the grace only of the spiritual and sacred function" (*Serm.*, IX. iii. p. 277. A.C.L.).

The change of sense which the word χειροτονία acquired in the course of time (see Suicer, *s.v.* χειροτονέω, also *s.v.* χειροτονία et χειροθεσία) may, perhaps, be regarded as significant of a change in the doctrinal atmosphere which surrounded the use of the Ordinal (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. pp. 1501–2). What was

with the Apostolic imposition of hands. In its retention [1] the Church of England probably stands alone among the Churches of the Reformation. We have here a witness to the general conservative principle which ruled the action of our leading Reformers. This principle is distinctly expressed in the 30th Canon of 1604: "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like Churches, in all things that they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders" (see Jewel's *Apologia Eccl. Angl.*, pp. 34, 35; Cambridge, 1838). And this conservative principle it is which gives supreme significance, and adds enormous weight, to the evidence afforded by the particulars which the theology of our Reformed Ordinal has so distinctly and decidedly rejected. There must be a cause for their omission. The Canon gives us to understand that their rejection must be either because they "endamage the Church of God," or "offend the minds of sober men." In these particulars, according to the view of the Church of England, the unreformed Churches were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and "from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders." [1]

These changes made in the English Ordinal—the rejection of the six remaining particulars noticed—all of them may be said to have their sufficient explanation in the Address which is now the bishop's charge to the Candidates [2] at the commencement of the service, and which may be spoken of as superseding the rejected exhortation of the Roman Pontifical. In *that* (the Roman) exhortation, first and foremost among the functions assigned to the sacerdotal office stands the work of "offering." Where is this function in the solemn address which is found in the English Ordinal? It is nowhere. Nowhere—not because the word might not be used in a sense capable of being defended; but because in the sense which it acquires from the subsequent particulars, it is that which the Church of England repudiates with the most solemn and emphatic repudiation. In this sense it is no offering of spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, which are to be offered continually by the royal priesthood of the whole Church of the believers; it is not the rendering of alms and oblations from loving hearts—sacrifices with which God is well pleased; it is not the presenting of the θυσία ζῶσα, which is our λογικὴ λατρεία; neither is it the offering of the elements to be consecrated for the purposes of the Eucharist; neither is it the offering to the divine view the ordained memorial of the One

formerly viewed as chiefly, or partly, an elective *appointment* by the Church, came to be only, or chiefly, regarded as the *ordination* of the Chief Minister (to whom always belonged the office of laying on of hands). Thus, there was a tendency to exalt an episcopal *act* into a supreme prominence which obscured the view of what belonged to the Assembly of the faithful (see Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccles. Angli.*, vol. iii. p. 159; and Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 1700). But if this be so, it must by no means be supposed to follow that the *manuum impositio* was not regarded of old as an Apostolic ordinance and an effectual sign of official dignity and sacred authority. On this subject, see Walcott, *On Eng. Ord.*, pp. 35–401 84, *sqq.* See also especially Whitgift's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 425–440, P.S. The saying of Augustine: "Manus impositio non sicut baptismus repeti non potest. Quid est enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem?" (*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. iii. cap. xvi.) has no special reference to ordination. And elsewhere he says, "Quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur: ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari" (*Contra Epist. Parmeniani*, lib. ii. cap. xiii.). It need not be questioned that in early times the word χαροθεσία was used not unfrequently "in the sense of Benediction, no doubt with outstretched hands" (see Bishop Wordsworth in Serapion's Prayer Book, p. 53.) See also Morinus, par. iii. p. 11.

[1] See Swete's *Service Books before Reformation*, pp. 207–8.

[1] The earlier Ordination Forms are remarkable for their simplicity. See *Notes on the Vindication of the Bull "Apost. Curæ."* (Elliot Stock), Note III. pp. ii. *sqq*; and *Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, pp. 81–84. So also were the Roman "Ordines" of the seventh and eighth centuries. The traces of a more elaborate ritual in the Gelasian Sacramentary are ascribed by M. Duchesne to Gallican influence. See Swete's *Services before Reformation*, pp. 200–202; and Walcott, *On English Ordinal*, p. 259. See also especially Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book (edit. Bishop Wordsworth, S.P.C.K.) pp. 39, 50–53.

[2] This address appears to be following the lead of the "Ratio Ordinandi" found in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 255 *sqq.*, admitting, however, valuable additions. On its doctrinal significance see *Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, pp. 88–90. And on the "Intention of the Reformed Ordinal" see pp. 90–92.

propitiatory sacrifice of the Cross; neither is it the sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving.[1] But it is the offering of Christ's body and blood made to be present by power of sacerdotal benediction in the place of the bread and wine. It is the offering thus, in sacrifice to God, of *placabiles hostias* and celebrating masses for the living and the dead—sacrifices of man's device, which derogate from the perfection of Christ's *finished* work of propitiation, and which the Church of England has not hesitated faithfully to denounce as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits"; and which, therefore, she has with great care eliminated from her formularies—expurgating her Liturgy of whatever might seem to sanction such errors and superstitions[2] (see *Dangerous Deceits*, pp. 52–55). We need not wonder, therefore, if when we look at our English Ordinal, and ask: Where, now, is the unction of the hands? and where, now, is the putting on of the Mass vestments?[3]—we must receive for

[1] See *Doctrine of Sacerdotium* (Elliot Stock), pp. 84–86.

[2] In the first Reformed Ordinal (said to be mainly the work of Cranmer, especially the authorship of the Preface) the chrism was omitted. But the deacon was presented to the bishop to receive the priesthood, "having upon him a plain white albe," and the candidate for the deaconship, who was appointed by the bishop to read the Gospel, put on a *tunicle* before reading. It was still ordered that the bishop should "deliver to every one of them (the candidates for priesthood) the Bible in one hand, and the chalice or cup with the bread in the other hand." This Ordinal was issued in accordance with an Act made by the Parliament which met Nov. 1549, and it was published in March, 1549–50 (see Walcott, *On Eng. Ord.*, pp. 290–294). Those ordained under it are described in the Articles of 1562, as ordained from (or *since*) the second year (*ab anno secundo*) of King Edward VI There was nothing in this which was necessarily (*ex se*, "of itself") superstitious or ungodly. But, as in the Prayer Book of 1549, there were some things which might be, and were found to be, capable of being misinterpreted, and did "offend the minds of sober men" (see *Original Letters*, P.S., pp. 87, 486, 559, 673, as well as 1 Hooper, 47; 2 Hooper, xii. P.S; also *Vox Liturgiæ Anglicanæ*, pp. 47 *sqq.*). And therefore the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, which we call the Second Book of Edward VI., being the former book "perused, explained, and made fully perfect," had appended to it a new (or amended) Ordinal, from which were removed the rubrics concerning the dress of the candidates, and the porrection of the chalice and the Eucharistic elements, besides some less important alterations (see Walcott, p. 295; see also Bishop Harold Browne, *On the Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 770–783, 8th edit. 1868). The cope, also (as well as "pastoral staves"), for the bishops, had been in use (in the Ordering of Bishops) under the first Ordinal, and found no place in the second. It should be noted, however, that the cope, which was a *pluviale*, had never (like the *casula* or chasuble) acquired a sacrificial significance (see Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, pp. 224, 225).

Our present Communion Service, following that of 1552, is considerably changed in arrangement from that of 1549, which followed generally that of Sarum. The omission of the *Agnus Dei*, and the removal of the "prayer of oblation," may be set down by some to an excess of caution, but, from a Protestant point of view, it must be regarded as a wise caution against possible (not to say probable) misuse and misinterpretation; while the setting of the *Gloria in Excelsis* in the post-communion may well be explained by "a desire to concentrate upon the end of the service the elements of praise and thanksgiving" (see Swete, p. 120). The scriptural narrative of the Institution, which had been farsed and paraphrased in the Roman Mass, as now seen in our prayer of consecration, follows that of 1549, which bears a close resemblance to that of the Mozarabic Missal, and may probably have been influenced by the edition published by Ximenes in 1500, though Gasquet regards it as taken from Lutheran sources (see Swete, pp. 117, 219). It is evident that the *purpose* which expurgated the Liturgy was the same as that which revised the Ordinal.

[3] The unction was never in use in the Greek Church. In the sixth century it was used in some parts of France; but not in the Church of Rome for two centuries later (see Walcott, *On Ordinal*, p. 292; see also Maskell, *Monumenta Rit.*, vol. iii. pp 200, 203, 212, and *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 1514).

Bishop Burnet says, "In the eighth century, the priests' garments were given with a special blessing for the priests' offering expiatory sacrifices: it was no ancienter that that phrase was used in ordinations." It may be added that in the Pontifical the Mass vestments *themselves* were specially blessed for such sacrificial use. It was not so with the cope and surplice. There is some evidence, however, of "vesting in vestments," in some sort, at an earlier date (see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 1508). It would appear that at one time the vesting in the chasuble was the last of the rites of ordination (*ibid.* p. 1514).

"In the tenth century, when the belief in transubstantiation was received, the Delivery of the vessels for the Eucharist, with the power of

answer—"Nowhere." Some antiquity may be pleaded for these ceremonies, but certainly not Apostolic authority, nor the practice of the Primitive Church. In the Dark Ages they have wound themselves round an anti-Christian system of doctrine, and, therefore, the Church of England, in following out her professed principle of conservatism, has been constrained to reject them.

Does any one seriously doubt the doctrinal significance of these radical rejections by a Church professing such conservative principles? It is hard to believe it. But if such doubters are found, it may help to remove their doubts to have set before them the following extract from the larger Catechism of Nowel, who acted as Prolocutor in the Convocation which revised and authorised the "Articles of Religion," after the Council of Trent had defined the doctrine of the Mass :—

"M. Ex iis quæ jam de Cœna Dominica commemorasti, videor mihi colligere, eam non in hunc finem institutam esse, ut Christi Corpus Deo Patri pro peccatis in sacrificium offeratur. A. Minime vero ita offertur. Nam Ipse ut Corpore suo vescamur, non ut illud offeramus, cum Cœnam suam instituerat, præcepit. Offerendi vero pro peccatis prærogativa ad solum Christum, ut qui æternus ille sit sacerdos, pertinet, qui et unicum illud perpetuumque sacrificium moriens in Cruce pro salute nostra semel fecit, illique abunde in omne tempus satisfecit. Nobis vero nihil restat, nisi ut æterni illius sacrificii usum fructum nobis ab ipso Domino legatum gratis animis capiamus : quod quidem in Cœna Dominica maxime facimus. M. Sacra igitur Cœna, ut video, ad mortem Christi, Ejusque in Cruce perpetratum semel sacrificium, quo solo placatus nobis Deus efficitur, nos remittit" (p. 174 ; edit. Jacobson).

This is the teaching of the Catechism referred to in our 79th Canon of 1604, which says : "All Schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to bear, the larger or shorter Catechism heretofore by public authority set forth." If this is not sufficient, we may add the witness of our Homilies, which teaches us that "Christ commended to the Church a Sacrament of His body and blood : they have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and the dead ;" and warns us to "take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice," and teaches that for true communion, "thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing priest, no Mass, no means established by man's invention" (see my *Papers on Eucharistic Presence*, pp. 281–285).

Thus, the expurgations of our Liturgy, the teachings of our Catechisms, the voice of our Homilies, and (we may confidently add) the writings of our Reformers, as well as their constant testimony to the truth for which our martyrs died at the stake—all combine, as with one voice, to support the unambiguous witness of our Ordinal to a steadfast purpose (in spite of a wise principle of conservatism) to reject,[1] with a decided rejection, human additions to divine revelation, to sweep away the dangerous deceits of mediæval error, and to purify the Church of England from accretions which were out of harmony with the Scriptures of truth and the teaching of the Apostles, and were repugnant to the faith once for all delivered unto the saints ; and all this, not in the way of cutting off mere parasitical growths of corruption, but in the way of following out the principle so clearly and forcibly expressed by Archbishop Cranmer : "The rest is but branches and leaves, the cuting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing and the roots in the ground ; but the very body of the tree, or rather, the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the Real Presence of Christ's flesh and blood in

offering sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other rites" (Bishop Burnet ; see Walcott, *On Ordinal*, p. 292). In English pontificals there is no mention of the *porrectio instrumentorum* before the eleventh century (see Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, vol iii. p. 214). Nor is it found in the *Ord. Rom.*, which Muratori ascribes to the tenth century (*Lit. Rom.*, tom. ii. cc. 413, 414, 405), though it has place in the Ancient Pontifical which follows (see c. 429). (See *Notes on the Vindication of the Bull "Apost. Curæ,"* E. Stock, p. 2.) It is unknown at this day to the Greeks (see *Cath. Dict.*, p. 678).

The origin of this ceremony may perhaps be traced to the "Ordo, qualiter in Rom. Ecclesia Sacri Ordines fiunt." Here we find this direction ("Expletis omnibus, Missaque rite completa") : "Pontifex autem donet eis Sacerdotalia indumenta, et ministeria Missæ, aurum vel argentum, vinum, frumentum et oleum" (Hittorpius, *Ordo Rom.*, p. 64 ; Rome, 1591). It is of uncertain date, but certainly ancient. It is Mabillon's *Ordo IX.* (see *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. 91 ; Paris, 1724). It is "distinctively Roman," as Dr. Hatch has pointed out in *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. ii. pp. 1498, 1515.

[1] In the Papal Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* this designed omission of our Ordinal is thus expressed : "De ipsis consulto detractum est quidquid in ritu Catholico dignitatem et officia sacerdotii perspicue designat" (p. 41 ; edit. Burns).

the Sacrament of the Altar (as they call it) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ, made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions" (*Pref. to Lord's Supper*, 1550, Parker Soc. p. 6).

Most assuredly the Church of England (while carefully upholding what is scriptural and primitive in the matter of our Ordinations[1]) never framed her Ordinal with a purpose or desire that her children should see in the courts of the House of the Lord what Hooker would (we are persuaded) have condemned as a "mingle-mangle of religion and superstition, *ministers* and *massing-priests*, light and darkness, truth and error, traditions and Scripture" (see Hooker's *Works*, edit. Keble, vol. iii. p. 666).[2]

We need not question, indeed, that there are Romanists who would assent (in some sense) to much of our teaching, and would agree (in some sense) in rejecting and cutting off a good many of the branches and leaves of error which the Church of England has rejected. Rather, we would gladly believe, and those who can hardly believe may charitably hope, that there are many whose faith rests on the truth which we maintain, even when the roots of error remain in the ground. But we are bound in faithfulness to draw attention to the fact, that what may fairly be called the prevalent doctrine in the sixteenth century, the doctrine which is taught by the natural and obvious sense of the language of Rome, has never received any formal or authoritative repudiation by the Western Church. Nay, we must add that it has passed through the fire of Conciliar disputation, and come forth unharmed with scarcely a hair of its head singed[3] It still stands before us as it stood of old. It has never been condemned; while the doctrine of the *Minimisers* has never been justified.[4] And even the most minimised doctrine of propitiation is made to rest on a real sacrificial oblation and immolation of the really present body and blood of Christ (see *Dangerous Deceits*, pp. 84, 121). Some might be surprised to see how the doctrine we condemn is now taught in Roman popular manuals. And though, indeed, we may find the efficacy of the Mass-sacrifice sometimes compared to the efficacy of prayer (see *Dangerous Deceits*, pp. 73–75, 125, 126), we must set beside such teachings the prevalent doctrine as expressed in the language of Lindanus, who maintains: "Longe diversum est a precibus sacrificium," and asks, "Cum tantopere contendatis, Missæ sacrificium non esse propitiatorium pro delendis peccatis vivorum aut mortuorum, qua obsecro fronte audetis negare vos idem cum Aerio sentire?"[5] (*Panoplia Evang.*, lib. iv. pp. 308, 315; Colon. 1575). Indeed, the faith of the extremist Roman minimiser can never be released from the binding of the Creed of Pope Pius IV.: "Profiteor . . . in Missa offerri Deo, verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium, pro vivis et defunctis; atque in sanctissimo eucharistiæ sacramento esse vere, realiter et substantialiter, corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et Divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Need we wonder, then, that now we have in our Ordinal no *traditio instrumentorum*? To the inquirer who asks: Where is it in your English ordinations? we may thankfully answer, It is nowhere. It is rejected. It is utterly cast away. It is a very significant rite, which had seemed, at least, to exalt itself even into a position in which it stood higher than the very apostolical laying on of hands.[6] It had made a claim to be even that which gave the *sacerdotium*, and conferred the *sacerdotal* powers. But it was a novelty, whose preposterous claims to form the very *materia* of the sacrament of Orders even Roman ecclesi-

[1] See. Jewel's *Apologia Eccles. Angl.*, p. 20; Cambridge, 1838.

[2] On this quotation, see *Bennett Judgment Cleared from Misconception*, p 29.

[3] See Prof. Mozley, *Lectures*, &c., p. 217; and *Dangerous Deceits*, p. 65.

[4] On the *Minimised* doctrine see *Dangerous Deceits* (Elliot Stock), pp. 120–126, where may be seen also some examples of present popular teaching. See also *Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, pp. 56, 57. These minimising efforts tend to show how, even in the view of some Romish divines, the doctrine of the Mass must—except as (in some sort) explained away—be derogatory to the sacrifice of the Cross (*ibid.* p. 121), as had been faithfully maintained even in the Council of Trent (see Theiner, *Acta Conc. Trid.*, tom. i. p. 640). Our Article condemns not merely the abuses of the Mass, but even the most minimised form of the Romish doctrine of the Mass (see *Dangerous Deceits*, pp. 26, 50, 51, 83, 87).

[5] So Cardinal De Lugo says: "Non debemus confundere virtutem, quam habet (hoc sacrificium) ad expiandum, et purgandum a peccatis, cum virtute ad mere impetrandum" (*Disp. Schol.* "De Sacr. Euch.," Disp. XIX. lect. ix. § 140, p. 546). And he adds: "Non ergo confert ad delenda peccata impetrando solum, sed propitiando et placando (§ 141).

[6] See *Notes on the Vindication of the Bull "Apost. Curæ"* (E. Stock), Note II., pp. 3–10.

astics have found themselves unable to defend.[1] But English divines must go much further, and declare that the accompanying words impress upon the rite a doctrinal significance which can hardly fail to "endamage the Church of God," as well as to "offend the minds of sober men." In this matter, assuredly, the Churches of the Roman Communion have "fallen from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders." Who will believe that the Apostles of Christ, or any of the Apostolic bishops ever taught their Presbyters to offer "Placabiles hostias[2] pro peccatis," or ever ordained any one of them with any such words as these, "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare: tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis?"

Let the inquirer who has sought, and sought in vain, to find these particulars in the English Ordinal, turn back to study the Episcopal Address at the commencement of the service. There he may seek, and not seek in vain, for the cause of these omissions, for the justification of these rejections. He will find there a true scriptural exposition of the office of the Christian ministry, a true primitive view of the functions of the true Christian priesthood,[3] or presbytery—in which is no mention of "offering for sins," but a true setting forth of the "high diginity," the "weighty office and charge" to which Christian ministers are called—"that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; to teach, and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever." He will see also how those to be ordained are exhorted to "give themselves wholly to this office," and to "continually pray to God the Father, by the mediation of our only Saviour Jesus Christ, for the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost, that, by daily reading[4] and weighing of the Scriptures"

[1] Maldonatus wrote: "Veterem Ecclesiam nunquam ordinasse sine impositione manuum, ex omnibus auctoribus antiquis perspicuum est. De traditione autem calicis et hostiæ, nulla est mentio apud illos" (see Cosin's *Works*, vol. iv. p. 263 A.C.L.).

Morinus says: "Postrema opinio ea est quæ materiam sacerdotii constituit solam manuum impositionem. Hanc solam omnis Ecclesia, Latina, Græca, Barbara semper agnovit. Hanc solam commemorant omnes antiqui Rituales, Latini, Græci; omnes antiqui et recentiores Patres, Græci, Latini" (*De Sac. Ord.*, Pars. III. Exercit. VII. cap. i. p. 103; Antwerp, 1685).

Martene says: "Non satis videtur certa ea scholasticorum theologorum opinio, quæ materiam presbyteratus in traditione calicis et patenæ constituit. . . . Nam omnes antiqui libri Rituales ante annos 800 scripti hanc calicis traditionem constanter prætermittunt" (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, tom. ii. c. 65). Yet Cardinal Pole formally promulgated as Canon Law in England, the decree of Eugenius IV. making the *porrectio instrumentorum* to be of the essence of ordination. The *manuum impositio* (with words expressive of intent and prayer) is the proper rite of ordination of Apostolic origin and scriptural authority. Of this it is truly said in the *Reformatio Leg. Eccl.* that "retineri placet, quoniam illius in Sacris Scriptis mentio sit, et perpetuum habuerit usum in Ecclesia" (*De Sacram.*, c. vi.). See *Dangerous Deceits*, p. 58. Mason, *De Minis. Angl.*, lib. ii. c. xvi. xvii. See also Becanus and Calvin, as quoted in Walcott, *On Eng. Ord.*, p. 239. In the Greek Church the right hand only is imposed. St. Ambrose says: "Sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, et Deus benedicit potente dextera." See also Chrysostom and Gregorius Nazianzenus (as well as other more recent authors), as quoted by Walcott, pp. 248 *sqq.* On the delivery of the Bible to the priest, see Prideaux, as quoted by Walcott, p. 254.

[2] The term "Missarum Sacrificia" of our Article XXXI.—being in the plural—does not signify any vulgar misapprehension of the Romish doctrine. See *Dangerous Deceits*, App. Note A. It is the very language used in the Latin version of the Acts of the Council of Florence (see Caranza, tom. iii. p. 563). And it expresses the very doctrine which underlies the teaching of the Roman Pontifical.

[3] A fair argument may be built upon the English use of the word *priest* against the disregard of what is due to those who are set over us in the Lord, and the making light of the "high dignity" and the "weighty office" of Christian ministers as here set before us. But no fair argument can rest on the use of this term, nor on the occasional use of the Latin *sacerdos*, as against the rejections of our Ordinal, and the condemnations of our Article. See *Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium* (Elliot Stock), pp. 92–101. It will be seen, we believe, that our English Reformers, in using the word priest (as equivalent to Presbyter), meant to exclude the idea of a *sacrificing Sacerdotium* as truly as the extremest Puritans (see p. 96).

[4] This portion of the Address should be regarded in connection with the delivery of the Bible and the words accompanying. Prof. Swete truly observes that "we have retained such late additions as the *Veni Creator* and the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, and the delivery of a book as the sign of office" (*Services before Reformation*, p.

they "may wax riper and stronger in their ministry."

Doubtless, from Rome's point of view, these "rejections" in our Ordinal must grievously damage our defence of the validity of our Orders. But if so, they must also condemn the ordinations of the early and Apostolical Church. It has been well said: "Our Church in King Edward's days, true to the principle of going to the fountain-head of revealed truth and of taking Holy Scripture for her rule and guide, adopted without comment or change of any kind our Lord's own words to be the form that should be used in the ordination of her ministers; and in adopting these words, and these alone, our Church followed the usage of primitive times. The omitted words were no part of the forms employed by the Church of Christ in her earliest days. They are not in the Leonine form 'for the consecration of a presbyter,' which is the old Roman type. This form in the Leonine Sacramentary, which is of great antiquity and unknown authorship, consists of only two or three prayers. Between the early forms of ordination, which are many and diverse, and the elaborate ceremonies now used by Rome, there is an enormous difference. All the distinct assertions of sacrificial powers are mediæval accretions. If, therefore, the absence of these particular words, specified in the Bull, from the form in the Edwardine Ordinal renders it defective, and vitiates Anglican Orders, the absence of the words from the form used by our Lord Himself, and from the forms used by the primitive Church, must render them all defective, and vitiate the Orders of the Apostles themselves and of all their successors" (*Papal Claims*, S.P.C.K., pp. 55, 56).

It is impossible to study fairly the history of our Ordinal without seeing that there is a doctrinal gulf between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and that this doctrinal gulf separates two irreconcilable views of the sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. We know no "Corporal Presence," and, therefore, with other "Reformed" Churches, we entirely reject any real sacrificial offering "for sins" of the body and blood of Christ, which is so prominent a feature in the Romish Pontifical, but which is nowhere to be found in our English Ordinal.[1]

Our Orders must of necessity be null and void in Rome's view till we are at one with her on the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Vain must be all projects of union while this doctrine stands between us. Dean Brevint has well admonished us: "Look into what *Rome* is by what *Mass* is, which is no *leaf* or *branch*, but the main *stem* and *bulk* of that tree" (*Missale Romanum*, p. 244; Oxford, 1673). It was a true witness which was borne by Dean Jackson when he wrote of the Romanists: "Their principal exception against our Church and ministry is that our priests in their ordination do not receive the power of sacrificing Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament. But their inserting this clause into the form of Ordination, doth prove their priesthood to be anti-Christian" (*Treatise of H. Cath. Faith and Church*, book xii. ch. xxiii. *Works*, vol. xii. p. 184; Oxford, 1844).

Rome might find no difficulty in recognising our Orders if she were satisfied with the ministry of an Apostolic Presbyterate. (See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. p. 260 *sqq.*) But how can she recognise our ministers as her priests so long as she consistently requires her presbyters to be ordained for the purpose and with the intention of exercising a function which we regard as derogatory to the priesthood of Christ? Rome's doctrine of Orders involves the doctrine of *her* Real Presence,

208). This delivery to the priests appears to be peculiar to the English Church, and there is some reason to suppose that it was derived from the East (see Badger's *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 335). At Constantinople, however, the book delivered was the Order for the Holy Communion (see Walcott, *On Ordinal*, p. 253). And the difference in this respect is not without its significance. Martene says, speaking of the Ordination of Deacons: "Cum ergo solemnis fuerit in Anglia Evangelii traditio, reperiaturque in omnibus, quos inde viderimus libris Ritualibus, ab ea Ecclesia hunc ritum initium traxisse facile colligitur. Inde transisse in Gallias existimamus" (*De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i. cap. viii. art. ix. § vii. tom. ii., col. 61; Antwerp, 1736). Catalani questions Martene's assertion that the delivery of the Gospels is not found in any pontifical before the tenth century, except in those of English use, but without sufficient cause. See Maskell, *Monumenta Rit.*, vol. iii. p. 199.

[1] The connection between Rome's doctrine of Orders and Rome's doctrine of the Mass, was seen clearly enough from her own standpoint in the sixteenth century. Thus, in Dec. 1551, certain Articles were submitted at Trent for discussion in the "Congregatio Theologorum" on "The Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of Orders." They are described by Theiner as "Articuli Hæreticorum." They were headed thus: "Articuli de sacrificio Missæ et Sacramento Ordinis per D. D. Theologos examinandi, an sint hæretici et damnandi per S. Synodum" (see Theiner's *Acta Genuina*, tom. i. p. 602). On the alleged retention in our Liturgy of propitiatory sacrifice with its Sacerdotium, see *Doctrine of Sacerdotium*, pp. 101–110.

Real Propitiatory oblation of Christ sent on the altar) for the living and

And this doctrine we hold and belong to the class of "blasphema et perniciosæ impostura." How, our Orders be valid in her view? can we consistently desire that it otherwise?

been well said by the Bishop of , "It comes, then, simply to this: render the principles for which the Church has steadily contended for 50 years? Or can we hold the of our Church, and, with a due the ordinary and rational rules by torical documents are interpreted, concile the sense of our historical ritative standards of doctrine with ritative doctrine of the Church of he only answer to each question is, sible" (*Address to Diocesan Synod*,

[N. D.]

Y.—"The word 'ordinary' signifieth authorised to take cognisance of his own proper right, as he is a , and not by way of deputation or " (Burn). Thus the archdeacon is ary in matters relating to the admis- urchwardens, or hearing complaints arish clerks. But in most cases, in relation to the rubrics, the bishop cese is meant. In all cases it means diate superior of the person affected ercise of jurisdiction. From him an ommonly lies to the archbishop of nce, and ultimately to the Crown. is declare the Crown to be "supreme es," which necessarily implies that vn has the same jurisdiction in ical as in civil suits. "Causes" judicature, so that supremacy in implies supremacy in jurisdiction. Henry VIII. c. 17, says archbishops, &c., "have no manner of jurisdiction ical but by, under, and from your jesty." The 1 Edward VI. c. 2, said: rte ecclesiastical within the said two kept by no other power or authority reign *or within the realm*, but by the of his most excellent Majesty." So op Bancroft, who drafted the Canons said: "Both the ecclesiastical and jurisdiction be now united in his which were heretofore *de facto*, though re, derived from several heads" (Card. , ii. 83).

tle of "Supreme Ordinary" rests on al authority. Rolle (*Abridgment*, ii. ler the title *Prerogative*, says: "The y exempt abbeys from the visitation Ordinary, for the king is Supreme Ordinary." Hence in a royal visitation the jurisdiction of the bishops is suspended. Chief Justice Dyer, with three other judges, laid it down in Grendon's case that the sovereign is Supreme Ordinary (Plowden, 498). In Ireland the same title was given to the sovereign (Sir John Davies' Reports, Commenda Case, p. 73, as cited by Archdeacon Hale). Queen Elizabeth formally claimed "the full power, authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy which heretofore the Popes usurped" (Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 495). Hence if one or both Primates were now to turn Papists, or Deists (like Bishop Silliman Ives, or Bishop Colenso), the king has the power to suspend or deprive them—a power which, in fact, has been exercised in English history.

[J. T. T.]

ORDINATION.—By Canon Law only baptized persons can present themselves as candidates for ordination, therefore a certificate or other proof of baptism is always required.

Age.—By the rubric prefixed to the Ordination Service in the Book of Common Prayer, which book is in itself the schedule to an Act of Parliament (13 & 14 Ch. II. c. 4), it is provided that none shall be ordained a deacon under twenty-three years of age, nor priest under twenty-four years of age. This rule seems to have been frequently broken in Ireland, and consequently an Act (44 Geo. III. c. 43) was passed in 1803, specially confirming the provisions of the rubric, and enacting that if it were disregarded, a person ordained under those ages should be wholly incapable of having, holding, or enjoying any parsonage, vicarage, benefice, or other ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever in virtue of such his admission as deacon or priest respectively, or of any qualification derived, or supposed to be derived therefrom. The act, however, contains a clause saving the rights of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh of ordaining to the diaconate at an earlier age if they should think fit.

Religious Tests required of Candidates.—By the 28 & 29 Vict. c. 122, it is enacted that every priest or deacon shall make and subscribe a declaration of assent to the XXXIX. Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination Service. The Act provides by sec. 10 that on all the occasions (besides those specially mentioned in the Act) where any declaration or subscription with respect to the XXXIX. Articles, or the Book of Common Prayer, or the Liturgy, is required to be made by any person in Holy Orders, or who is appointed to any ecclesiastical office or dignity, the declaration of assent therein contained shall be substituted for the making of any other declaration or subscription. The declaration

of assent is as follows: "I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely make the following declaration. I assent to the XXXIX. Articles of religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and to the Ordering of bishops, priests and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God, and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." Sec. 4 provides that the above declaration shall be made together with the oath of allegiance both when he is ordained priest or deacon. The Promissory Oaths Act, 1868, sec. 8, does away with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and substitutes an oath of allegiance simply. This declaration of assent has to be used again on appointment to a living, preachership, or lectureship *before* institution. The same statute provides further (sec. 7), that after institution the person instituted or collated shall, on the first Lord's Day on which he officiates, or on such other Lord's Day as the ordinary may appoint and allow, publicly and openly in the presence of the congregation there assembled, read the XXXIX. Articles, and immediately after reading the same make the above declaration of assent, adding after the words "Articles of religion" in the said declaration, the words, "which I have now read before you." The penalty for not complying is absolute forfeiture, but no title to present by lapse shall accrue until the ordinary has given six months' notice thereof to the patron. In addition thereto the person ordained has to take an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop (28 & 29 Vict. c. 122, sec. 12).

Pecuniary Qualifications.—The 33rd and 35th Canons provide that a bishop shall not ordain a person unless he be provided with one ecclesiastical cure within the diocese. Where a bishop ordains on letters dimissory from another bishop, it is such other bishop's duty to see that the person has a sufficient title.

Moral and Literary Requirements.—The 13 Eliz. c. 12, and the 34th Canon provide that candidates for orders shall be of good life, and also qualified in respect of learning. The conferring of orders appears to be discretionary, and there is no way of compelling a bishop who thinks a candidate's qualifications are not good, to ordain. R. *v.* Archbishop of Dublin, 1 Alcock & Napier, 244 (Ir. Rep.). To inform the bishop in the exercise of his discretion as to the moral suitability of a candidate for orders, the 34th Canon provides that no bishop shall henceforth admit any person into sacred orders, which is not of his own diocese, except he be either of one of the universities of this realm, or except he shall bring letters dimissory (so termed) from the bishop of whose diocese he is; and desiring to be a deacon is three and twenty years old; and to be a priest four and twenty years complete; and hath taken some degree of school in either of the said universities; or, at the least, except he is able to yield an account of his faith in Latin according to the Articles of religion approved in the Synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm one thousand five hundred sixty and two, and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the Holy Scriptures; and, except moreover, he shall exhibit letters testimonial of his good life and conversation under the seal of some college in Cambridge or Oxford where before he remained, or of three or four grave ministers together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons who have known his life and behaviour by the space of three years." If the candidate had left the university and is living elsewhere, a notice must be published in the church of the parish where he resides, on some Sunday at least a month before the ordination, of the candidate's intention to come forward for ordination. This notice is known as a *si quis*.

By the House of Commons Disqualification Act, 1801, 41 Geo. III. c. 63, no person having been ordained to the office of priest or deacon shall be elected to serve as a member of the House of Commons. By the Municipal Corporation Act, 1882, 45 & 46 Vict. c. 50, sec. 12, he is disqualified from being a mayor, alderman, and town councillor, though by the Local Government Act, 1888, they are not disqualified from acting as county aldermen or councillors.

By the Clerical Disabilities Act, 1870, 33 & 34 Vict. c. 91, a clergyman can now divest himself of Holy Orders by executing and enrolling a deed of relinquishment in the Chancery Division of the High Court. [E. B. W.]

ORIENTATION.—The situation of a church (especially of its sanctuary) in the direction of the east. This was a common, but by no means a universal custom in Christian churches.

ORNAMENTS and ORNAMENTS RUBRIC.—This word does not mean in ecclesiastical law what it means when used in its popular sense, viz., an embellishment or adornment. It is a collective term for all the articles *used* in, and ancillary to, the performance of the prescribed Church service. Thus, vestments, books, cloths, chalices, patens, communion tables, and a number of other things are "ornaments," of which none may, in fact, be decorative. The question, What are legal ornaments in the Church of England? has

been the subject matter of a large number of decisions. Great interest has been taken in these decisions because one party wished to use ornaments which symbolise that the minister is a sacrificing priest, and the other party objected to articles tending to teach a doctrine especially repudiated at the Reformation. A great deal of the litigation has been caused by the wording of the rubric known as the "Ornaments Rubric," and the fact that the printers who print the Prayer Book do not print with it the two Acts of Uniformity (that of 1 Eliz. c. 2, and that of 13 & 14 Charles II. c. 4) which enforce the use of the Prayer Book. When these Acts are read together with the rubric, they explain its meaning. The rubric is as follows:—

"And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth."

As the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth, which ought to have been printed as the first item of the Prayer Book, is frequently not so printed, it has led to the belief that the above rubric laid down the rule to be observed, and that the only question was, what was the proper construction of it? The Privy Council have, however, held that the law as to what are legal ornaments is not contained in it at all; but that it is no more than "a memorandum or note of reference to the law" as to ornaments which is contained in the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c. 2), printed in all the *legal* copies of the Book of Common Prayer (see Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, L.R. 2 P.C. 276, at p. 324).

To understand how this result was arrived at, it will be necessary to state the history of the Ornaments Rubric as it has been found by the Privy Council. The principle on which certain ornaments have been held to be legal and others illegal, will then be clear. The several kinds of ornaments may be dealt with in the following order: (1) *Ornaments of the Church.* Decorations are not ornaments as they are not things which are in use, or subsidiary to the service of the Church, but are things which are merely embellishments or architectural adornments. They are dealt with in this article partly because the law of ornaments is easier to understand if things which might be taken for such are discussed together. (2) *Ornaments of the Minister.* In what follows, the reader will bear in mind that what is attempted in this article is a résumé of the law as to "ornaments" as laid down in the cases decided up to the present. The correctness of such decisions depends, first, on the historical accuracy and completeness with which the facts between Queen Elizabeth's and Charles II.'s reigns have been brought before the Courts and found by them; secondly, on the correctness of the reasoning from such facts. Lord Cairns, in delivering the Judgment of the Privy Council in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton (L.R. 2 P.D. 276, at p. 307), pointed out that ritual suits were penal in form, and that a tribunal ought to be slow to exclude any fresh light which might be brought to bear on the subject; but said the Privy Council were "fully sensible of the importance of establishing and maintaining, as far as possible, a clear and unvarying interpretation of rules, the stringency and effect of which ought to be easily ascertained and understood by every clerk before his admission into Holy Orders." The judgments, in their reasonings therefore, attempt to give such rules and principles; and their decisions and rulings must bind any conscientious and loyal member of the Church of England as by law established, until a case is brought where the parties succeed in inducing that Court to say that, owing to new light, it alters the rules as laid down previously. A lawyer can only express his opinion on the value of the reasoning on the facts as found by the tribunal. A historian may attack the correctness of the finding on which the reasoning is based, but it would be rash for either to predict to what extent a judgment would be upset and new rules laid down.

The first English Prayer Book was issued in 1549 by Edward VI., by authority of Parliament in the second year of his reign, and is known as Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book. That Prayer Book contained at the end of it "certain notes." The directions contained in these general notes as to ornaments of the minister were as follows:—

"In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the Minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being Graduates, may use in the Quire, beside their surplices, such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees which they have taken in any University within this realm. But in all other places, every Minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that Graduates when they do preach, should use such hood, as pertaineth to their several Degrees.

"And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public Ministration, he shall have upon him, besides his Rochette, a Surplice or Albe, and a Cope or Vestment, and also his

Pastoral Staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

A rubric (in the same Prayer Book) at the beginning of the communion service, contained the following direction:

"Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say: a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many Priests or Deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the Priest in the ministration, as shall be requisite. And shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles."

The same book, in the first rubric at the end of the communion service, directs the English Litany to be said on Wednesdays and Fridays, and directs the priest on these days (after the Litany is ended) "to put upon him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope," and to read that part of the communion service until after the offertory (although there is no one to communicate with him), and then to add one or two of the collects in the communion service, and to let the people depart with the usual blessing.

In 1552, by an Act of Uniformity 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 1., Edward VI. introduced his Second Prayer Book into the Church of England. This Prayer Book does not contain the "certain notes" given above, nor the above rubrics as to albes, tunicles, and copes in the communion service—the one in the communion service, the other at the end of the Prayer Book—but has instead the following rubric before the Order for Morning Prayer:—

"And here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but being Archbishop or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet, and being a Priest or Deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, and the Reformation, which had been put back in Queen Mary's reign, was continued, she reintroduced, by the Act 1 Eliz. c. 2, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with certain trifling alterations which had nothing to do with the question of ornaments. Though the Act did not mention the last-mentioned rubric, forbidding alb, vestment, and cope at all, as one of the alterations, nor suspend it directly, section 25 seems to have been a temporary suspension of it. Section 25 reads as follows:—

"Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm."

The second year of Edward VI. is the year when his First Prayer Book was enacted by authority of Parliament. The 25th section has been held by the Privy Council to mean, not that the ornaments lawful at the time of the introduction of the Prayer Book were to be the standard, but the ornaments "prescribed by" the First Prayer Book. That section was clearly intended to have only temporary effect, since it speaks of the ornaments being "retained and being in use *until* other order." The effect of this section was that while the Act made the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. compulsory, the ornaments prescribed by the First Prayer Book were to be "retained and be in use until other order should be taken," but it did not provide for or authorise the leaving out of the Prayer Book the rubric forbidding their use.

When the Prayer Book was published, the Act of 1 Eliz. c. 2, was printed in full in front of it. The authorities who issued the book, when they published it took upon themselves, without any legal authority, but not (as the Privy Council have held) intending it by way of enactment or order, but only by way of a memorandum or reference to the statute (printed along with the book), to substitute an admonitory note or rubric for the statutory rubric of Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book. The new note was as follows:—

"And here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI., *according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book.*"

This note was misleading, as it did not refer to the fact that the Act only directed that such ornaments should be "retained and be in use *until* other order;" but at the same time the note, on the face of it, showed that it professed to have no intrinsic authority, for it referred to the Act of Parliament "set in the beginning" of the book. And this is the view the Privy Council took.

In 1566 "other order was taken" by the Advertisements of that year. See ADVERTISEMENTS. These Advertisements contain the following directions as to ornaments:—

"*Item.* In the ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate

churches, the principal minister shall use a cope, with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion table to use no copes, but surplices.

"*Item.* That the Dean and Prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the Quire, and when they preach . . . to wear their hood.

"*Item.* That every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments (plural), or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charges of the parish, and that the parish provide a decent table standing on a frame for the Communion table.

"*Item.* They shall decently cover with carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linnen cloth (at the time of the ministration) the Communion table, and to set the Ten Commandments upon the east wall over the said table.

"*Item.* That the font be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize in Parish Churches in any Basons, nor in any other form than is already prescribed. . . ."

These directions having been made under the authority derived from the 25th section of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, have statutory authority (Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, L.R. 2 P.D. 276, at p. 321). They have been copied almost verbatim into the 24th, 25th, 81st, and 82nd Canons, the first quoted of which refers to them expressly. In spite of this, those who wished to use the cope, alb, &c., argued that no "other order" had ever been taken, and that consequently such vestments were the only legal ones at the time of communion. The fact that from 1566 to 1840, over two hundred years, the vestments in question had never been used in parish churches and the cope only at exceptional seasons (see COPE) in cathedrals up to the time of the Commonwealth, and not revived after the Restoration, but universally discarded, weighing for nothing with them when seeking to interpret the rubric.

The Privy Council therefore held that the 25th section of 1 Eliz. c. 2 must now be read as if these directions of the advertisements were part and parcel thereof (see Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, at p. 321). The section so altered then reads as follows:—

"Provided always that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI., except that the surplice shall be used by the ministers of the Church at all times of their public ministrations, and the alb, vestment, or tunicle shall not be used, nor shall a cope be used except at the administration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches."

In spite of the "other order" having been taken the rubric continued to be printed in the same form and with the same wording as it had before Queen Elizabeth's Advertisements altered the law, until the time of the Restoration and the last Act of Uniformity. A correction not having been made either *per incuriam*, or because the law was well known, Queen Elizabeth's Advertisements were universally obeyed, in that no attempt was made by any one to use the alb or vestment at all, and the cope was worn only in cathedrals and collegiate churches.

When at the Restoration, in Charles II.'s reign, the Prayer Book came up again for revision, the Puritans objected to the rubric which had been inserted without authority in Queen Elizabeth's book as above mentioned, because it "seemeth to bring back the cope, alb, &c., and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book 5 & 6 Edward VI." The bishops at the Savoy Conference stated that they intended to leave the law as to vestures unchanged. The rubric, however, was altered by making it more closely conform to the wording of the 25th section of the statute of Elizabeth, by altering the words "The minister *at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration*," to "such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, *at all times of their ministration*, shall be retained and be in use." All these new words being extracted from the Act of Elizabeth except the words "at all times of their ministration;" they also omitted the words at the end of the old rubric—"according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book."

The Prayer Book with the rubric in this altered form was passed by both Houses of Convocation, and received legislative sanction both from the Houses of Convocation and by Parliament by the Act of 13 & 14 Charles II. c. 4., with the statute of Elizabeth inserted into it and put No. 1 in the list of contents. Elizabeth's statute is in the unique position of having been passed in both places. That statute, in order that there should be no uncertainty as to it, "annexed" the original MS., containing the alterations, to the Act itself as a schedule, and ordered carefully compared copies to be made, and when properly verified to be sealed with the Great Seal of England. Each cathedral, and certain other places, were ordered to provide themselves with one of these "sealed copies." The sealed books contain both Acts of Uniformity—

that of 1 Elizabeth c. 2, and 13 & 14 Charles II. c. 4. The Act of Elizabeth was not repealed by the Act of Charles II. in 1662. Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity specially refers to the Elizabethan Act in the preamble as an Act which was in force, and which Parliament intended to enforce and strengthen by passing the then Act of Uniformity. Section 24 of Charles II.'s Act provides as follows:—

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the several good laws and statutes of this realm which have been formerly made, and are now in force, for the uniformity of Prayer and administration of the Sacraments within this realm of England and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming of the said book."

It was for the first time in 1662—by virtue of the Uniformity Act (but only in an altered form), that the "rubric" of 1559 as to ornaments which was put in without authority by those who published the Prayer Book—obtained legislative sanction. When it was argued before the Privy Council that the present rubric repealed the Act of Elizabeth and the advertisements and canons, they held that was not so; first, because the Act of Elizabeth was specially confirmed by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Next, because the universal practice, from the time of the passing of the Act until the beginning of the modern Oxford Movement, showed that no one considered that the rubric altered the universally enforced rule from 1566 to 1662 (leaving out the time of the Rebellion) of abolishing the alb and other vestments in parish churches. The Privy Council *held therefore that the present rubric, if it was not in conformity with the statute of Elizabeth as amended by the "other order" contained in the advertisements of* 1566, *was not otherwise than what it had been before, a memorandum of reference to that law* (Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, 2 P.D. at p. 324). Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity was specially subscribed and adopted by Convocation. The Elizabethan Act was also incorporated into the Prayer Book, and made part of its contents No. 1.

The result of this history and the law laid down by the Privy Council at the same time is that the only ornaments that are lawful are: (1) Those prescribed by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. as altered by the Advertisements; (2) any prescribed by the present Prayer Book; and (3) such ornaments as are consistent with, and subsidiary to, the prescribed service, as pews, hassocks, church bells. The test of legality is not what ornaments were used in the second year of Edward VI.'s reign, nor what ornaments the Canons or Royal Injunctions prior to 1549 directed to be used, but what ornaments were retained and in use by authority of Parliament dating from the second year of Edward VI., and not abolished entirely, or else changed as to the time and place of their lawful use by the Advertisements of Elizabeth of 1566. Besides these negative enactments, there is the statute of 3 & 4 Edward VI. c. 10, which was revived in 1603, 1 Jac. I. c. 25, sec. 25, and which is still a binding statute. This requires that all antiphons, missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals, be abolished and forbidden to be used. It required all images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, to be defaced and destroyed in churches, except images on tombstones of persons not reputed to be saints. So that from 1603 these ornaments used up to the time of the introduction of the First Prayer Book are expressly forbidden

The Ornaments of the Church.—We will now see what ornaments of the Church are mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549, the first one of Edward VI. They are: An English Bible, the new Prayer Book, a poor men's box, a paten, bell, chalice, a corporas, an altar, pulpit, font. There are some others implied in it by ceremonies which have been abolished, such as a vessel for anointing oil, but it cannot be fairly contended that the "ornament" remains after its use has been abolished.

Altar altered to Communion Table.—The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. speaks in the rubrics in the communion service, and in the service itself, four times of a "Table," four times of "the Altar," and once of "God's Board." The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., re-introduced by Elizabeth, speaks throughout in the rubrics of the communion service, and in the service itself, of a "table," and of "God's Board" (in the present book altered to "table"), and of the communion itself as "a supper," "a feast," or "a banquet." The Injunctions of 1559, which were issued by Queen Elizabeth contemporaneously with the publishing of the Prayer Book, contain an article headed "For Tables in the Churches." This article contains the following direction: "And that the Holy Table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood." The Advertisements, following up the Injunctions of 1559, directed the parish to "provide a decent table standing on a frame for the Communion Table," and then had the following direction: "*Item.* They shall decently cover with carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linen cloth, at the time of ministration, the Communion Table." The Rubric orders that "The

Table at the Communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said." The 82nd Canon is so worded as to carry out the provisions of the rubric and the Advertisements, for it says: "Whereas we have no doubt but that in all churches within the realm of England convenient and decent tables are provided and placed for the celebration of the Holy Communion, we appoint that the same tables shall from time to time be kept and repaired in sufficient and seemly manner, and covered in time of divine service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff thought fit by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration, as becometh that table, and so stand, saving when the said Holy Communion is to be administered, at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number may communicate with the said minister."

The result of these directions has been held to be that stone altars are illegal in the Church of England, and that wooden movable tables are the proper ornament (Faulkner *v.* Litchfield, 1 Robertson Eccl. Report, 184; Westerton *v.* Liddell, Moore, Sp. Report, p. 185). In Westerton *v.* Liddell it was also held that as there was no direction as to the colour of the "carpet," any colour might be used. This did not apply to the fair white linen cloth. As to that, it was held it must not have an embroidered or lace border. *Prima facie* two communion tables are not lawful in one church, but if part of a church is separated from the rest, and is used when there are small attendances, it has been allowed (*re* Holy Trinity, Stroud Green, 12 P.D. 199).

Bells.—A bell is mentioned in the last paragraph of the Preface concerning the service of the Church (and in the Commination Service in the First and Second Prayer Books, but not in that finally adopted), and in Canons 15, 17, 80, and 111.

Bible.—Ordered by the Prayer Book and by the 80th Canon, and described as "the Bible of the largest volume."

Flagon, chalice, or cup.—Ordered by the rubric in the communion service. By the 20th Canon the wine is required "to be brought to the communion table in a clean and sweet standing pot or stoup (= flagon) of pewter, if not of purer metal."

Stone Font.—The rubric in the baptismal services mentions a font, but does not otherwise describe it. Elizabeth's Advertisements have the following provision as to it. "That the font be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize in parish churches in any basons." The 81st Canon is as follows: "According to a former constitution (viz., the Canon of 1571 [Card. Synod, I. 123]), too much neglected in many places, we appoint that there shall be a font of stone in every church and chapel where baptism is to be ministered, the same to be set in the ancient usual place, in which only font the minister shall baptize publicly."

Reading-desk.—"A convenient seat to be made for the minister to read service in," Canon 82, and also referred to in the rubric in the commination service as the "reading pew."

Pulpit.—Referred to in the rubric at the head of the commination service, and ordered by the 83rd Canon: "The Churchwardens or Questmen, at the common charge of the parishioners in every church, shall provide a comely and decent pulpit to be set in a convenient place within the same, by the discretion of the Ordinary of the place, if any question do arise, and to be there seemly kept for the preaching of God's Word."

Ten Commandments.—Queen Elizabeth's advertisements provide that the Ten Commandments shall be placed at the east end over the communion table, for, after speaking of the communion table, they say: "And to set the Ten Commandments upon the east wall over the said table." The 82nd Canon provides as follows as to the Ten Commandments: "That the Ten Commandments be set up in the east end of every church and chapel where the people may best see and read the same." It omits the provision of the advertisements which directs their being placed "over the said table." The Canon continues: "And other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels in places convenient."

Alms Bason.—Directed by the rubric in the communion service to be a "decent bason." In the First and Second Prayer Books a poor man's box is mentioned. The Prayer Book of 1662 omits all reference to it, but it is mentioned in the 84th Canon under the name of Alms-chest.

Register of Christenings, Weddings and Burials.—Ordered by Canon 70 to be of parchment, to be kept in one sure coffer with three locks and keys, one to remain with the minister, and the other two with the churchwardens severally. This book shall not be taken out except in presence of the minister and churchwardens. The register must now, by 19 & 20 Vict. c. 119, be kept in an iron chest. It should be noted that the Registration Acts to some extent supersede this Canon.

Table of Degrees of Affinity within which marriages are not lawful. Ordered by Canon 99 "to be in every church publicly set up."

Homilies, Book of. — Ordered by the 80th Canon.

The above is a list of all the ornaments directed by law to be used. Mr. Justice Phillimore, in the 2nd edition of the late Sir Robert Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, has a long list of others, and as an authority for their use he gives Lindwood. Lindwood was Bishop of St. David's in pre-Reformation times, namely in Henry VI.'s reign, and a canon lawyer. He wrote a book discussing how far the English provincial constitutions were valid, testing their validity by examining whether they agreed with, or contravened, the Roman Canon Law. It is needless to say that this writer is not recognised by the English Courts as an authority as to what ornaments are lawful since the Reformation. (The only ornaments that have been held lawful are things consistent with the rubric, and subsidiary to the prescribed service). In discussing how far ornaments are legal the Courts have taken notice of former rubrics on the subject, and where a former rubric prescribed the use of a certain ornament, and that ornament has been omitted from the later one, they have held such ornament illegal. Most of the decisions deal with vestments, but this principle of construction has been applied to ambiguous rubrics (see, for example of an instance, the way in which the words "it shall suffice" were construed in Hebbert *v.* Purchas, 3 P.C. 605, in discussing whether wafers are legal. See also Martin *v.* Mackonochie, L.R. 2 P.C. 365, at p. 390). The Privy Council in Westerton *v.* Liddell (Moore's Sp. Report, at p. 187), after saying they "entirely agree with the opinions expressed by the learned judges in these cases (*i.e.* Westerton *v.* Liddell and Beal *v.* Liddell) and in Faulkner *v.* Litchfield (1 Rob. Ecc. Rep. 184), that in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed, that no omission and no addition can be permitted," said that they were not prepared to hold that the use of all articles not expressly mentioned in the rubric, although quite consistent with, and even subsidiary to, the service, is forbidden. They pointed out that organs, pews, cushions, pulpit-cloths, seats by the communion table, were permissible. On this basis they dealt with the question whether a *credence* table was permissible, and held it to be so. And this view the Privy Council held to be right in Martin *v.* Mackonochie (L.R. 2 P.C. 365, at p. 390).

Illegal Ornaments of the Church.—Bearing in mind the definition of ornament—"a thing used in the services and ministrations of the Church"—it will be seen that on the principles laid down in the cases cited, *all ornaments not prescribed* by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., the rubrics and the canons (which are to be read together with the former), *are illegal* unless it can be proved that they are quite consistent with, and subsidiary to, the prescribed service. Thus, a cross used as an ornament and carried about is illegal, and, *a fortiori*, a crucifix (Elphinstone *v.* Purchas, 3 Ad. & Eccl. 67). Holy water stoups, on the same principle, were held illegal in Davey *v.* Hinde, 1901, p. 95, and ordered to be removed. We will now give a list of some ornaments which have been held to be illegal.

Baldacchino, or canopy over the communion table. This, at first sight, would appear not to be an ornament, as incapable of use, but it has been held that as it was used for the purpose of protecting the host when exposed for worship, and for the honour of the blessed sacrament, it was an ornament and illegal. The Prayer Book forbids the elevation or showing of the sacrament, and a baldacchino was inconsistent with the service prescribed therein.

Other illegal ornaments are:—

Confessional Boxes.—Bradford *v.* Fry, 1878, 4 P.D. 93; Davey *v.* Hinde, 1901, p. 95.

Stations of the Cross.—Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, 2 P.D. 316; Davey *v.* Hinde, 1901, p. 95.

Tabernacle.—Davey *v.* Hinde, 1901, p. 95; Kensit *v.* St. Ethelburga, 1900, p. 80.

Images representing the Virgin Mary, the Good Shepherd, the same case.

Decorations have been defined in Martin *v.* Mackonochie (2 P.C. 364, at p. 387) to be "things inert and unused," and were distinguished from ornaments which have an "active use . . . as part of the administration of a ceremony." Decorations are of two kinds—things, like decorative patterns, which are incapable of use. Next, things which though inert, can be used. These, as long as they are not used, are treated as decorations. There is often considerable controversy as to whether a "usable" thing is an "ornament" or a "decoration." Thus, one picture might be an "ornament" if used for a religious purpose, or as an aid to prayer, and another, of a historical scene, would only be a "decoration." For example a cross, the rule has been to allow them *if not used*, or put up in a place where they lead to misconceptions. Thus, a cross is not allowed in connection, or apparent connection, with the communion table, for it must not be given the appearance of an altar. The judgment of the Privy Council in Liddell *v.* Beal (Moore's Sp. Rep.), in dealing with a case where a wooden cross had been put upon a narrow ledge "raised above the rest of the table" (see p. 151), the ledge being attached

to the table (p. 186), contains the following conclusions: "The distinction between an altar and a table is in itself essential, and the circumstances, therefore, which constitute the distinction, however trifling in themselves, are for that reason important." The cross was therefore ordered to be removed from the table so that it should not look like an altar. The existence of a cross attached to the table was said to be neither consistent with the letter nor the spirit of the canons. In consequence the cross was removed to the sill of the east window, which was five feet ten inches away from the communion table. This did not satisfy some of those who objected to the cross, and they took further proceedings (Liddell *v.* Beal, 1860, 14 Moore P.C. 1). The Privy Council then held that the cross was not "in any sense in communication or contact with the communion table," and that the monition in that case had not been disobeyed. In Durst *v.* Masters (1876, 1 P.D. 373) the incumbent put a cross on a ledge a quarter of an inch above the table, and asserted that it was legal in such a position and was movable. The Privy Council however, refused to enter into any such refinements as to its being movable and a quarter of an inch away from the table, and said that to the eye of a stranger coming into the church there was no difference from what had been originally condemned in Liddell *v.* Westerton; and laid down the principle that no cross should be placed in such a position as to be in apparent connection with the communion table.

The Privy Council in Phillpotts *v.* Boyd (L.R. 6 P.C. 435) allowed a marble reredos at Exeter Cathedral, having on it a bas-relief carving which represented the Ascension, Transfiguration, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost as historical scenes. The Privy Council allowed this reredos on the ground that it could not become an object of superstitious reverence. Courts judge on the evidence presented before them as to the likelihood of any decoration or figure becoming an object of superstition. Thus, the figures in relief on the reredos at Exeter were held subsidiary to the representation of the events, and so were permitted as unlikely to lead to superstition. It is not sufficient that a figure might be, it must be likely to be, or probably would be, a cause of superstitious reverence; thus, a bas-relief of the crucifixion scene on a reredos was held not likely to be a cause of superstition in Hughes *v.* Edwards (1877, 2 P.D. 361), and the Bishop of London, exercising his discretion in R. *v.* Bishop of London (24 Q.B.D. 213), refused to sanction proceedings in the case of the reredos of St. Paul's Cathedral, on the ground that he thought it would not be a cause of superstition.

By the words "superstitious reverence," "adoration," or "worship," the Courts do not only mean to convey the limited idea of a figure or object itself worshipped like a pagan idol, but to embrace the far more extended conception of worship, adoration, or reverence paid to the Deity in presence of, or before, and through the medium of, those objects or figures, and referred to the Roman Catholic doctrine as laid down by the Council of Trent, Sess. XXV., *De Invocatione veneratione et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus.* It is this kind of worship which the XXIInd Article of Religion repudiated, and declared to be "a fond thing vainly invented." The principle on which the Courts go is that the best forecast as to whether a thing is in danger of being an object of superstitious reverence, especially in those cases where the weaknesses and failings of mankind are concerned, is to be obtained from the experience of the past. Thus, as the worship of the crucifix on the rood screen was enjoined in the Missal according to the Sarum Use, such a crucifix was clearly liable to abuse. Lord Penzance laid down the rule in the following words in Clifton *v.* Ridsdale (1876, 1 P.D. 316, at p. 356), which were quoted and approved of by the Privy Council on appeal (1877, 2 P.D. 276): "When the Court is dealing with a well-known sacred object — an object enjoined and put up by authority in all the churches in England before the Reformation in a particular part of the church, and for the purpose of 'adoration'— when the Court finds the same object, both in the church and out of it, is still worshipped by those who adhere to the unreformed Romish faith, and when it is told that now—after a lapse of three hundred years—it is suddenly proposed to set up the same object in the same part of the church as an architectural ornament only —it is hard not to distrust the use to which it may be put, or escape the apprehension that what begins in 'decoration' may end in idolatry." If this apprehension is a just and reasonable one, then there exists that likelihood and danger of superstitious reverence which the Privy Council, in Phillpotts *v.* Boyd (1875, L.R. 6 P.C. 435), pronounced to be fatal to the lawfulness of all images and figures set up in a church. Sir A. Charles, the late Dean of the Arches, held in *re* St. Anselm, Pinner, 1901, p. 202, that the question whether a particular decoration was in danger of superstitious reverence depended on the probability considering the circumstances of the particular church, and suggested evidence being adduced as to the nature of the services in the church where it was proposed to put up on a chancel screen a crucifix with figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John on either side. When he

was satisfied as to the nature of the services, he allowed those figures to be put up. It is submitted that the principle of this decision is not correct—a new vicar might commence all the superstitious practices forbidden—and that the principle laid down by Lord Penzance is a more satisfactory one, viz., that when the particular thing has been associated, and still is, with a practice the Church of England holds superstitious, it cannot be permitted.

Gates to chancel screens have not been approved of by the different chancellors, as appearing to make a distinction between the chancel and the rest of the church, which is not recognised by law; yet they have been allowed for protection of church property where it was customary to keep the church open all week days, and on condition that they should be kept open during the services (Rector of St. Andrew's, Romford *v.* All Persons having Interest, 1894, P.D. 220).

Flowers, if used only as decorations, are legal (Elphinstone *v.* Purchas, L.R. 3 P.C. 605). As to things forbidden because used ceremonially, see CEREMONIES.

Ornaments of the Minister.—The reader who has followed the introductory history has seen that the Privy Council have held that the lawful ornaments for a minister are those authorised by the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, and that these Advertisements have not been superseded by the Ornaments Rubric. The consequence is that the surplice is the only lawful ornament to be worn in parish churches *while ministering*, unless, perhaps, the scarf or tippet, and hood in addition.

Tippet or Scarf, and Hood.—The Advertisements direct Deans, Masters of Colleges, Archdeacons, other Dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors, Masters of Arts, Batchelors (*sic*) of Divinity, Medicine, and Law, having ecclesiastical living, *inter alia* to wear in their common apparel abroad tippets of sarcenet. The 74th Canon directs for the same persons hoods and tippets of silk or sarcenet, and square caps. All other ministers "admitted or to be admitted," are to wear the same dress as the others, except *tippets*. The tippet has become part of the dress worn by ministers, though it is clear both from the Advertisements and Canon that it was an outdoor dress and originally worn by dignitaries in Colleges and Cathedrals, and Doctors and Bachelors of Theology, Law, and Medicine. It has never been the subject of any judicial decision. The scarf is to be distinguished from a stole. A stole is a narrow strip of *coloured* silk expanded at the ends and reaching down to the knees. A tippet, or scarf, was of folded black silk going down to the ankles.

Copes, according to the Advertisements, are to be worn in cathedrals and collegiate churches in the ministration of the Holy Communion by the principal minister with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably. They have fallen into disuse for nearly two centuries now in cathedrals, and if an action were brought against any one for not using them, it is not improbable that the Court would hold that the contemporary, general, and continuous disuse of the same had created a legal practice authorising their disuse, and the use, instead, of a surplice with the other usual ornaments. This disuse seems to have been recognised in 1604, for the 24th Canon, instead of directing the clergy in cathedrals to wear the cope at every ministration of the Holy Communion, limits its direction to the "principal feast days," although a few lines further down it refers to Elizabeth's Advertisements. See COPE. The following vestments have been held to be illegal: alb, amice, maniple, chasuble, tunicle (Hebbert *v.* Purchas, 7 Moore, P.C. N.S. 468, or L.R. 3 P.C. 650; Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, 2 P.D. 276), a biretta, if worn (Hudson *v.* Tooth, 2 P.D. 125; Enraght *v.* Lord Penzance, 1882, 7 App. Cas. 240). In ruling on this point (Elphinstone *v.* Purchas, 1870, 3 Ad. & Eccl. 94) the Court thought it could be innocently carried in the hand.

The *black gown* has been held to be legal for two reasons: first, because the surplice has been only directed to be worn during the administration of the Holy Communion and the other rites (rite being "a service expressed in words," Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 2 Ad. & Eccl. 116, at p. 136) of the Church, and preaching is not a rite nor ministration within the rubric; secondly, the Court held that the use of the black gown had been legal all along through three centuries, and that if it had not been so, on the principle that *communis error facit legem*, *i.e.* since there has been a continuous use of such gown for three hundred years, such use would make it legal even if it had not been so originally (Wright *v.* Tugwell, 1897, 1 Ch. 85).

Ornaments of a Bishop.—The bishop is ordered by the rubric in the consecration of a bishop to wear a rochet. With this they wear a chimere, which was an upper robe originally worn out of doors, and since Queen Elizabeth's time made of black satin.

Pastoral Staff.—If we apply the method of interpreting the rubrics which has been laid down by the Courts, and which is explained on a previous page of this article, it will be clear that the pastoral staff is an illegal ornament. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. enjoined it in the "certain notes" at the end, where vestments are dealt with; the Second Prayer Book and the present one have omitted all reference to it. In the "certain notes" at the end of

irst Prayer Book the bishop was directed ld it in his hand, or have it borne for him i chaplain, both at Holy Communion and executing any other public ministration.)rdinal of 1550, in the service of consecrat- shops, also directed both the consecrating ps to have their pastoral staves in their i, and, as part of the ceremony of conse- ıg a new bishop, in the middle of the ex- tion, after he is given the Bible with the i, "Give heed unto reading," directs the ishop while saying the words, "Be to lock of Christ a shepherd," to put a ral staff into the new bishop's hands. hese references to a pastoral staff have cut out of the present Prayer Book and al. This view is borne out by Gibson, in his Codex published in 1761, says at p. referring to the pastoral staff, episcopal mitre, and gloves (all enjoined in the n Pontifical): "All which, and many other stitions of like nature (as savouring more e ceremonies of the Jewish, than of the icity of the Christian religion), our Re- ıd Church hath prudently and piously side in the consecration of her archbishops bishops, retaining only such outward s as are most ancient and most grave." t may be noted that at the first Elizabethan cration of a bishop, viz., Archbishop ır's (of which he took care there should very exact account in his Register), no ral staff was given, as is expressly men- i in the Archiepiscopal Register.

re.—This also is probably illegal, since it part of the specified dress of a bishop in the First or Second Prayer Book of ırd VI., or any other, and the rule laid by the Courts is that no garments shall ɔrn except such as are authorised. In *v.* Bishop of Lincoln, it was held that, a bishop ministers in any office pre- ɔd by the Prayer Book, he is a "minister," ɔound to observe the directions given to ıinister in the rubrics of such office (L.R. D. 148). [E. B. W.]

.RIUS, or door-keeper, is the name of west of the minor Orders (see ORDERS) in oman Church. To him is often committed are of the building, and the duty of ɛ that all things are in order.

RD MOVEMENT.—The name given to Movement within the Church of England ı is now popularly known as Ritualism. s born in Oxford in the month of July and therefore received the name of the d Movement. Its chief founders were tev. John Keble, the Rev. John Henry ıan (afterwards known as Cardinal New- and the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude. tev. Dr. Pusey joined the party about a year later. The Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, the Rev. Isaac Williams, and the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College, were also prominent leaders. In the month of April 1833, Mr. Newman and Mr. Froude visited Rome, and while there had several secret interviews with Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, to whom they revealed their plans for the new Movement they had already decided on founding, and from whom they sought advice. It does not appear that they consulted with any of the bishops of the Church of England at this early stage. Wiseman was greatly delighted with what these two young Church of England clergymen told him. His conversations with them produced a deep and lasting impression on his mind, and even affected the whole course of his subsequent life. "From that moment," Wiseman subsequently wrote, in the *Dublin Review*, "I watched with intense interest and love the Movement of which I *then* caught the first glimpse. My studies changed their course, the bent of my mind was altered." And, again, he wrote of these same interviews, held in April 1833: "From that moment it (the Movement) took the uppermost place in my thoughts, and became the object of their intensest interest."

The ostensible object of the new Movement was the weakening of the influence of the State over the Church of England, and this secured the sympathy of many who had no love for High Church doctrines; but the real object went much further than this. What was first of all aimed at was the restoration of the doctrines associated with the name of Archbishop Laud, and then of other doctrines which had been long before rejected by the English Reformers. Even at that early period Newman states, in his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, "I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue" the Church of England. The ultimate object was the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. See ROMEWARD MOVEMENT. "I ever kept before me," said Newman, "that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ." In other words, that she was but the servant of the rest of the Catholic Church, that is, of the Eastern Church and the Church of Rome combined. There were many conferences between the leaders of the new Movement, and a great deal of correspondence with friends in various parts of the country, the principal outcome of which was the now well-known *Tracts for the Times*. The first of these appeared on September

9, 1833, and the last on February 27, 1841. Roman Catholic doctrines were taught in them from the commencement, but in a very guarded and careful manner, so as not to excite too much alarm. When No. 4 was published, a copy was lent to Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, a Roman Catholic gentleman, who returned it with this declaration: "Mark my words, these *Tracts* are the beginning of a Catholic Movement which will one day end in the return of her Church to Catholic unity and the See of Peter." Another Roman Catholic said to Mr. John Adolphus, K.C.: "Ah! Adolphus, this is the grandest move for our Church there has been since the Reformation." Of all these *Tracts*, those which created the greatest sensation were Nos. 80, 87, and 90. The two former of these bore the same title: "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," and taught that there are certain doctrines which are secrets, not to be taught to everybody, but to be held in reserve by Christian teachers, and imparted by them only to those who can be trusted. It was as disciples, or writers of the *Tracts for the Times*, that the followers of the Oxford Movement became known by the name of Tractarians.

Within less than three years from the birth of the Movement the *Edinburgh Review* charged the Tractarians with teaching Popish doctrines. The accusation, which was supported by the *Standard*, created a great deal of excitement and indignation throughout the country. The Tractarians decided to meet the accusation by preaching against Popery, hoping thus to close the mouths of their opponents. Dr. Pusey thought the idea excellent. It would, he wrote to a friend, enable them to "dispose of ultra-Protestantism by a side wind, and teach people Catholicism without their suspecting" the trick which was to be played on them! Newman was particularly zealous in this anti-Popery movement. He publicly declared in a course of *Lectures on Popular Protestantism* (afterwards published), that the Church of Rome was not merely unscriptural, but also "impious," "blasphemous," "monstrous," "crafty," "obstinate," "cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac." Strongly Protestant utterances like these served to allay the fears of Protestant Churchmen, who immediately went to sleep, fearing no danger. But no sooner had these No Popery utterances done their work than Newman wrote to the *Oxford Conservative Journal* withdrawing every word he had ever said against the Church of Rome. He declared that in abusing Rome he "was not speaking his own words"—though he had put them out as his own—besides which, he insisted that "such views were necessary for his position." It is evident that he never believed one word of the abuse which he had heaped on the Church of Rome. "Intimate friends," wrote Newman at this time to Mr. Hope Scott, "have almost reproached me with 'paltering with them in a double sense, keeping the word of promise to their ear, to break it to their hope.'" Double dealing of this kind was, alas! by no means uncommon at this period of the Oxford Movement. The Rev. W. G. Ward, who for a time became leader of the advanced Tractarians after Newman had resigned that position, used to teach his followers: "Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper." His Roman Catholic son says of this same Mr. Ward, that while he was still a clergyman in the Church of England he "had long held that the Roman Church was the one true Church. He had gradually come to believe that the English Church was not strictly a part of the Church at all. He had felt bound to retain his external communion with her members, because he was bringing many of them towards Rome." Dr. Pusey acted in a double-dealing manner, for while he began hearing confessions in 1838, in 1842—four years after—he wrote a learned Protestant treatise, in the form of notes to the works of Tertullian, to prove that auricular confession was wholly unknown to the Primitive Church.

The want of straightforward conduct on the part of some of the leaders of the Oxford Movement is very clearly revealed in the *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*. That Roman Catholic gentleman became, about the year 1841, the secret emissary of Bishop Wiseman and the Pope to the Oxford leaders. Newman, still a clergyman of the Church of England, revealed to De Lisle things he kept secret from his own disciples. On May 5, 1841, De Lisle wrote from Oxford: "Many here would like to come to an understanding with the Pope, that so they might be in active communion with him, and yet remain in the Church of England to labour for the reconciliation of their whole Church." De Lisle's Roman Catholic biographer assures us that: "De Lisle acted as an interpreter between the Oxford divines and Bishop Wiseman. By such means the Pope and Propaganda were kept *au courant* with the Oxford Movement."

The Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude died on February 28, 1836. Two years later his writings were published, when it became known to the public for the first time how far he had gone in the direction of Romanism, and how intensely he had hated Protestantism in any shape or form. His *Remains* were edited by

Keble and Newman. The publication caused a great sensation at the time, and led to some of the rank and file of the Oxford party withdrawing from the Movement in alarm. By this time the disciples of the Oxford Movement were generally known as "Tractarians." On August 24, 1838, the leaders issued the first volume of the *Library of the Fathers*, of which the last did not appear until November 1885. The Fathers who lived nearest the Apostolic Age were not translated in this *Library* so freely as those of a later period, when error had greatly increased in the Church. Of the thirteen Fathers whose writings were translated, only three wrote in the first three centuries, the remaining ten flourished in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

In February 1839, a movement was inaugurated for erecting in Oxford a Martyrs' Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had been burnt alive in Oxford streets for the Protestant faith. It was strongly opposed by most of the Tractarians, Dr. Pusey being particularly opposed to the scheme. So also was Keble, who said that, "Anything which separates the present Church from the Reformers I should hail as a great good." Happily their opposition failed to prevent the erection of the Memorial, which was unveiled in 1841.

What was going on at Oxford gave intense pleasure at Rome, where the Movement was closely watched. Early in 1840 Newman saw that its tendency was distinctly towards Rome, and admitted that its influence helped "to make impatient minds seek" Catholicism "where it has ever been, in Rome." By the end of that year he thought that Rome was "the centre of unity." His friend, Isaac Williams, says that at about this period Newman "said things in favour of the Church of Rome which quite startled" him, and even told him that "he thought the Church of Rome was right, and we were wrong, so much so, that we ought to join it." But secrecy was observed to a large extent. In 1841 the Rev. W. G. Ward wrote to the Roman Catholic Paris *Univers:* "Let us, then, remain quiet for some years, till, by God's blessing, the ears of Englishmen are become accustomed to hear the name of Rome pronounced with reverence."

In 1841 the King of Prussia proposed the founding of a bishopric at Jerusalem by the Church of England, one half of the cost of which he was willing to defray, if the remainder were collected in England. He offered to place the German Lutheran missionaries, at that time working in Palestine, under the supervision of the new bishop, and was even willing to allow them to be re-ordained in accordance with the Liturgy of the Church of England. The English Government facilitated the scheme to the utmost, and so also did most of the bishops, but it was violently opposed by Newman and Pusey, and other members of the Oxford Movement party, on the narrow-minded ground that it would cause the Church of England to recognise the non-Episcopal Lutheran Church as a real branch of the Church of Christ on earth; and also because the Lutheran missionaries would be required to sign not only the XXXIX. Articles, but also the Augsburg Confession; and, further, that the scheme would tend to prevent unity with the Greek Church in Palestine. Dr. Pusey said that to urge people to leave the Eastern Church would be "encouraging sin." Dr Hook, Vicar of Leeds, though a Tractarian, was, to his credit be it recorded, in favour of the establishment of the bishopric, while Bishop Samuel Wilberforce declared: "I feel furious at the craving of men for union with idolatrous, material, sensual, domineering Rome, and their squeamish, anathematising hatred of Protestant Reformed men" of the Lutheran Church. Notwithstanding the angry opposition of Newman and Pusey, the bishopric was established, and on November 7, 1841, the Rev. Dr. Alexander was consecrated as the first bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of London, Rochester, and New Zealand.

The publication, on February. 27, 1841, of "Tract XC." of the series of *Tracts for the Times*, written by Newman, created a profound sensation throughout the country. It was the most daring step Romeward yet taken by friends of the Oxford Movement, and at once raised a fierce opposition. The object of this Tract cannot, perhaps, be better expressed than in the words of the four tutors of Oxford Colleges, in a letter of protest which they issued as early as March 8th: "The Tract has," they declared, "a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England. For instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines: (1) Of Purgatory. (2) Of Pardons. (3) Of the worshipping and adoration of Images and Relics. (4) Of the Invocation of Saints. (5) Of the Mass, as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome, not only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do." The Tract was condemned on March 13 by the Board of Heads of Houses of Oxford University, as "evading rather than explaining the sense of the XXXIX. Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counter-

act." Several of the bishops, in their charges, denounced "Tract XC." in very strong terms, and at the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Newman promised that it should be the last of the series of *Tracts for the Times*. Forty-two years later, on June 14, 1883, Newman, referring to his comments in this Tract on Article XXXI., said: "The Tract, as a whole, I have been able to defend, but not this portion of it. It argues that what the Article condemns is not the authoritative teaching of Rome, but only the common belief and practice of Catholics as regards Purgatory and private Masses. But the words in which the Article condemns the so-called abuse are *ipso facto* a condemnation also of the ordinance itself which is abused. This will be seen at once by comparing the language of the Article with the language of Pope Pius IV. and the Council of Trent. What the Article abjures as a lie is just that which the Pope and Council declare to be a divine truth. . . . Nothing can come of the suggested distinction between Mass and Masses, as if 'the Mass' were the aboriginal Divine Rite, which the Article left alone, and 'the Masses' were those private superstitions which the Article denounced. However, this suggestion in aid is as unfounded as the original theses. 'Mass' and 'Masses' do but respectively denote abstract and concrete, as can easily be shown."

Early in 1840 Newman founded a kind of Monastic Establishment at Littlemore, about three miles from Oxford, which continued in existence until his secession to Rome in the autumn of 1845. Several of the ablest members of the Tractarian party were inmates of this monastery, where the daily life was, as far as possible, modelled after that in Roman Catholic monasteries; but a great deal of secrecy was observed as to what went on within its walls.

Of course there were men in the Oxford Movement, as in all other movements, who went beyond the rank and file of the party. They were really pioneers, whose ambition was to hasten the pace at which the Church of England seemed to be travelling Romeward. Amongst them were such men as the Rev. R. G. Macmullen, the Rev. Frederick Oakeley, and the Rev. W. G. Ward. The latter was particularly daring in his avowals. In 1844 he published a large volume entitled, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, in which he declared that he had signed the XXXIX. Articles "in a non-natural sense," and that in doing so he had "renounced no one Roman doctrine." "We find," he exclaimed, "oh, most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen." At a Convocation of the University of Oxford, held on February 13, 1845, the book was condemned, and the author deprived of his University degrees. Nearly the whole strength of the Oxford Movement in the University was used to vote against the censure of the book, and to prevent the degradation of the author. Dr. Pusey declared that Ward was "very greatly benefiting the Church by his practical suggestions." "Tract XC." would no doubt have been condemned at the same time, were it not that a motion to do so was at once vetoed by the Proctors of the University, one of whom (Dr. Church) afterwards became Dean of St. Paul's, and even received the offer of the Archbishopric of Canterbury on the death of Dr. Tait.

Ward's book, it may here be mentioned, was in reply to a pamphlet written by the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College, and entitled, *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of "The Tracts for the Times,"* in which he exposed the tendency to Romanism of several of the Tractarian clergy. This exposure was all the more forcible, coming as it did from one who had been a leader of the Oxford Movement from its commencement. Mr. Palmer declared, and supported his assertion by ample proof, that "it is undeniable that Romanism, in its very fullest extent, has advocates amongst ourselves."

In 1844 Dr. Pusey commenced the issuing of adapted translations of Roman Catholic books of devotion. This was a very daring step in advance, which raised protests from not a few old-fashioned High Churchmen. Newman frankly told Pusey that he would "promote the cause of the Church of Rome" by his conduct; but he went on with the Romanising work notwithstanding his friend's warning. Archdeacon (subsequently Bishop) Samuel Wilberforce wrote of one of these adapted books: "I think it fuller of sad and humiliating bits of superstition than anything of his I have yet seen;" while Dr. Hook boldly declared that such works would "make men decided infidels." In this Pusey no doubt helped much the Church of Rome. It may be well to reprint here what Pope Pius IX. said to Dean Stanley about Dr. Pusey several years afterwards: "You know Pusey. When you meet him, give him this message from me—that I compare him to a bell, which always sounds to invite the faithful to Church, and itself always remains outside."

The Oxford Movement was greatly assisted by the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society. It was founded in May 1839, "to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains." Its labours gave the

first impetus to that love of Roman Catholic ornaments, ritual, and ceremonies, which distinguishes the Ritualists of the present day. Down to the period of its formation the friends of the Oxford Movement had confined their labours mainly to the restoration of certain Roman Catholic doctrines, and made but very slight alterations in the ritual of their parish churches. One Protestant Churchman, like a faithful watchman, early sounded a note of alarm. In 1844 the late Dean Close preached a sermon in which he pointed out that "as Romanism is taught *Analytically* at Oxford, it is taught *Artistically* at Cambridge—it is inculcated theoretically, in Tracts, at one University, and it is *sculptured, painted, and graven* at the other. The Cambridge Camdenians build churches and furnish symbolic vessels, by which the Oxford Tractarians may carry out their principles."

Dr. Pusey raised a storm of censure on himself by a sermon which he preached before the University of Oxford on the fourth Sunday after Easter, in the year 1843. It was afterwards published with the title: *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent.* In this sermon Pusey taught the doctrines of the Real Presence in the consecrated elements, and what is termed the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in a way which greatly startled Protestant Churchmen, who considered that such doctrines were out of place in the Reformed Church of England. For this sermon Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching before the University for two years. Two years after this, Newman pointed out that, out of 140 quotations from the Fathers in Pusey's sermon, in support of his doctrines, only four were from the Fathers of the first three centuries.

During this period Newman was making rapid strides towards Rome. He had ceased to love the Church of England many years before he left her communion. On Sept. 16, 1843, he resigned the living of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, and retired to Littlemore, where he officiated only for a short time, and then gave up all clerical work. Early in 1845 Pusey realised that Newman would soon go over to Rome; but he wrote to Keble: "I have looked upon this [expected secession] of dear Newman as a mysterious dispensation, *as though* (if it indeed be so), *Almighty God was drawing him, as a chosen instrument, for some office in the Roman Church.*" From that time Pusey abstained from attacking the Church of Rome; "I cannot," he said, "any more take the negative ground against Rome; I can only remain neutral. I have indeed for some time left off alleging grounds against Rome."

On October 9, 1845, Newman was received into the Church of Rome, at Littlemore Monastery, by Father Dominic, a Passionist. Early in the following year Newman left Littlemore, and shortly afterwards went to Rome to be ordained a priest. But *when* he was ordained a priest of Rome, or *where*, has never yet been made public. That is one of the secrets of the Oxford Movement which has never yet been revealed.

Modern Ritualists are never tired of bewailing the secession of Newman. They think it would have been much better for the Church of England if he had remained officiating in her fold. I cannot agree with this view. It would have been better for her—though not for himself personally—if he had gone long before. There was wisdom in what Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce wrote a year before his secession: "If Newman is to go, the sooner he goes the better."

I close this article by quoting and adopting the words of Dean Church: "It is not my purpose to pursue farther the course of the Movement. All the world knows that it was not, in fact, killed, or even much arrested by the shock of 1845. But after 1845, its field was at least as much out of Oxford as in it. As long as Mr. Newman remained, Oxford was necessarily its centre, necessarily, even after he had seemed to withdraw from it. When he left his place vacant, the direction of it was not removed from Oxford, but it was largely shared by men in London and the country. It ceased to be strongly and prominently Academical." [W. W.]

P

PALLA.—A small cloth of linen, sometimes stiffened with cardboard, used in the Roman Church as a covering for the chalice. Ritualists use a linen veil for the purpose.

PALLIUM, is a band of white wool worn over the shoulders, with two strings of the same material, and four purple crosses worked upon it. Two lambs are brought annually to the Church of St. Agnes, at Rome, presented at the altar, and received by two canons of the Lateran Church. From the wool of the lambs the pallia are made by the nuns of the Torre de Specchi convent. When made, the pallia are laid on the so-called tomb of St. Peter, where they lie all night. The pallium is sent by the Pope to patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and sometimes bishops, as a sign that they possess the "fulness of the episcopal office." The history of the pallium is the history of papal development. The writers of the *Catholic Dictionary* by Addis and Arnold tell us that "the early history of the pallium is involved in hopeless obscurity." Chardon

(*Hist. des Sacr.*, tom. v. ch. ix.) tells us that the pallium is the Latin name for the loose upper garment of the Greeks. It was tucked round the neck in running or other active exercise. Among the Romans it was specially affected by the philosophers. De Marca and Baluze believe that the pallium was first given to bishops by the emperors. Pope Vigilius declined to grant it to Auxanius and Aurelian, Archbishops of Arles, without the Emperor's consent, and Gregory the Great did likewise with Syagrius, Bishop of Autun. A decree of Valentinian III., A.D. 432, grants the dignity of archbishop and *honor pallii* to the See of Ravenna. At a Synod of Arles, A.D. 747, and at the Synod of Ravenna, A.D. 877, it was decreed that metropolitans must ask the pallium from Rome within three months of their consecration. Successive Popes insisted on the observance of this rule, and it seems to have been observed pretty generally in France and England. Innocent III. forbade the assumption of even the name of archbishop till the pallium had been obtained, and that decree was incorporated in the Canon Law. St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy (*Vit. Mal.*, cap. xvi.) tells us that the pallium was unknown in Ireland up to that date. Malachy died A.D. 1148, and had made a journey to Rome to solicit two palls for Ireland. He died before his request had been granted. After Malachy's death, Pope Eugenius III. sent Cardinal Paparo to Ireland as his legate, and the cardinal carried four palls, which were given to the four archbishops appointed at the Synod of Kells, A.D. 1152. [T. C.]

PALMS, BLESSED.—Branches of the palm and olive are blessed on Palm Sunday in the Roman Church and carried in the hands in remembrance of the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem.

PAPACY.—As the development of the Roman primacy and the assumptions which underlie the theory of the Papal Supremacy are dealt with in other articles, it is only necessary here to trace the main outlines in the history of the papal system proper. It was not till the fifth century that the word Pope emerged as the distinctive title of the Bishop of Rome, or that the history of the Papacy can be said in any definite sense to have begun. It was Innocent I. (402–417) who conceived the vast idea of Rome's universal supremacy, while Leo I. (440–461), by his great abilities and still larger claims, helped to lay deep the foundations of the Popedom. The barbaric invasions of the century, by overthrowing the civil institutions of the Empire, served to enhance the spiritual influence of the Roman See; and when, in 476, the Emperor of the Romans transferred his seat to Constantinople, the Pope became the chief figure of Western Europe. The work of building up the papal system was continued by Gregory I. (590–604), whose character and teaching did much to shape the subsequent policy of the Roman Curia. He was notable for his missionary enterprises and especially for his mission to England. Gibbon describes him as "the founder of the papal monarchy." He was succeeded by Gregory II. (715–731).

By the close of the eighth century the papal claims had grown ominously large. The Pope asserted the right to dispense with the observance of the canonical law, and to confer upon ecclesiastical foundations privileges which enabled them to encroach upon the secular jurisdiction. He had definitely assumed the prerogatives of a universal metropolitan, and made appeal to Rome in all matters of importance the rule of the Western Church. It was not long till a further step was taken. During the struggles which preceded the breaking up of the Frankish Empire, the Roman pontiffs began to interfere directly in political affairs; and in particular, Nicholas I. (851–867), by the aid of those elaborate forgeries which are known as the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, successfully asserted the subjection of the secular powers to the Church, no less than of the Church to the Pope.

The next great advance is marked by Gregory VII., commonly known as Hildebrand (1073–85), whose settled purpose it was to raise himself absolutely above every secular authority, and make the Pope the undisputed master of the world. In his great conflict with the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany, terminating in the famous episode of Canossa, Hildebrand gained a notable triumph, and the goal which he set before the pontificate was finally attained by Innocent III. (1198–1216), under whom the mediæval papal system reached its culminating point, and the Pope was recognised as possessed of all power on earth, in things secular as well as sacred. The theories of Hildebrand and Innocent found their classical expression in the bull, *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*, issued by Boniface VIII. in 1302, in which it was declared that as a two-headed Church would be a monstrosity, the sword of temporal authority could be wielded by the monarch only at the will and by the permission of the pontiff.

A revolt against these extraordinary pretensions soon followed. Philip of France was successful in vindicating against Boniface his independence as a sovereign; and the pronounced Gallicanism of the French Church and people led to a wide-spread reaction in favour of an episcopal form of Church government as distinguished from the rigid monarchy of Innocent and his successors. With the

death of Boniface the mediæval papacy, as a universal autocracy, may be said to have disappeared. However lofty its claims may be, the Papacy has never since been able to make good its authority over the civil governments of Europe. For a time, too, even its spiritual authority seemed to be ebbing away. Its prestige was enormously weakened by its subservience to France during the Avignon period, by the flagrant immoralities of its own Court, by the great papal schism, when rival Popes were seen hurling anathemas and excommunications at each other, and by the assertion of the authority over Popes of general Synods, made by the Council of Constance (1414–18), which deposed and imprisoned Pope John on the ground of murder, licentiousness, and other crimes.

Once more, however, at the notorious Council of Florence in 1439, the monarchical theory triumphed; and the supremacy of the Pope over any general Council was definitely promulgated. It has never since been challenged by any Council. And while Gallicanism long maintained itself in the French Church, and occasionally found strong expression elsewhere, and even seemed, during the first half of the nineteenth century, to be gaining ground, the conservative reaction which set in all over Europe after the revolutionary movements of 1848, stimulated the growth of Ultramontanism by strengthening the monarchical sentiment. Thus it became possible for Pius IX. to impose the dogma of the Immaculate Conception upon the faith of the Church by the mere issue of a bull; and, at the Vatican Council of 1870, in spite of strong protests, to secure not only a confirmation of the absolute authority of Popes over Councils, but a ratification of that new dogma of Infallibility in which the Papacy arrives at its apotheosis, and which practically renders it superfluous for a general Council of the Roman Church ever to be summoned again. See PRIVILEGE OF PETER; SUPREMACY, PAPAL; ROMAN PRIMACY. [J. C. L.]

PARACLETE (παράκλητος).—A word used four times in St. John's Gospel (xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7) as the name of the Holy Spirit, once in his first epistle (ii. 1) of Christ. The Greek expositors, beginning with Chrysostom, translate the word "Comforter." They justify this rendering by pointing back to the LXX. (παρακαλεῖτε, *paracaleite*), Isa. xl. 1, and to the fact that παράκλησις (*paraclēsis*) very often, if not always, means "consolation." The word is, however, passive in form, and means "one called in," or, "called to the side of another" (παρά, *para*), for the purpose of helping him in any way, but especially in a lawsuit. The word, therefore, "advocate" (as in margin of R.V.), or "pleader" for us and in us, is the translation of the word most approved by modern expositors. In 1 John ii. 1: "We have an *Advocate* (παράκλητον) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous," no other rendering is satisfactory. However, "Paraclete," applied in the Gospel according to St. John, is clearly used in a wide sense of "helper" (which is the alternative marginal rendering in R.V.), succourer, aider, and assistant, and not in the technical sense of an Advocate (possibly excepting John xiv. 16) in all cases. The Paraclete is referred to as one who shall "bear witness" of Christ, "convict (ἐλέγξει, *elegxei*) the world," "teach all things," "bring all things to remembrance," "guide into all truth," "declare unto you the things that are to come," that which He should receive from Christ in heaven.

The rendering of Paraclete by Comforter is not only inaccurate but misleading. The office of the Holy Spirit, as described in the farewell discourses of Jesus, is that of furnishing strength rather than comfort, encouragement rather than consolation, nerve rather than solace. The idea intended to be conveyed is that the Paraclete is "the representative of the glorified Lord with His militant people upon earth." He leads us into a deeper knowledge of the truth, sustains us in our Christian calling, and breathes into us ever new measures of a spirit of resignation under trials, boldness during persecutions, and daring in the warfare we have to wage. The addition of the word "another" to Paraclete implies that Christ, when on earth, had been the Paraclete, the Helper of His disciples in their first efforts in the divine kingdom. In the near future Jesus would represent them as their Paraclete before the Father's throne; but meanwhile the Holy Spirit would represent Him as their Paraclete on earth, fulfilling those offices which His "going away" prevented His continuing to exercise. In fact, the coming of the Paraclete was His own true return to His disciples (John xiv. 17).

In Blunt's *Dictionary of Doctrine*, &c., reference is made to the statement of both Eusebius and St. Chrysostom that the title of Paraclete was blasphemously assumed by the heretic Manes, his name being associated with this act of maniacal folly (Euseb., *Hist.* vii. 31; Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 22; Epiphan. *Hær.* 65).

The word Paraclete does not occur in the Book of Common Prayer, but is a common title of the Holy Ghost in the Roman Breviary. It is used in some modern hymns (*e.g.* "Come, Thou Holy Paraclete," Hymns Ancient and Modern, revised and enlarged edition, No. 251). [See Watkin's Excursus G., in Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary for English*

Readers; and Westcott in the *Speaker's Commentary.*] [C. N.]

PARADISE.—See HADES.

PARISH.—Ecclesiastically, that circuit of ground which is committed to the charge of one parson, vicar, or other minister having cure of souls therein; but in the language of the civil law, any place in England or Wales for which a separate poor rate is, or can be made, and for which a separate overseer is, or can be appointed. In early days "parish" was synonymous with "diocese." The subdivision of dioceses into parishes in this country is believed to have taken place not much earlier than the time of King Edgar (A.D. 970). A parish may be divided for ecclesiastical purposes into two or more parishes, or into ecclesiastical districts. By 6 & 7 Vict. c. 37, sect. 9, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have power to divide off a portion of a parish into a new district after giving notice to the incumbent, who may appeal against the decision to the Privy Council. Division of a parish is generally made only with the consent of the incumbent and patron, and sometimes compensation for such division is granted. The bishop's consent is necessary. Where a new parish has been formed, the incumbent of the mother church has no right to the pew rents of the new benefice, nor may he appoint the clerk or sexton. The incumbent of the new parish has the exclusive cure of souls therein, saving the rights of the bishop, and has the exclusive right of solemnising marriages by banns between persons resident in the new parish. Benefices, or ecclesiastical parishes, may be united under certain Acts of Parliament.

PASCAL.—See MORAL THEOLOGY, JANSENISTS.

PASCHAL EPISTLES.—Towards the end of the second century a violent controversy, known as the Paschal Controversy, broke out between Rome and Asia Minor regarding the proper date for the observance of Easter, conceived of as the Christian Passover. The Churches of Asia Minor, with Ephesus at their head, *paying no regard to the day of the week*, adhered to the Jewish practice of keeping the 14th day of the month as the day of the Passover (hence the name Quartodecimani). Rome, again, followed by the other Churches of Christendom, *paying no regard to the day of the month*, observed Sunday, the day of the Lord's Resurrection, as Easter Day, and the preceding Friday in memorial of the crucifixion. On this subject Victor of Rome had a correspondence with Polycrates of Ephesus and Irenæus. Victor insisted that Asia Minor should adopt the Roman practice; Polycrates, in the name of his fellow-bishops, declined; while Irenæus successfully expostulated with Victor, who had gone the length of excommunicating the Quartodecimans. Asia Minor was thus left free to follow its own preferences in this matter, until the Council of Nicæa (325) finally decided that Easter should be observed on the same day throughout the Christian world. [J. C. L.]

PASCHAL TAPER.—See TAPERS.

PASSION MUSIC.—A title given in the Roman Church to a chant to which are set certain words of Scripture concerning the Passion of Christ. Three "Deacons of the Passion" and the choir sing the text.

PASSIONISTS.—The name of a monastic congregation founded in 1720, by Paul Francis Danei, who, because of his devotion to the Passion of our Lord, assumed the name of Paul of the Cross, and was eventually canonised by Pius IX. The papal approval was at first withheld from the new foundation, but Benedict XIV. formally sanctioned it in 1741.

To the usual three monastic vows the Passionists add a fourth and particular vow—to contemplate continually, and to promote devotion to the Saviour's Passion. In accordance with this their motto is, "*Jesu Christi passio sit semper in cordibus nostris,*" while their special emblem is the cross, which is always conspicuously worked in white on the black habit worn by the members. The rule is still severe, although it has more than once had to be relaxed in order to prevent the congregation from dying out altogether. The work of the Passionist Fathers consists chiefly in conducting missions and retreats, in preaching on the subject of Christ's Passion, on sin, and on repentance, and in hearing confession.

The great ambition of Paul of the Cross was the "conversion" of England. It was not till 1842, however, that the congregation was able to establish itself in this country when the first English house was founded by Father Dominic, the Italian Passionist, who three years later received Newman into the Roman Catholic Church. There are now five houses in England, two in Ireland, and one in Scotland; while Great Britain and Ireland form one of the nine provinces into which the whole congregation is divided. [J. C. L.]

PASTORAL STAFF, CROSIER or CROZIER.—The pastoral staff is a tall staff of metal or wood, ornamented, curved at top and pointed at lower end, emblematic of episcopal office, and styled *pastoral* because of its resemblance to a *shepherd's* crook. "It bears a double significance: with one end you urge on the laggard and rouse the slothful; the other, is the pastoral crook with which you reclaim the erring and the wanderer" (Mr. J. G. Hubbard, M.P., to Bishop S. Wilberforce, 1866). So the

mediæval line: "Curva trahit mites pars pungit acuta rebelles." Also, as quoted by Gavantus, "Curva trahit quos dextra regit; pars ultima pungit." Hence also the Roman form of investiture: "Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: ut sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquilitate severitatis censuram non deserens. Amen." The presence of this form of investiture in the Roman ritual and the absence of all such from the Anglican, prove how completely this "symbol" is recognised by the one Church and ignored by the other.

Its reception is a sign of investiture with the jurisdiction which it symbolises; its withdrawal, part of the form of deprivation; its being broken, a most solemn form of deprivation.

Pattern and Use.—Ancient examples and representations show that the crooks were sometimes barely curled, sometimes exceedingly plain, sometimes very richly ornamented. The staff is borne by the bishop (in the *left* hand; the right must be free to bless with), or by his chaplain before him. It is carried with the crook looking forwards in procession; but when held by the bishop himself the crook is "outwards," denoting jurisdiction over a diocese. All sorts of meanings have been assigned to such points, which need not be detailed here. An abbot frequently held his staff in the right hand, always "the curved part turned inwards to show that his jurisdiction was limited to his monastery," &c. (Pugin, *Gloss.*, 191).

The staff's head in the Greek Church is of the Tau form (not crook), and the transverse bar's extremities are turned upwards (crutch). Pugin says (*Gloss.*, 191), "It is *impossible to state with certainty* the precise form of the early pastoral staves, but they were probably much shorter than those of the latter centuries, and are terminated *by a globular knob*, or a Tau cross," &c.

Crosier, or *Crozier* (from *crocia*, Med. Lat.), the pastoral staff of an archbishop, terminates in a cross (not crook or crutch), always fioriated, as that of a patriarch in a cross with two transverse bars, and that of a Pope with three. The crozier is generally made of silver, sometimes of gold, and richly jewelled, and usually has a crucifix on each of its two sides. Should there be but one crucifix, it is to be turned towards the prelate. The archbishop is never to carry his own cross. See Georgius, as quoted by Pugin, for "reasons" why the Pope does not use a pastoral staff. Its origin is certainly heathen. In the *Catholic Dictionary* the earliest ecclesiastical mention claimed for it is that by Isidore of Seville (died 636). From the earliest times everywhere a staff, generally straight, has been the symbol of authority, whether of priest, ruler, or judge. But in old bas-reliefs the Roman augur's divining rod is a hooked staff (*lituus*). "Now, so manifestly was the *lituus* . . . identical with the pontifical crosier, that Roman Catholic writers themselves, writing in the Dark Ages . . . did not hesitate to use the term 'lituus' as a synonym for the 'crosier' . . . As the Roman augur was distinguished by his crooked rod, so the Chaldæan soothsayers and priests," &c. See Hislop's *Two Babylons*, chap. vi. sect. i. for references and for illustrations of the use of this symbol among heathen peoples—Thibet, Japan, &c., even to this day.

It should be noted that in the English reformed Ordinal the delivery of the staff to a bishop was struck out. At Archbishop Parker's consecration no pastoral staff was delivered to him. As to the *re-introduction* of this mediæval symbol the following facts may be noted: 1847, Radley College, Berks (Sacerdotal), was founded this year. Thenceforward a pastoral staff was borne before the Bishop of Oxford, *within the College*, as visitor. 1848, "The Bishop of Oxford has used a pastoral staff *in his Chapel* since . . . 1848" (*Church News*, May 6, 1867). 1858, First *public* exhibition, by Bishop Gray of Capetown, when he visited the village of Hawksworth, Notts. 1863, *An English bishop first owned* a pastoral staff *for diocesan use;* inscribed: "*Samueli Episcopo Oxoniensi et eius successoribus, D.D. Laicus Fidelis*, 1863; height, six feet eleven inches; weight, eight pounds one ounce. At first it was used only on special occasions, or when requested by the ritualistic or more obliging clergy, and did not supersede the use of the legal or official mace, as it has since done in several dioceses. Two Irish bishops exhibit the "ornament" as yet only to congregations among whom no "aggrieved parishioner" is expected to protest. Shortly before his resignation, Archbishop Trench (Dublin) prevented the presentation of a crosier to himself on the ground of loyalty to Canon 39 in the Irish Prayer Book.

Of all the symbols discarded at the Reformation, next to the mitre alone, the pastoral staff seems the most indispensable emblem of episcopal sacerdotal authority in the Roman Church Its use, especially in an Established Church, involves a principle antagonistic to civil liberty and Protestant ascendancy. Its supersession of the mace or verge, which has been the only legal symbol of official pre-eminence and which is borne by a layman in token of jurisdiction in temporals and spirituals, is emblematic of a renewal of the ancient struggle between the mitre and the King's crown, between Ecclesiastical Usurpation and Royal Supremacy.

Students should note that the titles *Pastoral Staff* and *Crozier* are used indiscriminately by various writers; nor is this confusion limited to writers. Thus, Archbishop de Gray's effigy at York (1225), has a crook-head staff, whilst Archbishop Harsnett (1631), in his brass at Chigwell, Essex, is represented with a pastoral staff instead of a crosier.

[T. C. O'C.]

PATEN.—Paten (Lat. *patina* or *patena*, a flat dish) is an ecclesiastical term denoting the plate employed for the bread or wafers in the Eucharist. Patens are commonly of silver, but sometimes of gold, alabaster, and other substances, and are adorned with chasings or carvings appropriate to their sacred use. In the Roman Catholic Church the paten must be of the same material as the accompanying chalice, and both must be consecrated by the bishop. [J. C. L.]

PATER NOSTER.—The opening words of the Lord's Prayer in Latin (see LORD' PRAYER). The Lord's Prayer forms a constituent part of all the ancient Liturgies (see LITURGIES, ANCIENT), except that set forth in the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* (see APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS). The prayer is constantly repeated by Roman Catholics in their Rosary, which form recited on beads opens with that prayer followed by a Gloria. There are in that form fifteen decades of Ave Marias (see AVE MARIA).

PATRIARCH.—In the early Church "patriarch" was the official name of the bishops of the metropolitan sees of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, who had jurisdiction over all the other bishops in their provinces. Since the Great Schism, the Greek Church has maintained in their position of privilege the patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. As the head of the Western Church, Rome avoided the appearance of equality involved in the name patriarch, and adopted for its bishop the designation of papa or Pope. She allows, however, to several of her dignitaries the purely honorary title of patriarch; thus the present Pope, Pius X., was Patriarch of Venice at the time of his election to the throne.

[J. C. L.]

PATRICK, ST.—See IRISH CHURCH.

PAULICIANS.—The Paulicians were a sect of Christians who took their rise in the middle of the seventh century, and are too often put down by Church historians as holding Gnostic views. Their own statement was that they were followers of a Christian who, after he had become possessed, from an Armenian monk, of a copy of the gospels and writings of St. Paul, styled himself *Paulicos*, or a *Disciple of Paul*. The early historians have impeached the honesty of this man, who (like Augustine) held at one time Manichæan views, but who, it is admitted, cast aside the Manichæan writings when he became acquainted with those of St. Paul. The charges of Manichæism against the Paulicians are also at variance with the facts recorded by the early writers such as Petrus Siculus, Photius, and Cedrenus, and even with the Formula of Abjuration for converts from the sect, which was used in the professedly "Catholic" Church of the period and after. There has been too much disposition on the part of many writers on Church history to accept as true charges made by ancient historians who were in sympathy with the "Catholic Church" of those days, and, as in the case of the Montanists, certain periods of Church history require to be reconsidered and re-written. See MONTANISM. The prevalent party in the Church of that day looked with hatred upon those who advocated a return to a simpler form of worship, and to more pure doctrine than was common in their day; and, as we often find in the present day, were disposed to believe anything bad of those opposed to them. Hence it is unfair to assume that the description of sects of Christians given by those who opposed these separatists is correct, while the charges brought against the Paulicians have been clearly shown by Rev. E. B. Elliott in the second volume of his *Horæ Apocalypticæ* to be either utterly baseless, or grossly exaggerated. Mr. Elliott's book, though full of real learning, is too often cast aside without examination, because many writers, opposed to his theories of Apocalyptic interpretation, have been unaware of the uncommon research that is exhibited in many portions of his work on historical subjects. German writers on Church history seem to be completely unacquainted with his great book. The Paulicians opposed all invocation and worship of the saints: their views on the question of justification and other kindred subjects are of a strong Protestant type. Gibbon's account of the sect has been shown by Elliott to be misleading. Elliott's excursus on the statements of the earliest writers who mention the sect is most important. See EASTERN CHURCHES, *Armenians*.

[C. H. H. W.]

PAX DOMINI.—"The peace of the Lord." These words form part of the Latin form of the Roman "Mass."

PECTORAL CROSS (Lat. *pectoralis*, pertaining to the breast).—A small cross of costly material, worn by bishops and abbots as a sign of their office, and occasionally by canons and other ecclesiastics to whom the privilege has been granted by the Pope (Decr. *Sac. Rit. Congr.*, 17 Sept. 1828). It is worn suspended from the neck and lying on the breast.

It used also to be worn, especially in the East, by high State officials among the insignia of their office. As one of the episcopal insignia it is not known to have been clearly mentioned by any author before Innocent III. (Gavantus, P.I., tit. 2). The best known of such crosses is that of Queen Dagmar ("the bright day") of Denmark (died 1213); on the breast of whose remains it was found when her tomb was opened in 1690. The Pectoral Cross has not been known in the Church of England since the Reformation till within the last decade or so. It is now worn by the two archbishops and several bishops. [T. C. O'C.]

PELAGIANISM.—About the end of the fourth century there came to Rome from the British Isles a monk with the Græco-Latinised name Pelagius (probably from the Greek πέλαγος, Latin, *pelagus*, the sea). To distinguish him from another Pelagius, he was frequently described as Pelagius Brito; and it has commonly been assumed that he was a Briton, and in particular a Welshman. But, as Zimmer points out, the fact that Jerome, who of all his contemporaries knew him best, expressly calls him a Scot may be held as proof that he was an Irishman ("Scots" being the name of the Irish at that time); and this conclusion is confirmed by the subsequent reputation of Pelagius in Ireland, and by the fact, witnessed to by the Würzburg Glosses, that in the eighth or ninth century, long after it had disappeared from the rest of the Western Church, the Commentary of Pelagius on the Pauline Epistles existed in Ireland in an unmutilated form.

Partly through his familiarity with the writings of the Greek apologists, who had laid great stress on the freedom of the will, partly through intercourse with the monk Rufinus, and partly with the view of combating the low tone of morality which prevailed in Rome and was excused by the plea of human weakness. Pelagius was led to take up a position of direct antagonism to the teaching of the Latin theologians, and especially of Augustine, on the subject of human depravity and the bondage of the will. It was to furnish Scriptural support for his views that he wrote his *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*. But it was the boldness of his disciple Cœlestius, rather than his own inclinations, that drew him into what proved to be the greatest doctrinal controversy of the age. About 410 Pelagius crossed over to Africa in company with Cœlestius, and there met Augustine himself. Augustine recognised his genuine goodness as well as his great abilities, and describes him as "a man of holy and most Christian life." But there could be no intellectual sympathy between two men who approached the problems of Christianity from such opposite poles; and it was not long till Pelagius left Africa for Palestine, where his opinions were more favourably received than in the West. After a time, however, his peace was disturbed by Orosius, a Spanish priest who came from Augustine to warn Jerome against him; and, after a bitter controversy, continued for several years, Pelagius was finally condemned by a largely attended African Council in 418, and denounced and banished by a rescript of the Emperor Honorius issued at Ravenna in the same year. Of the place and date of his death nothing is known.

The fundamental idea of Pelagius may be found in his favourite maxim, "I ought, therefore I can." In his view, Augustine's doctrine of total depravity, and of the consequent bondage of the will, cut the nerve of all human effort. He insisted, accordingly, that man is able to do all that God commands. In keeping with this, he denied original sin, holding that since obligation implies ability, the power of choosing the good exists after the Fall precisely as before it. It is apparent that these positions rest upon a theory of freedom quite different from Augustine's. Augustine believed in freedom in the ordinary actions of life, but taught that in its highest form, as the power to keep God's law, freedom is a lost gift which only grace can restore. By freedom Pelagius meant an equipoise of the will, which enables us at any time, whatever our previous history may have been, to choose between the evil and the good.

It follows from this that Pelagius depreciated the influence of grace, which Augustine had magnified. He did not deny grace, but thought of it as something external (opportunity, means of grace, &c.), and as only assisting us to do what we could accomplish without it; while he always ascribed to the will itself the determining moment of salvation. To Augustine this was a denial of the very genius of Christianity which is essentially a religion of grace —grace not merely as an outward aid, but as the direct cause of repentance and conversion.

Semi-Pelagianism.—Augustine was successful in showing the errors of Pelagius and his school, but not so successful in recommending his own system. From the first there were those who disliked his rigourism quite as much as the optimistic anthropology of his opponent; and a Semi-Pelagian party grew up, of which Faustus is a distinguished representative, which sought a middle path, and made regeneration a work of co-operation between the human and the divine will. For a time Semi-Pelagianism was widely prevalent; but the radical denial of the absolute sovereignty of grace was fatal

to its success, and it was formally repudiated at the Synods of Orange and Valence in 529.

The defeat of Pelagianism in all its forms was doubtless due to the fact that it failed to grasp the deepest truths of the Christian Gospel. But the victory of Augustinianism was not an unqualified blessing. However Pelagius may have erred in doctrine, his original motive was ethical and pure; he desired to raise a protest against the growing disposition to trust in churchly professions and observances, to the neglect of Christian character. There can be little question that the complete overthrow of his opinions fostered the steadily increasing tendencies to sacerdotalism. It weakened the sense of individual responsibility, and threw men more than ever upon the Church, with her priesthood and sacraments, as the one depositary of the grace which is necessary for salvation.

Authorities.—Besides the usual historical and doctrinal sources, reference should be made to Olden's *The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago*, which deals with the evidence of the Würzburg Glosses, and especially to Zimmer's recent work, *Pelagius in Irland*, and his article, "*Keltische Kirche*," in vol. x. of the Hauck-Herzog *Realencyklopädie*.

[J. C. L.]

PENANCE.—A more or less painful exercise, imposed by a priest on a so-called penitent, making satisfaction to God for the sins that he has confessed and for which he has received absolution.

It was long before the word "penance" came to bear the above meaning. *Pœnitentiam agere* meant originally "to be penitent or sorry," but whether by mistake or wilfully, it came to be translated "to do penance." See DOUAY VERSION. The difference was momentous, for thus external acts were substituted for the feelings of the heart. But even after that declination from spirituality had occurred, the idea of satisfying God's wrath or justice was for centuries alien from the notion of penance. In the earliest ages men guilty of great sins were excluded from communion. As long as they were thus excluded they were regarded as being in a state of penitence or penance. No rules were laid down at first as to the length of time that this penitential state was to last; that was left to the penitent himself. When his conscience assured him that he had sufficiently deepened his sorrow by this deprivation of Christian privileges, he returned humbly to take his place again among the faithful, and he was gladly received by his brethren, who by witnessing had been assured of his contrition. By the fourth century this system of dealing with transgressors, which had spontaneously grown up, was organised. The special sins which required exclusion from communion were then enumerated, and the penitence, changing into penance, became rather a disciplinary rule of the Church than the instinct of a contrite soul. The sins thus designated were some ten or twelve, and according to the heinousness of the sin, a longer or shorter exclusion from the Holy Communion was imposed. Penitents were divided into classes—weepers, hearers, kneelers, non-communicating attendants, and according to the judgment of the bishop, the offender was placed in one or other of these classes, and kept in penitence so many days or years, as the disciplinary rules of the Church required. Penitence now began to be something to be *done* rather than something to be *felt*, but still it consisted in being excluded from the Lord's Table, and in doing the things that had to be done by the whole of the class to which the penitent was assigned, not in penances imposed on individuals by the will of the bishop or priest; and the purpose with which the penalties were inflicted was not to appease God's anger or satisfy His justice by the transgressor's pain, but to deepen the repentance of the sufferer, to assure the congregation which witnessed his penance, of the reality of his sorrow, and to obtain the prayers of the brethren.

When private confession to the priest was substituted for public confession to the congregation, a practice which began to spread about A.D. 600, and was consummated and made compulsory in 1215, and when first the advisableness, then the necessity of confession was extended from a definite list of transgressions to minor faults, and when the priest, from being the representative of the congregation and offering prayer for the transgressor, became the representative of God bestowing forgiveness upon him, the whole idea of penance was changed. After the time of Innocent III. the theory was, and is, that the priest's absolution forgives the transgressor's sin, and delivers him from eternal punishment, but on the condition that the transgressor shall still make satisfaction to God by the endurance of some pain. What this pain shall be, was, and is, left to the discretion of the priest, who must, however, impose some penance, heavy if the penitent seem likely to perform it, light (such as beating the breast) if he does not. Logically, the absolution, on this theory, should be deferred till the penance has been accomplished, and failure to perform the penance should prevent the absolution being given, or should vitiate it if already granted. But instead of this the absolution holds good, the transgressor having to work out his unfinished penance in the imaginary

realm of Purgatory, unless he has secured a plenary indulgence for the hour of his death, which wipes off his dues, or unless he is bought out of Purgatory by Masses for his soul, or by an indulgence specially applied to him by a friend who has earned it for the purpose.

No one understood more thoroughly the bearing of the doctrine of penance than our great theologian Hooker. "It is not to be marvelled that so great a difference appeareth between the doctrine of Rome and ours when we teach repentance. They imply in the name of repentance much more than we do. We stand chiefly upon the true inward conversion of the heart; they more upon works of external show. We teach above all things *that* repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the world's end; they, a sacramental penance of their own devising and shaping. We labour to instruct men in such sort that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn the way how to cure itself; they, clean contrary, would make all sores seem incurable unless the priest has a hand in them."

"As for the inventors of sacramental satisfaction, they have both altered the natural order heretofore kept in the Church, by bringing in a strange and preposterous course, to absolve before satisfaction be made, and moreover, by their own misordered practice are grown into sundry errors concerning the end whereunto it is referred. They imagine beyond all conceit (imagination) of antiquity, that when God doth remit sin and the punishment eternal thereunto belonging, He reserveth the torments of hell-fire to be nevertheless endured for a time" (the fire of Purgatory being regarded as equal in intensity to that of hell), "either shorter or longer, according to the quality of men's crimes. Yet so that there is between God and man a certain composition (as it were), a contract, by virtue whereof works assigned by the priest to be done after absolution shall satisfy God, as touching the punishment which He otherwise would inflict for sins pardoned and forgiven. . . . If a person depart this life the debt of satisfaction being either in whole or in part undischarged, they steadfastly hold that the soul must remain in unspeakable torments till all be paid. Therefore for help and mitigation in this case they advise men to set certain copesmates on work, whose prayers and sacrifices may satisfy God for such souls as depart in debt. Hence have arisen the infinite pensions of their priests, the building of so many altars and tombs, the enriching of churches so with many costly gifts, the bequeathing of lands and ample possessions to religious companies, even with utter forgetfulness of friends, parents, wife, children, all natural affections giving place unto that desire which men doubtful of their own estate have, to deliver their souls from torment after death. Yet behold, even this being also done, how far forth it shall avail, they are not sure; and therefore the last upshot unto all their former inventions is, that as every action of Christ did both merit for Himself and satisfy partly for the eternal and partly for the temporal punishment due unto men for sin; so His saints have obtained the like privilege of grace, making every good work they do not only meritorious in their own behalf, but satisfactory too for the benefit of others. Or if having at any time grievously sinned, they do more to satisfy God than He in justice can exact or look for at their hands, the surplusage runneth to a common stock out of which treasury they hold God satisfied for such arrearages as men behind in their account discharge not by other means . . . . So that by this postern-gate cometh in the whole mart of papal indulgences; a gain inestimable unto him, to others a spoil; a scorn both to God and man. So many works of satisfaction pretended to be done by Christ, by saints and martyrs; so many virtuous acts possessed with satisfactory force and virtue; so many supererogations in satisfying beyond the exigence of their own necessity; and this that the Pope might make a monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at least to the gain of them which are his own. Such facility they have to convert a pretended sacrament into a true revenue" (*Eccl. Pol.*, vi. 5, 9).

Mr. Staley in his *Catholic Religion* misrepresents St. Augustine when he quotes him as saying that sins are forgiven by baptism, prayer, and penance, and that "by penance he refers to Sacramental Confession with a view to gaining Absolution" (p. 214). That is not true. Augustine's teaching (*Enchir.*, 71; *De Symb.*, i. 7; *De Fide*, 26), like that of Chrysostom, and all the earlier Fathers, is that sins are forgiven at baptism and after that by simple prayer for pardon, except only in case of certain specified great transgressions, when the offender had to confess his sin before the congregation, not for the purpose of absolution, but to exhibit his repentance to the scandalised congregation, and to get their prayers with a view to being restored to communion. That the "Sacrament" of Penance "was instituted by Christ" (*ibid.* p. 264) is also untrue. [F. M.]

PENITENTIALS.—Penitentials, or books of penitence (*Libri Pœnitentiales*), appear to have originated in the Irish Church. In their earliest form, as represented, for example, by the *Confession of Sins* discovered at Angers and

attributed to St. Patrick (see Dr. Charles H. H. Wright's *Writings of St. Patrick* in *Christian Classics Series*), they were simply designed to help a penitent to make adequate confession to God, the idea of auricular confession being entirely absent. But with the growth of the practice of private confession and the substitution of the idea of penance for that of penitence, the Penitential became a book for the guidance, not of the penitent, but of the priest, in which rules were laid down for the punishments to be imposed before absolution was granted. The extant fragments of the *Liber Davidis* and the so-called *Canones Patricii* are examples of Penitentials in this technical sense; but above all the manual bearing the name of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (though not actually written by him), which exercised great authority throughout Europe from the eighth to the twelfth century. At first these ecclesiastical Penitentials were mere inventories of sins with appropriate punishments attached, but gradually a foundation was laid for the elaborate casuistry which came to be associated with the Confessional. In particular, a system of "redemptions" was devised, whereby fasting, for example, might be "redeemed" by repeating a certain number of psalms, or paying a fine, or even getting other persons to fast in place of the culprit himself. Such arrangements evidently implied a total misconception of Christian discipline, and encouraged a very external view of morality. So serious were the actual abuses that a reaction against penitential books sprang up in Britain at a comparatively early period, and spread to the Continent; and a council held in Paris in the ninth century even ordered all such books to be burned. But the practice of using them persisted, and new manuals continued to appear, some of which, such as that by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, enjoyed a very wide influence. More than one of these manuals assumed the name, *Pœnitentiale Romanum*; but, in point of fact, no Penitential was ever specially authorised by the Roman Curia, although the confusions caused at first by the circulation of a multitude of books with quite different rules gave place to a measure of uniformity in the discipline of the Confessional. [J. C. L.]

PENITENTIAL INSTRUMENTS.—By this name are designated articles for self-chastisement used by Roman Catholics and Ritualists, mainly as a result of their acceptance of the theory of "satisfaction" as a part of the sacrament of penance. See SATISFACTIONS.

The use of various external means for the infliction of bodily pain, more or less severe, was a prominent feature in the histories of those monks and hermits who gave an impetus to the monastic conception of holiness in the fourth and following centuries, as well as in the "lives" of mediæval saints as related in the Breviary and other Romish books of devotion. The methods of self-torture seem to have varied in accordance with the fancies of each individual, and it may be assumed that the practices of enthusiasts have set the fashion in the matter of the penitential instruments employed. Such instruments may be readily purchased at Roman Catholic booksellers and vendors of devotional and penitential articles. The following describes a few now in general use, which are shown in the accompanying illustrations.

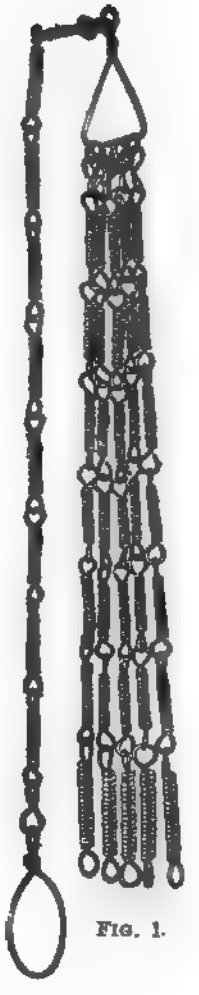


FIG. 1.

The Discipline (Fig. 1) which is made either of knotted cords or of steel with sharp points. "Sister Mary Agnes," in her book *Nunnery Life in the Church of England*, p. 97, speaks of a discipline composed of "seven lashes of knotted whipcord." The late Dr. Pusey in a letter to Mr. Hope-Scott, Q.C., Sept. 9, 1844, desired him to "procure and send by B." a Discipline "of a very sacred character; five cords, each with five knots, in memory of the five wounds of our Lord" (Fig. 2) (*Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, vol. ii. p. 52); while F. W. Faber speaks of "St. Rose of Lima" not being content with a common sort of Discipline, she made one for herself of two iron chains (*Saints and Servants of God; Rose of Lima*, ch. v.).

Hair Shirts are worn of different patterns. Some are made of horsehair, crocheted or knitted so as to leave hard ridges, and all over covered with ends of horsehair. They may be had with or without sleeves, and are worn next the body, like an undervest. They are largely made in convents.

Crosses, hearts, armlets, wristlets, cincturæ and

anklets (Figs. 3, 4, 5) with "sharp points," according to the directions of "St." Alphonsus Liguori may be worn on the arms, thighs, shoulders, wrists, and ankles of penitents (*True Spouse of Christ*, Benziger Bros., 1888, vol. i. p. 244).

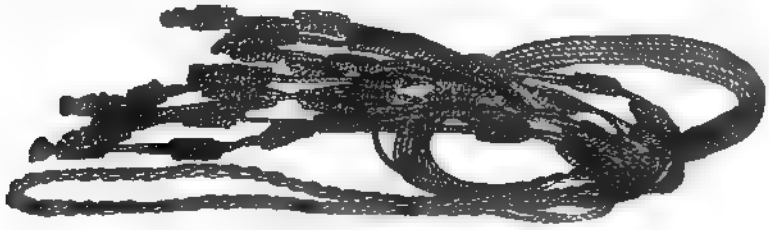


FIG 2.—PUSEY'S "DISCIPLINE."

These penitential instruments are strongly recommended by teachers of the highest authority with the full sanction of the Roman Church. Among Ritualists they are recommended by Dr. Pusey's teaching and example. In support of the former statement we may cite St. Alphonsus Liguori, who, in *The True Spouse of Christ* (Benziger Bros., 1888, vol. i. pp. 244, 245), urges nuns, among other disciplinary practices, to wear a small band of iron round the loins from morning till the hour of dinner, and offers for their emulation D. Sancia Correglio, who "wore a shirt of coarse hair which reached from the neck to the knees," and St. Rose of Lima, who "used a long hair shirt interwoven with needles, and carried a broad iron chain round her loins." Liguori also quotes the strong recommendations of St. Francis de Sales to the "religious" to use these articles.

Ritualist writers have not as yet recommended the use of penitential instruments to the same extent as Romanists, but they are used, especially in convents, and by the more ascetic and seminarised of the clergy. Writing to Keble (his father confessor) in 1846, the late Dr. Pusey said: "I am a great coward about inflicting pain on myself, partly, I hope, from

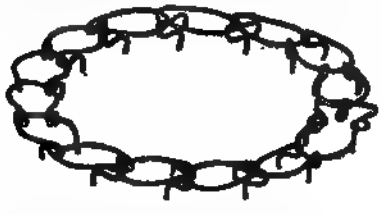


FIG. 3.—SINGLE WRISTLET.

derangement of my nervous system; *hair cloth* I know not how to make pain; it is only symbolical, except when worn to an extent which seemed to wear me out. *I have it on again, by God's mercy. I would try to get some sharper sort.* . . . I think I should like to be bid to use the Discipline" (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iii. p. 100). "Sister Mary Agnes," in the book already quoted, gives a detailed account of the use of the discipline, and says: "The Mother then ordered the nun to say the "Miserere," and while it was being recited she lashed me several times with all her strength. I was determined not to utter a sound, but at last I could not restrain a smothered groan, whereat she gave me one last and cruel lash, and then ceased. . . . Three weeks after she had disciplined me, I had a very sore back, and it hurt me greatly to lie on it (our bed was straw put into sacks). . . . My back was black, blue, and green all over."

In two pamphlets,[1] which have had a wide

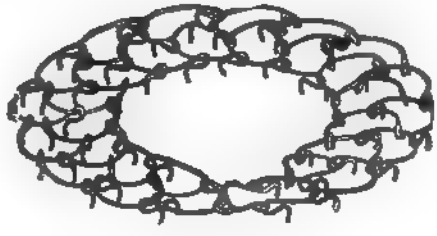


FIG. 4.—DOUBLE WRISTLET.

circulation, it is asserted on the authority of salesmen at the shops where these articles are sold that "the principal customers were" not Romanists but "English Ritualists, who sometimes bought them in large quantities;" and, "For every one he sold to a (R) Catholic he sold three to Church of England people."

The extract given above from *Nunnery Life in the Church of England* shows that these penitential instruments are not always self-inflicted, and there is no doubt that they are used also as instruments of punishment. In his *True Spouse of Christ*, vol. i. p. 30, "St. "Alphonsus Liguori gives the following directions to Superiors of nunneries: "Rule 2. 'No religious . . . shall eat outside the refectory without a grave

[1] *The Fashionable Torture Instruments of the Ritualists*, Church Association. *Instruments of Torture*, Protestant Alliance.

necessity, and without the permission of the Mother. If any one offends in the point she shall be *severely punished* by the Abbess according to the gravity of the fault that she has committed.' Rule 3. 'The religious that disturbs silence should be punished, and should the fault be grave, let her be *punished with the discipline*.'" And again: "Very great was the sorrow I felt in reading your letter that one of the lay-sisters, after having abused a choir nun and resisted her, has had the temerity to break the enclosure, and to go out on the public road. The lay-sister has, therefore, incurred excommunication, and I have not the power to absolve her. . . . Such scandalous behaviour merits a very severe chastisement, for the purpose either of checking the diabolical boldness of the sister, or of making her serve as an example to the others."

Protestants reject the use of such articles, and of all self-inflicted chastisement, on the grounds that it is impossible for man to appease the wrath of God by bodily austerities; that to assert such a doctrine is to deny in effect the doctrine of justification by faith only in the finished work of Christ, and to degrade the conception of Almighty God as revealed in Holy Scripture.

[W. A. L.]

PENTECOST.—A solemn festival of the Jews, so called because it was celebrated *fifty* days after the Feast of the Passover (in Greek *pentecostos* means *fiftieth*). It corresponds to our Whitsuntide, one of the great festivals of the Christian Church, commemorative of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. Professor Skeat traces the term *Whit* or *White* Sunday to the Old English *Hwita Sunna Dæg*. This accords with the custom in the early Church that the candidates for baptism wore *white* garments, and that this Sunday and Easter were especial days for baptism. It should be noted that we must not count fifty days from the very day of the Passover, but from the Sunday following, for God so directed the Jews, speaking of their Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks (see Lev. xxiii. 15). In the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England the service for this festival, as for other great festivals, is remarkable for the large portions of Holy Scripture read. The first lesson for the morning contains the law of the Jewish Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks, which was a type of ours, for as the law was at this time given to the Jews from Mount Sinai, so also the Christians upon this day received the new Evangelical Law from heaven by the descent of the Holy Ghost. The first lesson for the evening is a prophecy of the conversion of the Gentiles to the kingdom of Christ through the inspiration of the apostles by the Spirit of God, the completion of which prophecy is recorded in both the second lessons, but especially in the portion of Scripture for the Epistle, which contains a particular description of the first wonderful descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles. And in this respect there is reason to believe that the English Church conforms far more closely to the practice of the Early Church than do either the Greek or Romish Church, which find more room for gorgeous ritual and ceremony, and the words of men, than for the Word of God; and for prayers, not only unknown to the early Christian Church, but utterly opposed to its practice and to the teaching of God's Word. In the Church of Rome, according to the *Catholic Dictionary*, the celebration of Pentecost is preceded by a *Fast and Vigil*, after which "Indulgence begins," that is, "a remission,

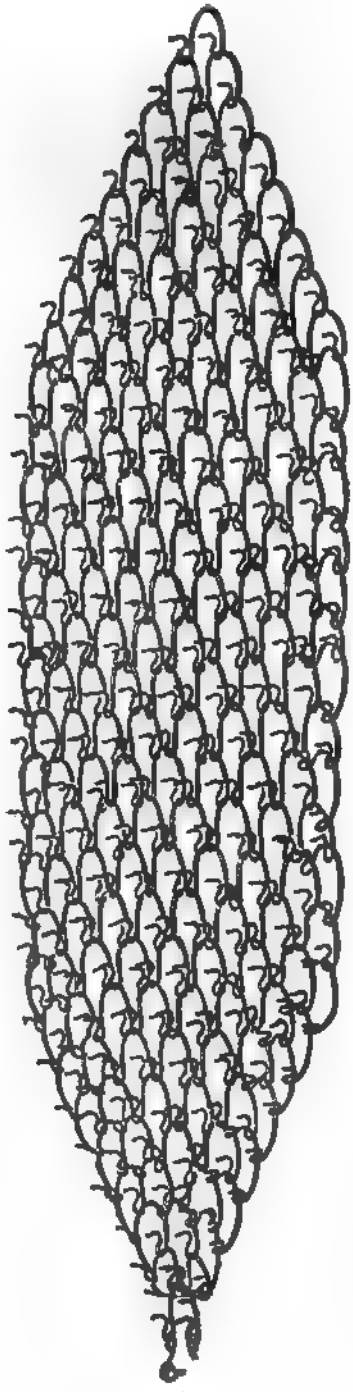


FIG. 5.—ANKLET.

ed by the Church to those who are free the guilt of all mortal sin, of the whole, a part, of the temporal punishment due ns already forgiven." It is regarded as a ble first-class Festival" with an octave. rding to the *Ritual Notes on the Order of e Service*, one of the text-books of the nced Ritualists, published by Messrs ray at Oxford, the vestments and the of "the High Celebration of the Holy arist," and the Whitsun service generally, its incense, is a studied imitation of the sh ceremonial, even to "the Red, the r of the Octave;" while amongst the s selected for Whitsun Eve and Whitsun is to the following Saturday inclusive are, *ius astra ascenderat*, or *Beata nobis Gaudia*. itsun Day," it is said, "and its octave recisely of the same rank and have the privileges (indulgences) as the octave of r, and should therefore be observed in *lar manner*."

s admitted by the most recent authority ie Roman Catholic side, Monsignor L. esne, that "only in the part which pre- the benediction of the baptismal water the Romish office for Whitsuntide con- to the type of the early Church," which, is reason to believe, was simple. Again, ling to Tertullian, the whole of the fifty from Easter to Whitsuntide were origin- bserved as a festival, and therefore there o fast or vigil before Pentecost, as pre- d by the Church of Rome. There can tle doubt but that the "Indulgences" ed by the unreformed Church led to the st excesses, to superstition, to immorality rreverence at the celebration of this l. The Reformation in England happily away most of these, such as Whitsun morris dances, drunken revelry, games, ing, pageants, such as the King's Play. n account of the superstitions connected Whitsunday before the Reformation, see by Googe's translation of Naogeorgus, nd's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*,

On the Continent many vestiges of the titions and irreverent celebration of unday still exist, as at Naples at the di Monte Vergine, which lasts for three nd consists of a number of merry-makers ance with flowers around the picture of adonna. See Wheatley on the *Book of n Prayer*; Blunt's *Theological Dictionary*; *ic Directory*, and the *Ritualistic Manuals*.

[T. H. L. L.]

ECTION, COUNSELS OF.—See EVANGELICAL COUNSELS.

ECTION, SINLESS.—See SINLESS ECTION.

ECUTIONS (PAPAL).— Persecution may be defined to be persistent oppression inflicted by the stronger on the weaker for refusing to conform to an established principle or principles. The definition can be shown to be true of every species of persecution, but this article is concerned only with religious persecution.

Political expediency desires uniformity in religious belief and observance within the State, since the propagation of new ideas respecting faith and morals is certain in the end to bring about political complications. Hence religious persecution has been practised mainly to protect or to promote political interests, and hence its origin is to be traced to sources independent of Christian institutions. There would have been religious persecution had the Christian Church never existed.

The early Christian Church conquered foes without by patient endurance of suffering. This noble attitude she belied in the moment of victory by invoking the arm of flesh to aid her to crush foes within who threatened to undermine the Faith. She sought to vindicate spiritual truths by means of temporal laws. Heresy became equivalent to treason, and was punished with similar penalties. The presidency of the Emperor Constantine over the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, completed the triumph of the Christian Church over Imperial persecution. The Nicene Canons forthwith were converted by Constantine into civil laws; the Emperor next banished Arius; the State enacted penalties against Arian heretics, and this policy received the cordial approval of the leading ecclesiastics. Successive emperors continued the policy of enforcing the observance of the Canons of the Church by civil laws, and thus was established the deplorable practice of the persecution of Christians by Christians for doctrinal differences. Priscillian, a Spanish bishop who suffered death at Treves, A.D. 384, was the first notable martyr to sectarian persecution based on the precedent established by Constantine. Priscillian had been accused of reviving Manichæan and Gnostic doctrines.

In A.D. 378, with the approval of the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian II., the title Pontifex Maximus, or Supreme Pontiff, hitherto borne by the Emperor of Rome, was transferred to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and to his successors. In 606 Pope Boniface III. persuaded the Emperor Phocas to proclaim him the Universal Patriarch of the Christian world. In 755 Pepin, King of the Franks, and father of the great Charlemagne, laid upon the altar of St. Peter the keys of Ravenna and other towns that he had captured from the Lombards. Within the next few centuries the Papacy steadily achieved a general recognition

of her claims to be supreme in both spiritual and temporal matters, until the Bull of Pope Boniface VIII., issued Nov. 1302, and known as the *Unam Sanctam*, proclaimed that both the spiritual and material sword are in the power of the Church (the Papacy); and that it was altogether necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the Roman Pontiff. The zenith of Papal power extended from the accession of Innocent III., A.D. 1198, to the death of Boniface VIII., A.D. 1303.

While thus contending for universal supermacy, the Papacy took care to provide for the preservation of her system. Secular interests were now paramount with the Pope and Curia; consequently, the preservation of the system became all-important to them. Heresy seemed to be the most dangerous foe; therefore they must purge the Church at all costs from this noxious leaven, lest it should compass her ruin. The penal clauses directed originally against the Manichæan heretics, and contained in the legal Codes of the Eastern Roman Emperors, Theodosius II. and Justinian I., which were published A.D. 438 and 529 respectively, provided the Papacy with valuable material for the purpose. They formed the basis of many subsequent Canons and Bulls directed against heretics.

The various ecclesiastical and civil laws passed by Popes, Councils, Emperors, and Kings against heretics, may be grouped under the three following heads: (1) Laws passed to prevent members of the Roman Catholic Church from falling into heresy. (2) Laws passed to facilitate the discovery of heretics, their favourers, and such as are suspected to be heretics. (3) Laws passed to regulate the punishment of heretics, and to compel the prompt execution of the punishments enacted.

The following may be considered to be the principal Papal Councils that decreed Canons condemning heretics, and commanding their punishment: (1) Third Lateran, or Eleventh Œcumenical Council, March 1179, Alexander III. (27th Canon condemned the Albigenses). (2) Council of Verona, August 1184, Lucius III. (condemned heretics; ordered bishops to hunt out heretics). (3) Fourth Lateran, or Twelfth Œcumenical Council, Nov. 1215, Innocent III. (Canon 3 gave directions how to punish heretics. Princes who refused to punish heretics were threatened with excommunication. Transubstantiation and auricular confession were enforced by the 1st Canon). (4) Fourth Council of Toulouse, Sept. 1229 (passed many Canons against heresy and heretics; the latter to be hunted down strenuously. Laity forbidden to read Old Testament or New Testament Books, save the Psalter). (5) Fifth Council of Narbonne, 1235, and (6) Second Council of Béziers, 1246 (passed Canons giving directions concerning trial and punishment of heretics, which formed the basis of the order of proceedings subsequently observed by the Inquisition tribunals). (7) Council of Arles, July 1234, (passed several Canons condemning the Albigenses and Waldenses). (8) Council of Constance, or Seventeenth Œcumenical Council, 1414–18, John XXIII. and Martin V. (sentenced John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake, and condemned John Wyckliffe's teaching). (9) Council of Trent, or Twentieth Œcumenical Council, Dec. 1545 to Jan. 1564, Paul III. and Julius III. (condemned teaching of Luther, Calvin, Zwingle; anathematised heretics, and perpetuated separation of Protestant from Roman Catholic Church).

The assemblage of some 200,000 warriors gathered from every quarter of Christendom, A.D. 1096, for the First Crusade, and their embarkation for the Holy Land to rescue Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the profane Saracen—mark an important stage in the history of Papal persecution. It is the first instance of the despatch of armed forces under Papal auspices to fight what were declared to be the Church's battles; and it created a precedent for future aggressive warfare in the interests of the Papacy. The impassioned exhortations of Peter Gautier, a native of Amiens, and better known as Peter the Hermit, had drawn together this heterogeneous host. Pope Urban II. granted the mission his warmest support. He proclaimed the Hermit to be a chosen messenger of God. He convened a Council at Placentia in Italy—adjourned to Clermont in France, A.D. 1095—principally to commend the Mission to the assembled prelates, princes, and thronging spectators. He promised plenary indulgence to all who should embark with the sacred host, and the glory of martyrdom in addition to all who should perish in the holy war. Conspicuous among examples of aggressive warfare afterwards waged in the spirit of the Crusades, to promote Papal interests, may be mentioned the campaign conducted in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva, A.D. 1567–73, and the equipment and despatch of the great Spanish Armada against England by Philip II. of Spain, A.D. 1587–88.

Another notable "crusade" was the campaign against the Albigenses, the greater number of whom inhabited the province of Languedoc in southern France (see ALBIGENSES). The assassination of Peter of Castelnau in Jan. 1208, had prompted Pope Innocent III. to command this punitive campaign to be undertaken. Simon de Montfort, a Count of

France, an English Earl, and father of the Simon de Montfort so celebrated in English history—carried on the war with singular ferocity from 1208 till his death in 1218. He and the Papal representatives spared neither age nor sex. The victims are said to have numbered 30,000 people. The establishment of a branch of the Inquisition in Languedoc, A.D. 1229, completed the extermination of the Albigenses as a religious community. Louis VIII. of France and his son, Louis IX., were glad to send troops to help to conquer this independent French province. Their services were rewarded by the annexation of Languedoc to the French crown in 1229, during the reign of Louis IX.

Towards the close of the twelfth century the Papacy discovered a new weapon with which to combat heresy. The 16th Canon of the Third Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, declared that, "Oaths made against the interest and benefit of the Church are to be considered perjuries rather than oaths."[1] The Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, in its 3rd Canon absolved the subjects of "heretical" princes from their allegiance; and the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414–18, confirmed the prohibition to keep faith with heretics in the following emphatic terms: "By no law, natural or divine, is it obligatory to keep faith with heretics, to the prejudice of the Catholic Faith."[2] One of the first to suffer under the full development of this principle was John Huss, who was burned at Constance in 1415, although he had come to the Council protected with safe-conducts signed respectively by his sovereign, King Wenceslaus, and by the Emperor Sigismund of Germany.

In the early Christian Church the power to exercise discipline belonged to the presbytery. In course of time this power was assumed by the bishops, who continued to exercise it without interference, for the suppression of heresy, till about A.D. 1229, when the Pope and Curia founded the Inquisition, or Holy Office. By about A.D. 1273, the Vatican had developed this institution into a central organisation armed with large powers for suppressing heresy. This new step was very important. It indicated that persecution for heresy had been transformed from a practice hitherto adopted principally by the more ardent Roman Catholics, into an axiom of Papal administration, into a Vatican decree commanded to be obeyed by all ecclesiastical and civil rulers.[3] Henceforth the Papacy, in her official capacity, undertook the responsibility of inflicting on heretics, by means of the secular authorities when necessary, deprivation of civil rights, confiscation of property, imprisonment, torture, death. In very many cases death was the penalty inflicted, whether the offence had been an apostasy or a difference concerning a minor point. Innocent III. is credited with having proclaimed that the opinion that oaths were unlawful was a heresy worthy of death.[4]

The view commonly adopted that Dominic of Castile, the founder of the Dominican Order of Preaching Friars, was commissioned by Innocent III. to organise the Holy Office, is questioned by Henry Charles Lea, a recognised authority.[5] There is no doubt, on the other hand, that the earliest Inquisitors, properly so called, were Dominicans; and that Dominicans maintained, during many centuries, a close connection with the working of the Inquisition. Moreover, Thomas de Torquemada, the first Inquisitor-general of the Inquisition in Spain, was a Dominican Prior. Successive Popes took care to select those agents who were reputed to be most likely to succeed in accomplishing any particular mission, and they usually, though not invariably, chose Dominicans to do the work of the Holy Office. The chief control of the Inquisition was never permitted to lapse into the hands of the Religious Orders, but was retained by the Pope and Curia. The initiation, gradual development, and expansion of the Inquisition occurred under the pontificates of Innocent III. (1198–1216), Gregory IX. (1227–41), Innocent IV. (1243–54), and Alexander IV. (1254–61).

The bishops soon showed resentment at what they felt to be an intrusion into their prerogative of maintaining discipline. Several times during the fifty or sixty years succeeding A.D. 1229, the reigning Pope found it necessary to intervene in order to adjust the strained relations between the rival parties. About the year 1375, however, a *modus vivendi* was established in which the Inquisitors secured the advantage.

An attempt to describe the extent to which tribunals of the Holy Office were established in Europe would exceed the province of this article. But it may be mentioned that the Holy Office never secured a foothold in the

[1] "Non enim dicenda sunt iuramenta, sed potius periuria, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticum et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta."

[2] "Nec aliqua sibi fides, aut promissio de iure naturali, divino, et humano fuerit in preiudicium Catholicæ Fidei observanda."

[3] "Janus" (Dr. von Döllinger), *The Pope and the Council*, p. 237.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[5] H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 299, 300.

British Islands, Denmark, or Scandinavia; neither was it a success in France, Germany, or Portugal. When mediæval missions were set on foot for the conversion of the heathen, Inquisitors often accompanied the Papal missionaries. The most notorious of the foreign tribunals of the Holy Office were those established in Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

By far the most important branch of the Inquisition was the branch established in Spain by Ferdinand V. "The Catholic," and his queen Isabella, A.D. 1480, with the approval of Pope Sixtus IV., and commonly called the "Spanish Inquisition." This branch was really a revival of the branch which had been established in Aragon by Pope Gregory IX. in 1238; but it quite eclipsed the Inquisition of Aragon. It was organised with great ability by Thomas de Torquemada, a native of Old Castile, a Dominican Prior of Santa Cruz, and private confessor to Queen Isabella. Its record for the first eleven months of its operations (Jan. 2 to Nov. 4, 1481) revealed its drastic character. It had been responsible for the burning of no less than 298 victims in Seville alone. Prescott, the historian, in his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, maintains that the Spanish Inquisitors ordered even the bodies of many whom an opportune decease had rescued from punishment for heresy, to be exhumed and burned in the "Quemadero," or public place of execution in Seville.[1] The Jesuit historian of Spain, Mariana, estimates that in the archbishopric of Seville and the bishopric of Cadiz, quite 2000 Inquisition victims were burned during the year 1481. Llorente, the historian of the Spanish Inquisition, who had been its General Secretary in Madrid, has recorded the following significant figures as representing the work done by the Holy Office in Spain from 1481 to its suppression by Napoleon in 1809: Number burnt at the stake, 31,912 persons; effigies burnt, 17,659; number condemned to various penances, 291,450 persons—a grand total of no less than 341,021 recorded deeds of persecution.[2] The Spanish Inquisition was re-established by Ferdinand VII., A.D. 1814, but was finally suppressed by the Cortes in 1820.

The late Bishop Creighton, in common with several other writers, has assigned a political character to the persecutions directed by the Holy office in Spain. He states that the main object was "To supply the Spanish monarchy with the means of welding together a people with divers traditions."[3] Nor was the prospect of securing rich booty from the confiscated property of the victims quite unforeseen. Not a few among them found that the possession of considerable property rather hastened their doom than aided their acquittal; and Sixtus IV. is said to have complained because Ferdinand had failed to remit to Rome the Vatican's share of the treasure.

The martyrdom of John Huss, A.D. 1415, provoked a rising of the Hussites. They organised an influential league to secure, if possible, religious liberty. At length they appealed to arms. Nicolaus of Pistna, an able statesman, and John Zizka, the well-known commander, consented to direct the movement. Between 1420 and 1434 the Hussites engaged in three campaigns, in which a few successes were discounted by many serious reverses. Their attempt to invade Germany in 1427 roused the Emperor Sigismund to spare no pains to crush them, and he received much assistance from the Papal retaliation on the movement. From time to time various Popes commanded severe persecutions to be organised against recalcitrant Bohemians and Moravians. Not until A.D. 1781 were Bohemian Protestants granted a measure of religious liberty by the Toleration Edict issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II.

Compared with other European countries, England has been granted considerable immunity from Papal persecution. The English national character is a bad foster-mother of systematic persecution. About three hundred martyrs are said to have been burned to death during the notorious reign of Queen Mary I. (A.D. 1553–58), and some sixty-four more are said to have suffered other punishments for heresy; but these figures are scarcely comparable with the terrible figures presented by the records of Papal persecution elsewhere in Europe.

The last twenty years of the fourteenth century witnessed the rise of the Lollards, or English followers of John Wycliffe. By A.D. 1399 they had developed into a powerful religious body which had become also a political force in the country. In 1382 a statute was passed directing that commissions should be issued to arrest the Wycliffe travelling preachers. In 1400 Henry IV. fulfilled his pledge to Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, to suppress heresy, by accomplishing the passing of the famous statute "De Hæretico Comburendo." This statute enacted, for the first time in England, death as the legal punishment for heresy. In 1414, during the reign of Henry V., another

[1] Prescott, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*. 3rd edition, pp. 171, 172.

[2] Llorente, *Hist. of the Inquisition of Spain* (Eng. trans.), pp. 575–583.

[3] Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, pp. 86, 87.

statute was passed which enacted further provisions for suppressing heresy. From the first year of Henry IV. until the reign of Henry VIII., Lollards were constantly persecuted by means of the above statutes; but they continued to exercise a decided influence among the people long after persecution had put an end to their corporate existence. The conservative ecclesiastics and haughty feudal lords of those days cordially co-operated in putting down this progressive and democratic section of the nation. The best known Lollard martyr is Sir John Oldcastle, called "the good Lord Cobham," who in 1417 was burned to death by a slow fire in London. Henry VIII. retained the statutes of 1382 and 1414. He repealed the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, but substituted for it in 1539 the *Statute of Six Articles*. The penal clauses of this bill enacted severe penalties against all who should refuse to conform to its provisions. Whoever denied the clauses, embodying the doctrines of transubstantiation and auricular confession, incurred the penalty of death by fire. Still religious persecution can hardly be said to have been general during his reign, although several suffered death, or other penalties, for heresy.

Probably the bitterest persecution for heresy known in England was the persecution which was waged during the last three years (1555–58) of the reign of Mary I.—in other words, during the three years that followed her marriage with Philip II. of Spain, the notorious persecutor. The number of victims during that period has been quoted already. The persecuting statutes of A.D. 1382, 1400, 1414, were put into full force. English lovers of religious liberty will never forget the fires at Smithfield. The memories of Archbishop Cranmer of Canterbury, of Bishops Ridley of London, Hooper of Gloucester, Latimer of Worcester, Ferrar of St. David's, and of many other Marian martyrs too numerous to mention by name—are still cherished by grateful inheritors of the liberties so dearly purchased. The death of Mary in 1558 and the accession of Elizabeth, terminated the persecution. No general persecution for heresy has been waged in England since the death of Mary I. One of the first steps taken by the first Parliament of Elizabeth was to repeal the persecuting statutes of A.D. 1382, 1400, and 1414.

James Resby, an English Lollard who was burnt in Glasgow about A.D. 1407, has been called the proto-martyr of Scotland; but the first prominent martyr of the Scottish Reformation was Patrick Hamilton, who was burned at St. Andrews in 1528. He is considered by many to have been the pioneer of the Scottish Reformation. The martyrdom of George Wishart, another talented and learned Scottish Reformer, at St. Andrews in 1546, produced far-reaching results, for the devotion and courage shown by Wishart inspired John Knox, the famous Reformer of Scotland, and a follower of Wishart, to undertake the great work of his life. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his nephew, Cardinal David Beaton, who succeeded him in the archbishopric in 1539—were the chief Papal persecutors in Scotland. David Beaton was assassinated seven years later. In 1560 the Scottish Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland, and the Reformation thus achieved victory in a struggle which had lasted from 1523 to 1560. Subsequent persecutions in Scotland, *e.g.* those waged during the reign of Charles II., were not Papal; therefore they are not mentioned here. The last person in the British Islands to be executed for heresy was a medical student named Aikenhead, who was hanged in Edinburgh, A.D. 1696.

The campaign conducted in the Netherlands from A.D. 1567 to 1573 has been alluded to already. Despite the protests made by Margaret of Parma, the regent appointed by Philip, that no army was needed, Philip II. of Spain despatched the Duke of Alva with 20,000 soldiers, consisting of Spanish, German, and Italian mercenaries, to punish the inhabitants of the Provinces for having risen against the king's oppressive rule. During six years the duke ravaged the Netherlands with sword and fire, and with violence beyond description. He is said to have boasted that he had caused 18,600 inhabitants to be executed during his rule as Governor-general. Thousands more perished in massacres, sieges, and pitched battles. To quote the words of J. L. Motley, the historian of the Dutch Republic: "Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, dead bodies—all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake."[1] The tribunal established by the Duke in Sept. 1567, and called "The Council of Troubles," condemned to death 1800 persons within the first three months of its existence.[2] Strange to say, Pope Pius V. in 1569 presented a jewelled hat and sword, together with an autograph letter, to the Duke of Alva, this being a special distinction conferred only on those who had rendered signal services to the Church.[3]

Between A.D. 1534 and 1589, the Huguenots, in other words, the French Protestants, were

[1] J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. ii. p. 503.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 282.

being continually persecuted. During the six weeks following Aug. 24, 1572, the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew was being perpetrated. In all France, from 70,000 to 100,000 Huguenots are said to have been massacred. About 20,000 perished in Paris alone. Determined persecution was resumed in 1681; and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, with its attendant persecutions, shattered the Protestant movement in France. Much of the persecution directed against the Huguenots was inspired by the fear lest the growth of the movement should threaten the safety of the monarchy. This political fear the leading ecclesiastics in France fostered assiduously in the royal mind. It always proved to be so effective an argument for the renewal of persecution. See HUGUENOTS.

Another religious body the members of which were harassed by continual Papal persecution, were the Waldenses, who arose in southern France about A.D. 1170. Driven by persecution from France, they settled principally in the valleys of Piedmont in Italy, about the year 1375. Pope Innocent VIII. in 1487 issued a Bull commanding their extermination. The best known among the many persecutions under which they suffered is the "Massacre of the Vaudois," or Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, by Duke Charles Emmanuel II. of Savoy, in 1655. The reader by this time will be able to form some idea of the cruelties then practised, so the painful details need not be related. England, under Cromwell, called on the Protestant Powers to issue a joint remonstrance to the Duke of Savoy, and to his ally, Louis XIV. of France. See WALDENSES.

It will have been noticed that the period A.D. 1534 to about 1688 shows the Papacy militant against heresy in many countries in Europe. Between A.D. 1534 and 1589 she was waging simultaneous persecutions against adherents of the Reformed faith in England, Scotland, France, Spain, and the Netherlands. She was also persecuting the natives of the new Spanish colonies in South America. Again, between A.D. 1655 and 1688, she was waging renewed persecutions against the Waldenses inhabiting Piedmont in Italy, and against the Huguenots. The beginning of the eighteenth century, however, witnessed a marked decrease in Papal persecution. Torture ceased to be the regular practice of the Inquisition about this time, and the record of victims declined from hundreds to some dozen per annum. The most recent cases of capital punishment inflicted by the Inquisition are assigned to the year 1826, when a Jew was burnt, and a Quaker schoolmaster was hung for heresy.

At the present time systematic Papal persecution has been wholly discontinued. Ever since the year 1870, the Pope and Curia have been debarred the exercise of temporal power, and civil governments have recognised, on the whole, that impartial protection of the true interests of the people better safeguards the State than an attempt to enforce by persecution uniformity in religious belief and observance.

Persecution for heresy has been termed, in an earlier portion of this article, an axiom of Papal administration. It is an established principle with the Papacy, in other words, not a mere relic from the dark ages. In this connection it may be well to recall two or three Papal pronouncements with which students of present-day events probably are familiar. In August 1873, Pope Pius IX. addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Emperor William I. of Germany, in which he claimed authority over all baptized Christians. In September 1875 the Papal Nuncio issued a circular to protest against religious toleration in Spain. In February 1884 Pope Leo XIII. addressed an Encyclical Letter to the French bishops, in which he exhorted them to redouble their vigilance against heresy and infidelity. Again, the *Institutes of Canon Law*, issued in 1901 from the Professor of the Decretals at the Gregorian University in Rome, with the approbation of the Pope and the Jesuits, assert that the Church possesses the power, which she ought to exercise, of exterpating heretics.[1] Moreover, the Holy Office still exists in Rome.[2] These, together with other sundry adumbrations of modern Papal policy, seem to compel the thoughtful observer to adopt the reluctant conclusion pronounced in 1869 by the late Johann von Döllinger, the famous scholar and professor at the University of Munich, and himself a Roman Catholic: "It follows that they are greatly mistaken who suppose that the Biblical and old Christian spirit have prevailed in the Church (the Papacy) over the mediæval notion of her being an institution with coercive power to imprison, hang, and burn."[3]

Authorities. — Bishop Mandell Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, Hulsean Lectures

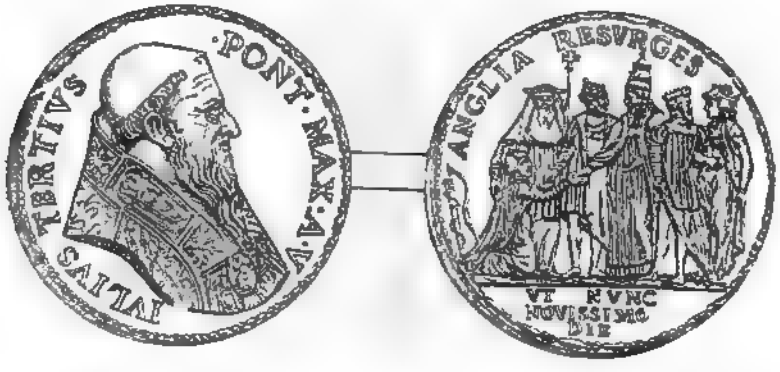
[1] See P. Marianus De Luca, S.J., *Institutiones Juris Eccles. Publ.* (2 vols.), Romæ, Libr. Pontificia (Fred. Pustet), 1901. The letter of Pope Leo XIII., approving of the book and recommending its study, is given on the paper covers of the two volumes, which extend to 800 pages, royal octavo, of closely printed Latin.

[2] See *Annuario D'Italia*, 1903, p. 27; also *The Catholic Directory* for 1903, p. 45 (published by Messrs. Burns & Oates, London).

[3] *The Pope and the Council*, by "Janus" (Dr. von Döllinger), p. 12. The whole of chap. i. (pp. 8–33) will repay careful study.

Medal of Pope Paul II., struck 1469 on occasion of the Papal crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. The inscription on the reverse is: "*The pious Shepherd wages war only against wild beasts.*"

Buonanni, Numismata Pontificum.



Struck by Pope Julius III., A.V. ("year of victory"), to commemorate the accession of Queen Mary of England. The Pope is represented on the reverse in full robes. Cardinal Pole, Papal Legate to England, on his right, with the Emperor Charles V. between them. On the left is King Philip of Spain and Queen Catharine, wife of Henry VIII. Queen Mary kneels in the foreground. The inscription is: "*England, thou shalt rise again!*"

***Medailles des Papes*, Planche IX., No. 4.**

Medal struck 1572 by Pope Gregory XIII. to commemorate the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. "*Massacre of the Huguenots.*" An Angel with cross and sword kills some and puts others to flight.

***Medailles des Papes*, Planche XV., No. 8.**

1893–94, post 8vo, 1895, "Janus" (Dr. von Döllinger), *The Pope and the Council* (Eng. trans.) 8vo, 1873. H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1887, 1888. Jean Antonio Llorente, *The History of the Inquisition in Spain* (Eng. trans.) 8vo, 1826. Garrido and Cayley, *History of Political and Religious Persecution*, 8vo, 1880–84. W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 8vo, 1841; *Hist. of Conquest of Mexico*, 8vo, 1843; *Hist. of Conquest of Peru*, 8vo, 1847. J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1864. *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols. 1877. J. S. Stamp, *Martyrologia*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1848–1851. Also works on Huguenots by Prof. H. M. Baird, quoted in article "Huguenots." These are a few out of the very large number of volumes and articles in encyclopædias, dictionaries, &c., that deal with the subject. [H. F. G.]

PETER.—See PRIVILEGE OF PETER; SUPREMACY, PAPAL.

PETER'S PENCE (*denarius S. Petri*).—This was an annual tax of one penny for every house in England, collected at midsummer and forwarded to the Pope. The earliest reference to it is in a letter of Canute, A.D. 1031. This letter mentions among the "dues which we owe to God according to the ancient law, the pennies which we owe to Rome at St. Peter's." Matthew Paris ascribes the origin of Peter's Pence to Offa, King of Mercia, and Henry of Huntingdon says that "Offa" gave to the Vicar of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome, a fixed rent for every house in his kingdom for ever. Others attribute the origin of Peter's Pence to Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred. It seems to have been paid with considerable irregularity. We are told in the Saxon chronicles that it was sent to Rome, A.D. 1095, by the hands of the papal nuncio, after an intermission of many years (*Sax. Chr.*, 873). In the same records we are told of a legate having come into England, A.D. 1123, after the Rom-Scot (Peter's Pence). It ceased to be paid after 1534.

Peter's Pence was extended to Ireland by Pope Adrian IV. in the year 1156. This bull, or brief, by which the Pope sold Ireland to the King of England for a penny a year from each house, is a bitter pill for Irish patriots to swallow. Adrian was the son of a married priest, who lived at Langley, near St. Alban's, and the only Englishman who was ever Pope. After claiming jurisdiction over all islands from a grant made by Constantine the Great (the well-known forged Donation of Constantine; see DONATION OF CONSTANTINE), the Pope continues:—

"We . . . do hold it good and acceptable that, *for* extending the borders of the Church, restr*aining* its progress of vice, for the correction of morals, the planting of virtue, and the increase of religion, you enter this island and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God and the welfare of the land; and that the people of this land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their lord, the rights of their churches still remaining sacred and inviolate, and *saving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from every house.*"

Henry did not find it convenient to invade Ireland just then, but in 1171 Irish disunion gave him the chance he sought for. He applied to Adrian's successor, Alexander III. for a confirmation of the bull. Alexander complied, expressly naming the grant of Adrian, and taking care to stipulate for the "*reserving to St. Peter and to the Holy Roman Church, as well in England as in Ireland the yearly pension of one penny from every house.*"

Cardinal Moran has laboured to prove Adrian's bull a forgery, and his example has been followed by those who are ashamed to acknowledge that the Pope sold Ireland for money. But the Cardinal's arguments are flimsy in the extreme. Cardinal Baronius says he copied the original bull of Adrian IV. from the Vatican manuscript, but Moran says he searched for the manuscript three hundred years later, and could not find it, therefore it must be "a great Norman forgery." The bull of Adrian is in the *Bullarium Romanum*, a collection of papal bulls made under the authority of the Roman See. John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, assures us that he received the bull from Adrian and carried it to Henry II. Dr. Lanigan, an Irish priest and a professor at Louvain, says in his *Ecclesiastical History*, "Never did there exist a more real and authentic document."

Since its loss of the temporal sovereignty, the Vatican looks very closely after Peter's Pence. It is well known in Roman Catholic ecclesiastical circles, that a bishop, who is remiss in forwarding Peter's Pence to Rome, is very coldly received on his compulsory visits *ad limina*. The sum annually collected for Peter's Pence in Ireland has been computed, by those who have made a careful study of the matter, at £30,000 per annum. [T. C.]

PETER, ST.—The original name of this apostle was Symeon or Simon, but Jesus, on their first meeting, gave him the name "Cephas" (Aramaic *Kepha* = rock), which, when translated into Greek, became πέτρος or Peter. He was a fisherman, born apparently in Bethsaida, but settled with his wife in a house of his own at Capernaum when the public ministry of Jesus began. From the day of his meeting with the Master he became a disciple, but continued his occupation until he received the call to the apostolate, after which he left all to follow Jesus.

It is plain from the Gospel narratives that Peter from the first was regarded by the Lord with special favour and affection. There were grave defects in his character, as his history abundantly shows. But most of his failings leaned to virtue's side, and in the depths of his being he clung to Jesus with a passionate strength which made him worthy to be called the "man of rock." Among the apostles his bold and energetic character quickly asserted itself; and as Peter, James, and John were the three chosen ones among the Twelve, Peter was undoubtedly the leading spirit of the three. His leadership in the apostolate was most fully expressed in the great confession made at Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 16); and when Jesus rewarded him by saying, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona," and by declaring, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it," He was recognising in Peter a type of that saving faith in His own divine person on which the Church of the future was to be built.

In the Apostolic Church of the immediate post-Resurrection days, Peter continued to hold a position of leadership, as the earlier chapters of Acts abundantly prove. But he was by no means a primate in the early Christian community, nor did he possess any powers or privileges which were not shared by the other apostles. The ordination of the seven deacons was the act of the apostolate in common; the apostles as a body sent Peter to Samaria as their delegate, and sent John along with him on a footing of perfect equality; while at the Council of Jerusalem it was James, the Lord's brother, and not Peter, who sat as president. When Paul has fully entered the field as the divinely-appointed apostle of the Gentiles, Peter's figure begins to dwindle before the mightier genius of the new apostle; and Paul certainly entertained no idea of any supremacy on the part of his fellow-apostle when he took Peter to task at Antioch for his weak and inconsistent conduct in the matter of fellowship with the Gentile converts, and rebuked him to his face in the presence of the whole church (Gal. ii. 11–14).

With this incident at Antioch our definite historical knowledge regarding Peter practically closes. In the Acts he is never mentioned again. Clement of Rome, writing towards the close of the first century, refers to Peter as a martyr, thus confirming an allusion made near the end of the Gospel of John (xxi. 19). Of the two Epistles of Peter in the New Testament, the first has passed unscathed through the fires of modern criticism; but it has little light to shed upon the later history of the apostle, and any light it gives is not in harmony with the traditional structure which the Roman Catholic Church has built around Peter's name.

According to this tradition, Peter came to Rome in the year A.D. 42, founded the Roman Church, became its first bishop, and after an episcopate of twenty-five years, suffered martyrdom under Nero. The story is one which rests upon no historical foundations, and does not bear the slightest examination. In Acts, Peter appears as a resident in Jerusalem years after the time when he is said to have become the Bishop of Rome. Again, the fact that neither in the epistle which Paul sent to the Romans, nor in any of the epistles that he wrote while in Rome to other Churches, is Peter referred to in the remotest way, precludes the idea that the latter had taken up his residence in Rome even by the time of Paul's final imprisonment, much more the idea that he was the founder and bishop of the Roman Church. Besides, over against the tradition of Peter's Roman episcopate we have to set another tradition, which represents him as engaged during the later years of his life in missionary labours at Antioch, in Babylonia, and along the northern shores of the Black Sea; and this tradition, rather than the other, is confirmed by 1 Peter, which appears to have been written from Babylon (v. 13), and is addressed to "the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." Babylon, no doubt, is frequently regarded as a cryptogram for Rome; and it is possible that if he visited Rome towards the close of his life, Peter wrote this epistle from that city to those dispersed Jews of the East among whom he had been labouring. Against this, however, is the fact that there is no analogy in the whole epistolary literature of the New Testament for a cryptographic use of any geographical name. The presupposition therefore is that Babylon means Babylon, just as Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Rome, means Jerusalem or Antioch or Rome.

But though the story of St. Peter's episcopate at Rome is only a fable—a fable derived originally from the heretical pseudo-Clementine writings—it is not impossible that at a late period of his life he came to Rome, and there, like St. Paul, suffered martyrdom. It is true that more than a century has elapsed after the age of Nero before we find any clear literary record of a tradition to this effect, but that tradition is supported from so many quarters that the majority of scholars are inclined to accept it as true. Obviously, however, the question of its truth has not the least bearing upon the Roman Catholic claim that Peter founded the Church in Rome, and was the first bishop of that city—a claim which might

just as reasonably be made on behalf of Paul. The tradition of St. Peter's martyrdom in Rome is usually coloured with the addition that he was crucified head downwards at his own request, and on the ground that he was unworthy to suffer death in the same way as his Master. But such a request does not seem to be in keeping with the sobriety of the apostolic spirit, or the character of Peter himself in the post-Pentecostal days; and it is probably nothing more than the romantic embellishment of a later age. See PRIVILEGE OF PETER; PRIMACY, ROMAN; SUPREMACY, PAPAL. [J. C. L.]

PIE was the name of the Index-table by which, before the Reformation, each priest had to find out the proper office for each day. "The relative precedence to be given to a Sunday, saint's day, commemoration, and week day service" rendered this a complicated matter of research. Maskell says this was "a matter of no little consequence, as it was not possible that in any two years the same course should occur, and an almost infinite variety of the daily offices would result" (*Mon. Rit.*, i.–xlii.). To make it more puzzling, all sorts of contractions were used in the cross references, and the rule for a single day was often of great length. As the preface "concerning the Service of the Church" says, "the number and hardness of the rules, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out." The initial letters being printed in red, and the rest in black letter type on white paper, gave the page a spotted or piebald look; hence its name is said to be derived from *pica*, a magpie. Printers even yet speak of type thrown into confusion as being "thrown into a pie." Others think that pica was itself a translation into monkish Latin of the English word. A yet more far-fetched derivation is from πίναξ, the wooden board on which in early times the order of the day is supposed to have been displayed. At York the pie forms a separate volume; and another name for the same sort of guide was the Ordinale, or Directorium Sacerdotum. [J. T. T.]

PILGRIMAGES.—The word pilgrimage, from the Latin *peregrinus*, a foreigner or traveller, denotes a journey to some place regarded as peculiarly holy, undertaken with a religious intent and in the hope of receiving spiritual or physical blessings. Pilgrimages are common to most religions, and in particular to Hinduism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism, as well as to Christianity. In the earliest days of the Church there was no notion in the Christian mind of a benefit attaching to pilgrimage. Our Lord's words to the woman of Samaria, by which He taught that we are no nearer to the Father in one place than in another, appear to have been fully accepted until long after the apostolic times. But the desire to visit the scenes of the Saviour's birth, and life, and death grew strong, partly owing to a natural interest in everything associated with the person and ministry of Jesus, and largely through the influence of superstitions which multitudes of converts had carried over with them into the Christian Church. Earnest protests against superstitious notions of the benefits of pilgrimage are to be found in the writings of such men as Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine. But popular sentiment prevailed over the counsels of Christian truth; and from the time when the Empress Helena paid a visit to Palestine during the second quarter of the fourth century, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land became a fashionable as well as a religious duty.

The Church, recognising and taking advantage of the trend of popular opinion, set the seal of its approval on the growing passion for pilgrimage. By-and-by it did much more; and gradually transformed the original conceptions on the subject, until what had originally been regarded as a means of stimulating the religious life, became a work of extraordinary merit, by which the darkest sins were atoned for and a high degree of holiness attained. The stream of pilgrims to Jerusalem increased in volume year by year. The Crusades themselves were armed pilgrimages upon a vast scale, intended to maintain the right of free approach to the great sanctuaries of the Christian faith.

Once the pilgrim superstition had taken root in the general mind, the claims of other shrines besides those of Palestine came into view. Only a few, at the best, could ever hope to see Bethlehem and Jerusalem, Gethsemane and Calvary; and so the need was felt for more accessible sanctuaries. These were found at the tombs of martyrs, confessors, and saints, or at spots around which legends had gathered of the appearance of supernatural visions, or the miracle-working power of sacred relics. The Church sanctioned and organised in its own interests the growing sentiment, and every Christian land soon had its pilgrim resorts, such as those of Loretto in Italy, Compostella in Spain, or Canterbury in England. Rome itself presented special attractions, as being the reputed resting-place of both St. Peter and St. Paul. And by-and-by, through the indulgences and other privileges she was able to confer upon her pilgrims,

Rome became the chief goal of pious travellers from every part of Western Christendom; which helped to raise her to a position of supreme authority.

With the Reformation, pilgrimages and the abuses that had gathered round them disappeared from the Protestant section of the Church; but they have continued to hold a place, though a much diminished place, within the Roman communion. Every now and then some new shrine has appeared in the Roman Catholic world. The most famous of modern times is that of Lourdes in the south of France, where the Virgin Mary is asserted to have revealed herself. To the grotto of Lourdes no fewer than half a million of persons now repair every year; and it is confidently affirmed that miraculous cures have been wrought upon many of the sufferers who are brought by their friends to seek the healing virtue of the spring, near which a girl is believed by the pilgrims to have met with the Virgin. [J. C. L.]

PISCINA.—A small stone basin in use in the pre-Reformation Church, and still remaining in some ecclesiastical buildings. It is generally built into the east or south wall, and was always near an "altar." It was used by the priest in washing out the vessels employed in the Eucharist, and also as a place in which the other "ablutions" (*i.e.* the rinsing of the priest's fingers) were performed.

PIT.—See HELL.

PLANETA (*i.e.* planet).—The folded chasuble, an illegal vestment worn by Roman clergy and by Ritualistic clergy of the Church of England in Advent and Lent. Its name is derived from the appearance of the garment, which is said to resemble "a star when partially eclipsed."

PNEUMA.—A name given by the Ritualists to a few notes sung or played to the concluding syllable of the Psalms and certain Canticles An alternative name is the "slur." It is supposed to be a sign of reluctance to quit the praises of God even for instruction and prayer.

POENULA.—Another name for the chasuble or chief garment worn by a priest when celebrating Mass. It is also known as *casula* and *planeta*. See CHASUBLE.

PONTIFF (Latin, *pontifex*).—This was the title of a heathen priest among the ancient Romans. The title is given to bishops, and a mass at which a bishop presides or "celebrates" is styled a Pontifical Mass. The Pope is styled the *pontifex summus*, the Supreme Pontiff, and sometimes simply Pontifex. The coins of the Popes are termed *Numismata Pontificum*.

PONTIFICAL.—Relating to a pontiff or bishop A book of the ritual of Episcopal ceremonies in the Church of Rome.

POPE.—The name (papa) properly signifies "father," and is applied to the Bishop of Rome. The name "Pope" is given to parish priests of the Greek and Russian Churches, just as "Father" is given to Roman priests. See PATRIARCH.

POPE PIUS IV., CREED OF.—The Creed of Pius IV., inaccurately termed the "Tridentine Profession of Faith," is the authoritative creed of the Roman Catholic Church. It was drawn up in 1564 by a college of cardinals, acting under the direct orders of Pius himself, as a summary of the dogmatic decisions of the Council of Trent, which had concluded its sessions towards the end of 1563. It takes the form of a binding oath, and is imposed upon all priests and instructors of youth in the Roman Church, and also upon all converts from Protestantism.

Of the twelve Articles of which this creed consists, the first is simply the Nicene Creed in its Western form. The second and third bind those who accept it to belief in the ecclesiastical traditions, and in particular to that view of the meaning of the Holy Scriptures which is held and taught by the Church. In the fourth it is declared that there are seven Christian sacraments, instituted by Jesus Christ, and necessary for the salvation of mankind; and that these are to be administered according to the approved ceremonies of Roman Catholicism. The fifth Article is a confirmation of the decisions of the Council with respect to original sin and justification; while the sixth and seventh set forth the dogma of transubstantiation, and declare that in the mass a true and proper sacrifice of propitiation is offered to God for the living and the dead, and that the whole and entire Christ is received under either species of the sacrament. The eighth affirms the doctrine of purgatory, and prescribes the invocation of saints and the veneration of their relics; while the ninth asserts the value of image-worship, and also deals with the power and benefit of indulgences. In the tenth, Rome is acknowledged to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, and obedience is sworn to the Bishop of Rome as "the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ." In the eleventh, unhesitating belief is professed in all the declarations of canons and general councils—those of Trent in particular—while everything contrary to those declarations is "condemned, rejected, and anathematised." In the concluding Article the general profession is made that this is "the true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved," and an oath is

taken to retain, confess, and teach this faith, entire and inviolate, to the end of life.

The Creed of Pius IV. continues to be the distinctive Roman Catholic confession of faith, with the addition only of the two modern dogmas of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and the *ex cathedra* Infallibility of the Pope. The distinctive feature of this symbol, when compared with the Tridentine decrees themselves—a feature which really makes the name, *Professio Fidei Tridentinæ*, a misnomer—is the way in which obedience to the Pope is included as part of the very essence of the Catholic faith. The Council of Trent had come to no decision between the Curialistic and Episcopal parties; it had not determined whether the Pope was the Lord of the Church, or only the chief among the bishops; whether his authority was superior or inferior to that of a general council. But in the haste with which the long-drawn sittings of the Council were brought to a close, the Pope was left free to take his own measures for giving effect to the decrees arrived at; and in his bull of confirmation Pius IV. calmly reserved the exposition of the decrees exclusively to himself. This in itself was an addition to the decisions of the Council; and the addition was carried yet further when a creed was formulated which bound every priest of the Church to subject himself utterly to the papal authority, and to confess that this was of the very essence of saving faith. It was this "master-stroke of Curialistic politics," as Harnack calls it, which made it possible for a later Pius, in the second half of the nineteenth century, to determine, by means of a simple bull, the new dogma of Immaculate Conception, and afterwards, at the Vatican Council, to secure the acceptance of his own infallibility.

[J. C. L.]

POPES, THE.—The Roman tradition that St. Peter became bishop of the Imperial City in A.D. 42, and occupied that position for twenty-five years, is dissipated in the light of historical investigation, and must be regarded, to use the expression of a leading Church historian, as "unquestionably a colossal chronological mistake." The evidence in disproof of this legend lies beyond the scope of the present article. The *Didachê* (which was probably written at end of first century) knows nothing either of Peter's primacy or supremacy,

The lists of the earlier Roman bishops as they have come down to us present discrepancies, not merely in the order of succession, but in names and dates. Tertullian and others make Clement the immediate successor of Peter, while Irenæus gives the order: (1) Linus, (2) Anacletus, (3) Clement. From the very start, therefore, the Roman episcopal succession is involved in doubt and obscurity. The prevalence of Greek names in the early lists proves that the Church of Rome in its infancy was, to all intents, a Greek religious Colony. Greek in language, organisation, and literature, it practically remained such to about the middle of the third century. Paul wrote his epistle to that Church *in Greek*. In the same language were written the *Epistle of Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the works of Justin Martyr, down to those of Hippolytus in the third century.

We append the Roman authorised list (according to Dr. Bruno, *Catholic Belief*, London, 1902) up to A.D. 335. This list coincides with that of Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*).

	Assumed Date A.D.
Peter (?)	29–67
Linus (?)	67
Cletus (?)	78
Clement I.	90
Anacletus	100
Evaristus	112
Alexander I.	121
Xystus (*Latinised*) Sixtus I.	142
Telesphorus	132 (? 152)
Hyginus	158
Pius I.	158
Anicetus	167
Soter	175
Eleutherius (see SABELLIANISM)	182
Victor I. ,, ,,	193
Zephyrinus ,, ,,	203
Callistus ,, ,,	221
Urbanus I.	227
Pontianus	233
Anterus	238
Fabianus	240
Cornelius	254
Lucius I.	255
Stephanus I.	258
Xystus II.	259
Dionysius	261
Felix I.	272
Eutychianus	275
Gajus (Caius)	283
Marcellinus	296
Marcellus I.	304
Eusebius	309
Miltiades (Melchiades)	311
Silvester I.	314

Many circumstances contributed to the gradual growth and pre-eminence of the Roman See as witnessed in its later history. The fact that to it was addressed the most important doctrinal Epistle of the series in the New Testament, and moreover, the eventful sojourn, imprisonment, and martyrdom of the writer,

Paul, together with the fiery ordeal of the Neronian and other persecutions, tended later to raise the prestige of the Imperial See. Moreover, the very fact that Rome was the Metropolis of the world told heavily in favour of its bishops, and the withdrawal of the Emperor to Constantinople gave the Papacy the opportunity of stepping into the vacant place of authority. The letter of Clement to the Corinthian Church, especially since the discovery in 1875 of a hitherto unknown portion, affords an early indication of an influence which, had it been in later times exercised in the same spirit, and for righteousness, might have been for the preservation and not the destruction of the truth. The letter referred to puts forth no claim to the supremacy afterwards demanded by the Roman See. Its tone is that of *expostulation* and not *superiority*. It is also noteworthy that that letter was written in the *name of the Church*, and not in that of the *bishop*. Ignatius, likewise (A.D. 70), in his Epistle to the Romans, makes no mention of *any bishop*, but addresses *the Church alone*. The Clement, who in some of the lists stands as the *third* successor of Peter in the episcopal chair at Rome, has been considered by some to be the person mentioned in Philip. iv. 3; but Bishop Lightfoot (*Ep. Philippians*, p. 168) gives good reasons for holding that identification to be extremely doubtful.

Telesphorus, the seventh bishop (or the ninth, according to the Roman contention) in succession (A.D. 132), is recorded by Irenæus as having died the death of a martyr (A.D. 139) at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius. The episcopate of Anicetus, which was earlier than given in the Roman list, is distinguished by the first discussion on the question of the time of the observance of Easter. The venerable Polycarp visited Rome between A.D. 150 and 155. The interview ended peaceably in an agreement to admit differences on that unimportant matter. The dates assigned to the pontiff are by no means certain. The philosophical Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from 161–180, the writer of the *Meditations*, in which there is his one solitary allusion to his Christian subjects, whose fidelity to their faith he termed "sheer obstinacy." Soter was succeeded by Eleutherius (A.D. 182), to whom, according to Bede, the British King Lucius applied for missionaries to convert his pagan subjects. The Roman bishop responded by sending two ambassadors with a present of both the Old and New Testaments, and a letter containing these remarkable words: "You have received both the Old and New Testament. Out of the same, through God's grace, by the advice of your realm, take a law, and by the same, through God's sufferance, rule your Kingdom of Britain, for in that kingdom you are God's Vicar" (Prideaux' *Introd. to Hist.*, quoted by Trelawny, *Perranzabuloe*, p. 56). No savour *here* of Roman Supremacy. The story of Lucius is probably legendary, but that fact does not detract from its value as to the doctrine expressed, coming as it does from a Roman source.

Victor's (A.D. 193) episcopate was accentuated by a revival of the Easter dispute. The haughty bishop demanded the abandonment of the *Quarto-deciman* practice by the Asiatic Church.[1] In vain did Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, remonstrate (Eusebius has preserved his manly letter); Victor scorned both argument and entreaty, branded his opposers as heretics, and threatened to excommunicate them.

At the commencement of the third century (A.D. 203) Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome. The details of his character and history, and that of his successor Callistus, have come down to us mainly through the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, probably *bishop* of Portus at the Tiber mouth; though this is denied for obvious reasons by Döllinger, who regards him as a *presbyter* only, and as posing as a rival bishop of Rome. Zephyrinus is described as an "illiterate and covetous man." He showed great vacillation in regard to the heresies rife during his episcopate, and was a mere tool in the hands of the man destined to be his successor.

Callistus I. in 221 occupied the See. He had formerly supported the Noëtian heresy, to which he gained over Sabellius. On becoming bishop he excommunicated that heresiarch. His own opinions were not orthodox, for he taught that the "Father and Son were the name of one God, and this one person cannot be two; thus the Father suffered with the Son." This was the heresy of *Ditheism*, as it was called. Attention has been drawn to the fact that Sylvester I., a hundred years later, is represented in the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* (see DECRETALS), as condemning Callistus for *Sabellianism* (see SABELLIANISM), but without any suspicion that Callistus was one of his own predecessors! A romantic, though discreditable, account of this man's earlier life is given in the *Philosophumena*. See FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, p. 223, col. 2. To him is thought to apply the epithet of Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*) *Pontifex Maximus* and *Episcopus Episcoporum* — perhaps in irony, but adopted later in earnest.

[1] The Quartodecimans observed the fourteenth day of the moon as Easter, whether it fell on a Sunday or not. The other party kept their Easter on the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the month.

The three succeeding bishops, Urban I. (A.D. 227), Pontianus (A.D. 230), and Anterus (A.D. 235), require no special notice. Fabian, in the year 240, was elected bishop, to die a martyr's death ten years later in the Decian persecution. After an interval of eighteen months, Cornelius, in A.D. 254, occupied the vacant chair for the brief space of one year and three months. Eusebius (book vi. c. 43) gives a letter of the bishop addressed to Fabius of Antioch, in which incidental mention was made of the then strength of the Church at Rome. It consisted, among other classes of workers, of "46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 sub-deacons, &c., 42 acolytes, besides widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than 1500, supported by the goodness and love of God."

Stephen I. (A.D. 258) came into violent collision with the African and Asiatic Churches on the subject of *Baptism by heretics*. The Roman bishop maintained the validity of such baptism when administered in the proper form, in the name of the Holy Trinity. "Heresy," he said, "brings forth children and exposes them; the Church takes up the exposed children and nourishes them as her own, though she herself has not brought them forth." This position was maintained with an arrogance which foreshadowed later papal pretensions. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was Stephen's most distinguished opponent. A Council convened at Carthage asserted the independent judgment of the African Churches, and repudiated the title as applied to Rome, of "Bishop of Bishops." In the subsequent persecution of the Emperor Valerian both these bishops suffered as martyrs. The question concerning the primacy was to some extent settled in favour of Rome by the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325). Sixtus II., Bishop of Rome, after ruling eleven months, perished also in the persecution under Valerian. Dionysius, his successor (A.D. 261), is said to have condemned the heresy associated with Paul of Samosata. Much obscurity enwraps the history of the six succeeding Popes. The apostasy of Marcellinus (A.D. 296) is now discarded as a fable. The so-called conversion of the Emperor Constantine took place in 324, during the episcopate of Sylvester (A.D. 314), or, according to some, in the time of his predecessor Melchiades. The founding of Constantinople, or *New Rome*, as the imperial seat proved highly advantageous to the growth of Roman episcopal ascendancy. The general Council of Nicæa took place during Sylvester's pontificate. The Pope was represented at that Council by two presbyters. No particular remark is called for respecting the two succeeding Roman bishops, Mark and Julius. Liberius, the next bishop (A.D. 352), was banished by the Emperor Constantius for refusing to condemn Athanasius. "If he," Liberius said, "were the only friend of Athanasius, he would adhere to the righteous cause." Two years of exile, however, induced him to sign the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and to renounce the communion of Athanasius. See LIBERIUS. Liberius was permitted to resume his bishopric conjointly with one Felix, who was suspected of being an Arian. The populace resented the dual episcopate. Felix fled on the return of Liberius to Rome. Finally, an attempt to get reinstated having failed, after much bloodshed, he retired from the contest. The Emperor Julian (A.D. 361–363), whose insensate endeavour to revive paganism earned for him the title of Julian *the Apostate*, confined his attention to the eastern portion of the Empire. Rome and its bishop consequently escaped his influence for good or bad during the two short years of his reign. On the death of Liberius in A.D. 366, Damasus I. was elected his successor, but not without a bloody contest with his rival Ursinus. Rome and her churches were given over to scenes of frightful atrocity again and again repeated, until, through the intervention of the heathen prefect, Prætextatus, the disgraceful tumult was quelled. The historian of this period, Ammianus Marcellinus, gives us the key to interpret these events. He says, "No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the Bishopric of Rome men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal females of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at a profuse, luxuriant, more than imperial table—these are the rewards of a successful ambition." The passage cited throws an important light upon the advance of luxury and pomp surrounding the Roman bishopric at this period, and prepares us for much that is to follow.

Jerome's Latin Version of the Bible (see VULGATE) received encouragement from Damasus, and ultimately was regarded in the West as of equal authority with the original Hebrew and Greek. This contributed much to the growth of Latin Christian literature, and to the establishment of that tongue as the sacred language of the Church. The rising power and extension of monasticism is a noteworthy feature of the period. Siricius was chosen to succeed Damasus. The first extant Decretal emanated from this Pope, and was addressed to Himerius (A.D. 385), bishop of Tarragona. This was couched in language implying that the usages of Rome were to be considered as precedents for *all* other Churches. The subject of the Decretal related to the celibacy of the clergy: marriage was to them peremptorily interdicted.

The fourth century closed with the uneventful pontificate of Anastasius I., who was succeeded (A.D. 402) by Innocent I. "Upon the mind of this Pope," writes the historian of Latin Christianity, "appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline." The African Churches appealed to Innocent, as the successor of St. Peter, to ratify their condemnation of the Pelagian heresy. See PELAGIANISM. The Pope complied, accompanying his consent with much swelling words about the dignity of his See. When Chrysostom, driven from the See of Constantinople, died in 407, Innocent, who had espoused the cause of the exiled bishop, insisted on the enrolment of his name on the *diptychs* of the Church. See DIPTYCHS. The aggressive policy of this Pope is seen in his assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Churches of Eastern Illyricum—a province extending from the Adriatic to the Danube. The African bishops having cause to complain of the attempt of Zosimus (A.D. 417) to pass off a *Sardican* for a *Nicene* Canon (see SARDICA, COUNCIL OF), to justify his claim to the right of hearing appeals, approached his successor Boniface (418) on the matter, expressing a hope that they might no longer have cause to complain of the *secular pride* and *arrogance* of Rome.

The Nestorian controversy largely engaged the attention of Celestine I., who was elected to the Roman chair in 422. Celestine, on the appeal of the bishop (Cyril) of Alexandria, proceeded to the unprecedented act of threatening deposition and excommunication to the Archbishop of Constantinople unless, within ten days of his receipt of the warning, he conformed to the faith of Rome! This action registers another startling advance in Roman pretensions. The claim was not, however, admitted; the subsequent deposition of Nestorius was effected by the General Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431).

After the death in A.D. 440 of Sixtus III., the immediate successor of Celestine, Leo the Great was chosen to fill the chair. He was a man of remarkable intellectual power and acumen, as well as of boundless energy and ambition. The ideas which we connect with the word "Pope" receive their embodiment in his personality and actions to a degree far exceeding any or all of his predecessors. His intellectual attainments are rendered all the more conspicuous by reason of the absence, in his time, of men of the culture of an Origen, Augustine, Jerome, or Chrysostom. Leo was the first Roman preacher of note. His sermons, such of them as have come down to us, are characterised by a remarkable blend of humility and arrogance. He is at one and the same time the "servant of the servants of God," "the Vicar of Christ," and even "God upon earth." The people are to obey in his lowly person Peter himself, whose dignity is not lacking even to his unworthy heir. He dogmatises on the power and position inherent in the successors of St. Peter. The *petra* on which the Church is built is Peter and his confession. Peter is the pastor and prince of the whole earth, through whom Christ exercises His universal dominion on earth. This primacy perpetuates itself through the bishops of Rome, who are related to Peter as Peter was related to Christ. Resistance to his authority is but impious pride and the sure way to hell! The distractions of the North African Church, caused by the inroads of the Arian Vandals, gave the Pope an opportunity of posing as a supreme bishop. In Gaul his claims to universal jurisdiction met with a check in the person of Hilary of Arles; while in the East they met with even a still greater check at the Council of Chalcedon, whose final canon enacted that the Patriarch of Constantinople ranked second to the Bishop of Rome, but *with equal rights*. Leo's influence did much to mitigate the suffering caused by the incursion of the Huns under Attila (452), and three years later, these entailed by Genseric, the Vandal invader.

Leo was succeeded in A.D. 461 by his representative at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, (the *Latrocinium* or "Council of Robbers"), Hilary, then a deacon, who, during his six years' episcopate, maintained the ambitious policy of his great predecessor over the Western Church. The next Pope, Simplicius (468–483), witnessed, apparently unconcerned, the fall of the Western Empire under Augustulus in 476. The "successor of Peter" began to be looked up to by the nations of the West as the sole and real heir of the old Roman imperial succession. Odoacer, the first ruler of the divided empire in the West, though an Arian by religious profession, made no attempt to interfere with the Pope in matters ecclesiastical, yet maintained his authority to regulate the election to, and the temporal affairs of, the Roman See. In the person of his representative (Basilius, Prefect of Rome) he reminded the clergy assembled in St. Peter's that the election of the bishop could not take place *without the sanction of the sovereign*. So prejudicial was that edict to the growing ascendency of the papal power, that twenty years later an opportunity was seized upon by Pope Symmachus to have it completely annulled.

Felix II. succeeded to the papal chair in 483, and distinguished his pontificate by the excommunication of Acacius of Constantinople,

which drew upon himself a counter-anathema from that bishop, resulting in a schism between the Eastern and Western Churches lasting over thirty years. Gelasius I. (492–496) promulgated the principle of the pre-eminence of the priestly over the kingly power, and differentiated between the two in a letter addressed to the Emperor Anastasius as follows: "There are two powers which rule the world, the Imperial and the Pontifical. You are the sovereign of the human race, but you bow your neck to those who preside over things divine." This Pope, however, gave a remarkable pronouncement concerning the *sacrilege* of withholding the cup from the laity—the *communio sub una specie*. The sudden death of Anastasius II. (496–498) led to the dual election of Symmachus and Laurentius, which eventuated in a sanguinary feud between the partisans of the two rivals. A council was convened at Rome by order of the Emperor Theodoric, a heretical prince to sit in judgment upon a Pope! This council was called from the place of meeting *Synodus Palmaris*—the Synod of the Palm. Some expressions in the decision arrived at, which cleared Symmachus from very formidable accusations, seem to imply that the Bishop of Rome occupied a position removed from all human judgment, and that he could be judged by God alone—a concession which bore fruit in the after evolution of Papal Supremacy.

Symmachus died after ruling the Church for nearly sixteen years. He was succeeded by Hormisdas in 514, in whose pontificate the schism already alluded to between the East and West was ended. The next Pope, John I. (523), had a short and unhappy episcopate under the Emperor Justin, whose measures against the Arians induced them to supplicate the Eastern potentate Theodoric, who intervened in their behalf, and restored to them their confiscated churches. There is here a tangle in the history. After a cordial reception of the Pope at Constantinople, he was, on his return to Italy, thrown by Theodoric into prison, where he died. The pontificates of the three succeeding Popes, Felix III. (IV.), Boniface II., and John II., embrace the period between A.D. 523 and 535. In the latter year Italy became once more incorporated for a time with the Eastern Roman Empire. The aged Agapetus occupied the Roman See in A.D. 535, and when on a visit to the Emperor in his Eastern capital, successfully exerted his influence with him in deposing Anthimus, a prelate suspected of Eutychian opinions. Agapetus died, however, in A.D. 536, before his return to Rome. His successor Silverius was banished, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Goths, to the island of Candateria to end his days, whether by a natural or a violent death is unknown, though his successor Vigilius (538–554) had some hand in his deposition, and possibly in his death. Vigilius' administration has been fitly described as "an unprincipled vacillation between the dignity and duties of his office and subservience to an alien theological and political influence; between repeated condemnation of Justinian's edict, known as that of the *Three Articles or Chapters*, in behalf of a *Eutychianising* spirit, coupled with repeated retractation of that condemnation." The Pope pronounced the three chapters (*i.e.* the writings of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas) orthodox. This was in A.D. 546. He condemned them in the year following. He revised the sentence, in deference, as "Janus" says, to the Western bishops, and was excommunicated by the Fifth General Council, to which he afterwards submitted, declaring that he had been misled by Satan. See his letters to the Patriarch Eutychius. *Cf.* De Marco (*Dissert.*, Paris, 1669, p. 45). During his sojourn in Constantinople the Pope suffered much at the hands of the Emperor Justinian, to whose coercion he finally yielded through fear of deposition. He died in A.D. 554. Justinian confirmed Pelagius I. in the See. This was the first instance of an emperor claiming authority to ratify the appointment of a Pope. Pelagius died in 560.

The administration of the three Popes who in turn succeeded (560–590) is described as among the darkest and most sterile in the annals of the papacy. Their names are severally John III., Benedict I., and Pelagius II. In 590 the papal throne was occupied by the most remarkable man since Leo I. Gregory I. marks the transition of the patriarchal system into the strict papacy of the Middle Ages. His protest against the title "*universal* bishop" is noteworthy. He declared it to be an *antichristian* assumption. But this dislike probably proceeded more from jealousy of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, who had adopted the title, than from sincere humility. There is a strange inconsistency manifest in Gregory's disclaimer of the title, while at the same time he zealously laid claim to *the thing itself*. In one of his letters he writes: "I know not what bishop is not subject to it (*i.e.* the Roman See) if fault is found in him." To the Emperor Maurice he writes: "It is plain that to Peter, as the prince of all the apostles, was committed by our Lord the care of the whole Church" (*totius ecclesiæ cura*). The meritoriousness of good works, the doctrine of a purgatorial fire, and of masses for the benefit of the souls subjected to the same, are embodied in the teaching of this Pope. Being ignorant of both Hebrew and Greek he was ill prepared for either Old or New Testament

exegesis. Gregory was a voluminous writer. His four books of *Dialogues* display an extraordinary credulity, and formed a foundation for much of the mediæval superstition about purgatory. They were translated by order of King Alfred into Anglo-Saxon. In 597 Gregory despatched Augustine on his mission to England, where he became the first occupant of the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. As an austere monk saturated with the monastic spirit he ascended the papal throne, and the same spirit pervaded his entire episcopate. Towards heretics he was remorselessly severe, but in other directions he could show himself generous and humane. His protection of the Jews and toleration towards them was a remarkable feature in his administration, but his warmest admirers have failed to defend his joy at the elevation of Phocas to the imperial purple, after the atrocious murder of the Emperor Maurice and his five sons under circumstances of diabolic cruelty.

Gregory's successor Sabinian (604) incurred the odium of the people by the avarice he displayed during a dreadful famine which raged in Rome during his pontificate. Boniface III. came to the papal throne in 607. He boldly assumed the title of *universal bishop* which Gregory had affected to reject. The Roman *Pantheon* was converted by his successor Boniface IV. into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all the martyrs, 608. The occupants of the See in 615 and 619 were respectively Deusdedit and Boniface V. Honorius (625–638) avowed himself a Monothelite and was condemned by his successors for this heresy. See HONORIUS. Succeeding Popes were Severinus (A.D. 640), John IV. (640), Theodore I. (642), Martin I. (649), who suffered imprisonment and died in exile by reason of his adherence to the orthodox doctrine of the *two wills* in Christ. In 655 Eugenius I. succeeded, and was followed by Vitalianus in 657; Adeodatus, 672; Domnus, 676; Agathon, 678; Leo. II., 682; Benedict II., 683; John V., 685; Conon, 686; Sergius I., 687; John VI., 701; John VII., 705; Sisinnius, 708; Constantine I., 708, was the last Pope who was the humble subject of the Eastern Empire. A new epoch dawns with his successor Gregory II. (715), who came into direct collision with the Emperor Leo about the worship of images. Leo had by an)edict 726) distinctly forbidden the practice. Gregory III. (731) took a still more decided course by anathematising the *Iconoclasts*, though without mentioning the emperor. Leo retaliated by confiscating the papal revenues in the parts within his power. Greece and Illyricum were once again joined to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The death of Gregory II. (731) was followed by the succession of Gregory III. In 741, Zacharias, a native of Greece, was elected. His share in the revolution which dethroned Childeric III. and set up Pepin as King of the Franks is the subject matter of much controversy, but it afforded a precedent to his successor for the establishment of the supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil ruler. Stephen III. (the successor of Stephen II., who died before he was consecrated), 752, reanointed the Frankish king. Hard pressed by the Lombard invasion of Rome, he earnestly implored the protection of Pepin, who finally came to the rescue. This circumstance eventuated in a large part of Italy becoming the territorial possession of the Pope. By this gift of a foreign potentate the Pope became *a temporal sovereign*, and a new era of the papacy was begun, which was not to terminate until the German invasion of France in 1870 indirectly restored Rome to its ancient position as the capital of Italy. The next Pope, Paul I. (757), occupied the See ten years, and was succeeded (768) by Stephen IV., whose death in 772 was followed by the election of Adrian I., under whose rule the Lombards again appeared as invaders before the gates of Rome. They were subdued by Charlemagne, who twice visited Rome with great pomp, and whose son Pepin was baptized by the Pope, 781. In 787 the second Council of Nicæa sanctioned the use of images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints in churches, on highways, &c., and permitted a restricted worship (*προσκύνησις*), bowing the knee) to be offered to them.

Leo III. succeeded to the papal chair in 795. The close of the eighth century witnessed the crowning by the Pope of Charlemagne, "Emperor of the West." A mosaic in the *triclinium* of Leo III. in the Lateran (from the ninth century) represents St. Peter in glory bestowing upon the Pope, kneeling at his right hand, the priestly stole, and upon Charlemagne, kneeling on his left, the standard of Rome. The right of crowning kings, accompanied by that of *discrowning* them, was claimed and exercised by Popes of a later period. The coronation of Charles the Great was the foundation of what is known as *the Holy Roman Empire*. Henceforth *in theory* the Pope was to look after spiritual interests, while the Emperor busied himself about temporal affairs of the kingdom. Jointly they became the ruling powers of the Middle Ages. (See *Holy Roman Empire*.)

On the death of Leo in 816, Stephen IV. was elected, but, dying in the following year, was succeeded by Paschal I., who, like his predecessor, had to apologise for not first obtaining the imperial consent. Paschal crowned Lothair, Louis' son, who was associated with his father in the empire, and another link was

added towards the establishment of papal authority. Louis, on the contest that arose respecting the vacant papal chair in 824, interposed his prerogative by deciding in favour of Eugenius II., and while establishing the right of the Roman people to *elect*, bound them to defer the consecration of their nominee to the Papacy, until he had taken the oath of allegiance to the Emperor in the presence of the imperial commissioner. The following Popes succeeded at the death of Eugenius in 827; Valentinian (827), died within the year; Gregory IV. (827–844); Sergius II. (844–847); Leo IV. (847–855). The weight of historic investigation is against the authenticity of the story of Pope Joan (*Johanna Papissa*), which comes in here. Various conjectures are thrown out as to the origin of this strange myth, which was believed in by respectable authorities, but cannot be more than alluded to here.

Benedict III. (855) was succeeded by Nicholas I. in 858. The celebrated *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, a colossal forgery intended (see under DECRETALS) to define and consolidate the papal pretensions, were appealed to under the sway of this Pope. Nicholas was a man of remarkable energy and boldness, which he used in carrying out the principles of the Decretals. It was about 845 that these false Decretals were forged, and by them the pretensions of the Popes have been sustained for centuries. They have been ably exposed by Comber, and in the work of "Janus." See also article on the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. He espoused the cause of the wife of Lothair, peremptorily ordering the king to receive back his repudiated consort. His episcopal authority was exerted with a high hand throughout the empire. The Pope's unsuccessful attempt to reinstate the deposed patriarch of the Eastern capital resulted in the permanent alienation of the two Churches, and proved the last attempt at interference between the East and West. Nicholas died in 867. For nearly two hundred years the papal chair was filled, with few exceptions, by worthless and immoral occupants. Hadrian II. was a man in advanced life when he began his rule. He had been previously married. His wife, who was living at the time of her husband's elevation, had a daughter of mature age who, though engaged to another man, was carried off by the son of the late Pope's legate. He fled for protection to the emperor, but when threatened with punishment murdered both the wife and daughter of Hadrian. This Pope wielded his assumed power in the same imperious and haughty spirit as his predecessors, exerting the same despotic sway over sovereign and clergy alike. He died in 872. A long period of demoralisation in the Papacy followed.

John VIII. was elevated to the papal throne, occupying it for ten years. Martin II. (882–884); Hadrian III. (884); Stephen V. (or VI., 885–891); Formosus (891); Boniface VI. (896), considered not legitimately elected (Bruno), died after fifteen days, and was succeeded by Stephen VI. (or VII.), who had the body of his predecessor dragged from its grave, and, arrayed in his pontifical robes, brought before a mock tribunal, and then thrown into the Tiber. Stephen died in 897. A rapid succession of Popes followed: Romanus (897); Theodore (898); John IX. (898), whose death closed the ninth century of Christianity. Benedict IV. succeeded in 900, Leo V. in 903 (Christopher antipope), Sergius III. (904), "the slave of every vice and the most wicked of men" (Baronius). The infamous Theodora rose into power during this pontificate. By her dominant influence John X. ascended the papal throne. This Pope organised a great league for the preservation of Rome against the Saracen invaders, and in the capacity of a military leader placed himself at the head of the army of defence. What he had gained through the influence of the degraded Theodora, he lost, and with it his life, through the revengeful spirit of her unscrupulous daughter Marozia. This wicked woman, in 931 (after the death of Leo. VI., 929, and Stephen VII., 931), raised her own son (by Pope Sergius III.) to the Roman See as John XI. He died in prison in 936, and was succeeded by Leo VII.; Stephen VIII. (or IX., 939); Martin III. (942); Agapetus II. (946); and John XII. (956), the grandson of Marozia. He united in his person two offices at one time. A civil ruler in Rome, he retained his proper name Octavian, while he exercised papal authority under the assumed name (now used for the first time) John XII. He was charged by a Roman Synod with every crime of which human nature is capable. In 963 Leo VIII., on the formal deposition of John, was chosen to succeed. The choice was approved by imperial intervention in spite of the vigorous opposition of the partisans of the deposed Pope. Leo is classed in the Roman list (after Bruno) as an antipope. Benedict V. is regarded as the lawful successor of John XII. by the same authority. As successors we have John XIII. (965); Benedict VI. (972), murdered in 974; Domnus II. (974); Benedict VII. (975); John XIV. (983 or 984), murdered by the antipope Boniface VII.; John XV. (984 or 985); Gregory V. (996) was a cousin of the Emperor Otho III., Bruno by name. He is the first Pope of German nationality. The cruelties perpetrated on the antipope John XVI. are traced by some writers to Gregory's own orders. Gregory's death in 999 was probably the result of poison.

Following on the succession of the first German Pope comes the election of the first French occupant of "St. Peter's chair," Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims, under the title of Sylvester II. His great aspiration was the establishment of a Græco-Latin empire, with old Rome as its capital, as the centre of rule for the Christian world. His successors were John XVII. (1003); John XVIII. (same year); Sergius IV. (1009); Benedict VIII. (1012), who proved himself very energetic for the defence of Italy against the Saracens, was followed by his brother, John XIX. (a layman), who passed through in one day all the ecclesiastical degrees requisite for his new position. This was in 1024. On his decease (1033), his nephew, a lad about twelve (*circiter annorum duodecim*), ascended the papal throne as Benedict IX. The papal succession since Benedict VIII. had become hereditary in the Tusculan family. Benedict IX. manifested a precocity for all kinds of wickedness. There is conflict of testimony with regard to his proceedings; some say that he sold the Popedom, but seized it again in 1047, so that with an antipope, Sylvester III., and Gregory VI., appointed in 1045 on Benedict's retirement, there were *three* rival Popes for a period. Benedict held the Lateran, Gregory VI. Maria Maggiore, and Sylvester III. St. Peter's and the Vatican. Henry III. of Germany proceeded in 1046 to assemble a council at Sutri, near the capital, and afterwards at Rome, to consider the claims of the rivals. Benedict and Sylvester were condemned, and Gregory was called upon to depose himself on account of the simony he had perpetrated in buying the Papacy. Having deposed his two rivals, he, to keep intact the principle that the Pope is above every human tribunal and responsible to God alone, proceeded to adjudge himself removed from the pontificate! A new Pope was elected, Suidger, a Saxon bishop, under the name of Clement II. He was succeeded in 1048 by Damasus II., who died by poison within a month of his consecration. He was succeeded by Leo IX. in 1049, who distinguished his five years' rule by his activity in eradicating simoniacal practices which had spread from Rome as from a centre. This Pope died in 1054. In the following year Victor II. succeeded; Stephen IX. (or X., 1057); Benedict X. (1058, antipope); Nicholas II. (1058); Alexander II. (1061). On his decease Gregory VII. (Hildebrand, 1073), ascended the papal throne. He was a man of boundless ambition and haughty temper. The scene of Henry IV. of Germany's humiliation, at Canossa, at the feet of the imperious pontiff is at once a revelation of his character and the height to which Papal Supremacy had attained. Henry, twice placed under the papal ban, re-asserted his authority, instituted a rival pontiff, Clement III., laid siege to Rome, and compelled the inflexible Gregory to retire into exile at Salerno, where he died (1085). The power of the Pope to depose kings seemed now to be consolidated, and henceforth was exercised, though with varying success. Building on the basis of the forged Decretals, Hildebrand placed the Papacy upon a higher platform than it was prior to his day. The distortion of fact and fabrications assumed to be historical have been vividly pointed out by "Janus" in *The Pope and the Council*.

After the retirement of Victor III. in 1087, Urban II. mounted the papal throne. He proved himself a worthy successor of the arrogant Gregory. He placed Philip I. of France under the ban (1094), and forbade priest or bishop to swear any kind of feudal homage to the sovereign. Under the influence of Peter the Hermit, the Pope started the Crusade which eventuated in the capture of Jerusalem, an event which recalled in some of its circumstances the sanguinary siege of that city by Titus. This was in 1099. In the same year Paschal II. succeeded Urban, and had no less than four rival claimants. Guibert, or Clement III., who had rivalled the three preceding Popes, died in 1100. Paschal maintained his ground against the three subsequent antipopes up to his death in 1118. Gelasius II. occupied the chair for about a year. His successor, Calixtus II., was a man of royal descent. In the second year of his pontificate he besieged in person the antipope Burdinus, who was captured, paraded in grotesque attire through Rome, and finally left to die in some unknown convent prison. Calixtus settled the question of the right of "investiture by the ring and pastoral staff" in his own favour, a matter of lengthy strife between the Church and the Empire. The first (the Romish ninth) General Council of Lateran was held in 1123, and confirmed this decision. In the following year Calixtus died, and was succeeded by Honorius II., a somewhat militant Pope. In 1130 the chair of Rome was again vacant. Sixteen cardinals elected Gregory, under the title of Innocent II., and thirty-two voted for Anacletus II. (antipope). On his death another Gregory was chosen in his place, who took the name of Victor IV. His abdication left the See in undisturbed possession of Innocent, who through the wide-spread influence of the Abbot of Clairvaux (Bernard), was acknowledged by the kings of France, England, Spain, as well as by the Emperor. This remarkable abbot became a zealous defender of the Pope against all objectors. The later years of Innocent's pontificate were occupied in martial contests. He fell a prisoner to the Normans, who, how-

ever, spared his life. On his death in 1142 Celestine was elected Pope. His rule was short and peaceful. His successor, Lucius II., fell fighting for the defence of his temporal power, Feb. 25, 1145. The vacant throne was filled by Eugenius III., who was obliged to retire from Rome owing to the demand of the people that he should acknowledge their republican government. He took an active part in directing the Crusades of his time. On his return to Rome he found himself again obliged to retire. He died in 1153, six months after he had effected a reconciliation with the Roman people. Pope Anastasius IV. died after a short pontificate and was followed (1154), by the only Englishman elected to the papal chair, Nicholas Breakspeare, a native of St. Albans. He assumed the name of Adrian IV. He was surpassed by few in his bold assertion of the papal dignity. Ireland was granted to Henry II. of England on special terms dictated by this Pope (1155). The tribute known since as "Peter's Pence" was to be the reward of this concession. The principle that all lands converted to Christianity belonged to the jurisdiction of St. Peter was laid down and endorsed by the English Pope. Adrian died in 1159. The election to the vacancy was attended by much strife between the imperial and Sicilian parties; Alexander III. being the nominee of the former, and Victor IV. that of the latter. Both candidates appealed to the Emperor Barbarossa, who confirmed Victor's election. A number of assemblies and councils were held, some for and some against this decision. Victor died before the struggle terminated, but a substitute was immediately put forward in the person of Paschal III. The Emperor took forcible possession of Rome, but was obliged to retire owing to the prevalence of sickness among his soldiers. Pope Alexander deposed the Emperor. The second antipope, Paschal, died only to be replaced by a third, Calixtus III. (1171), who subsequently obtained the Pope's pardon. Alexander died 1181. His successor's (Lucius III.) death in 1185 made way for the election of Urban III., who is said to have died of grief, caused by receipt of the tidings of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187.

Clement III. (1187), and Celestine III. (1191) succeeded in turn to the Popedom. On the death of the latter (1198) Innocent III. was unanimously elected. In his inauguration sermon he speaks of himself as the "vicegerent of Christ, the successor of Peter." He (as Pope) stands in the midst between God and man; *below* God, *above* man; *less* than God, *more* than man. He judges all, *is judged by none*, for it is written: "I will judge," and so on—a strange blend of exaggerated humility and consciousness of power. Innocent placed England in John's reign under an *interdict* (see INTERDICT), excommunicated the king, and absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The *fourth* Lateran Council (1215), enacted two notable canons, one relating to enforcement of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the other making the duty of confession compulsory at least once a year. Innocent's connection with the cruel crusade against the Albigenses has left an indelible stain upon his character. The climax of the papal power was attained in his pontificate, but the foundation for an inevitable reaction was also laid at the same time. The two great mendicant Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis took their rise in this pontificate. Innocent's death occurred in 1216. Honorius, his successor, died in 1227, when the vacant chair was filled by Gregory IX., who entered upon a bitter strife with the Emperor Frederick, whom he twice placed under the ban. The Pope compared the Emperor to the beast with seven heads and ten horns (Revelation), having on his head the names of blasphemy; while the Emperor saw in Gregory the great red dragon and the Antichrist. Gregory died in 1241. His successor, Celestine IV., survived him only seventeen days, and died before consecration. A year and a half elapsed before the Roman See was filled by Innocent IV. (1243), a man of a violent disposition against all who opposed him. He renewed the bitter strife with the Emperor, and on the death of Frederick in 1250 excommunicated his son Conrad, the appointed heir to his dominions. Conrad died in May 1254. The Pope died six months later, and was succeeded by Alexander IV., a zealous Franciscan, and nephew of Gregory IX. On his death in 1261 Urban IV. was elected Pope, and dying in 1264, was succeeded by Clement IV., who was concerned in the cruel murder of Conradin, the son of Conrad IV. On the death of Clement (1265) a vacancy of nearly three years ensued, which was ended by the election of Gregory X. in 1271. During his pontificate Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, was made king of the Holy Roman Empire, and his descendants held the imperial dignity till the dissolution of the Empire in 1806. Gregory died in 1276. The papal chair was filled by three Popes in the same year —Innocent V., Adrian V., and John XXI. Nicholas III. succeeded in 1277, and Martin IV. in 1281–85; Honorius 1285–88; Nicholas IV., General of the Franciscans, 1288–92. The chair was vacant for two years, when Celestine V. was elected in 1294. This "hermit Pope" was persuaded to resign ten days after his consecration by the ambitious Cardinal Gaetani, who, on election, assumed the title of Boniface VIII. The new Pope was a man of undoubted ability

and courage—a very Hildebrand in zeal. He played a distinguished part in the politics of his time. His conflicts with Edward I. of England and Philip of France properly belong to the history of those countries. In 1303 he put forth his famous Bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*, defining the constitution of the Church and State. The Church is one body and has *one head*, not two (like a monster). The power of the one head is symbolised by the *two swords* which our Lord declared to be "enough." "Each of the two is in the power of the Church, namely, the spiritual sword and the material—the latter *for* the Church, the former *by* the Church." The Bull ends with an unequivocal assertion of Papal Supremacy: "We declare, say, define, and pronounce that it is absolutely necessary (*esse de necessitate salutis*) to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Papal pretension could rise no higher. When about to depose Philip of France, Boniface VIII. was dragged from his throne and cast into prison, and though released by the people, never recovered the shock, dying on Oct. 11, 1303, at the age of eighty-six. Boniface raised the Papacy to an ascendancy which in after ages it never fully regained. His successor, Bocassini, a General of the Dominican Order, took the title of Benedict XI. From motives of prudent policy he made his peace with the King of France. He, however, launched a Bull of excommunication against the perpetrators of the outrage upon Boniface, but died June 27, 1304, before it could be effected.

With his successor, Clement V. (Du Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux), dawned the period known as the *Babylonian Captivity* (seventy years), during which the Popes lived not only out of Rome, but out of Italy. The new Pope summoned the Italian cardinals to attend his coronation at Lyons. He eventually settled to reside at Avignon in Provence, on the left bank of the Rhone. Henceforth, during this period, the Papacy was subject to, and the subject of, France. Clement died in 1314. The Roman See, after a vacancy of two years, was filled by the election in 1316 of John XXII. He was a man of vehement and bitter temper. Against the Jews he proved a relentless persecutor. He died at the age of ninety in 1334. When Benedict XII. was chosen to fill the vacant chair, in irony or humility he exclaimed, "You have chosen an ass!" He played the rôle of a reformer, and reversed the unjust policy of his predecessor in respect to Church patronage and kindred matters. On his death in 1342, Peter Roger, under the name of Clement VI., was chosen Pope. He was succeeded by Innocent VI. (1352–62). Urban V., his successor, resided three years in Rome, but returned to Avignon, where he died a few days after his arrival, Dec. 19, 1370. Gregory XI. succeeded, and a year before his death in 1378 the so-called Babylonish Captivity was ended by a return of the Papacy to Rome from Avignon. The election of the next Pope, Urban VI., was followed by the alienation of the majority of the cardinals, who, retiring from Rome, elected a rival Pope in the person of the bishop of Cambray, as Clement VII., who, as a dependant on the King of France, lived at Avignon. The ten years' pontificate of Urban was disgraced by deeds of violence and cruelty. On his death in 1389 Boniface IX. was elected his successor. In 1394 Benedict XIII. succeeded Clement, deceased, as antipope at Avignon. Innocent VII., in 1404, succeeded Boniface IX., but died suddenly two years later, when Gregory XI. came into the papal chair under a stipulation that the existing papal schism was to be healed even if his resignation should be necessary. Eventually, the rival Pope refusing to resign, a council, specially convened at Pisa (1409), pronounced them both contumacious for non-attendance, and unworthy to occupy the papal chair, which was therefore declared vacant. On the death of Alexander V. (a Franciscan) in 1410, Balthasar Cossa was elected under the name of John XXIII., a man with an extraordinary career—a pirate during one period, an archdeacon in another, then Pope's chamberlain, and finally Pope. Milman sums up the record of his life as that which "by its contradictions, moral anomalies, almost impossibilities, perplexes and baffles the just and candid historian." By this Pope, John Hus was excommunicated, and the doctrines of Wickliffe condemned. John was deposed by the Council of Constance (1415), which, like that of Pisa, claimed and exercised that prerogative. The deposed Pope remained a prisoner in Heidelberg until his successor, Martin V. (1417), made him Bishop of Frascati. He died before he could enter upon his See, Dec. 1417. The antipope Benedict XIII. died in Nov. 1424. His successor, Clement VIII., shortly after abdicated, and so the schism which had rent the Papacy ceased.

Between 1431 and 1492 the "chair of St. Peter" had the following occupants: Eugenius IV. (1431–47); Nicholas V. (1447–55); Calixtus III. (1455–58); Pius II. (1458–64); Paul II. (1464–71); Sixtus IV. (1471–84)—Martin Luther was born in the last year of the last-named Pope. Innocent VIII. (1484–92), was a man of profligate morals. He was succeeded (1492) by Roderick Borgia, who assumed the name of Alexander VI., and was a man of still more abandoned life. Three sons and a daughter (the beautiful Lucretia), out of a

family of five illegitimate children, were alive at the time of his election to the Papacy. His third son, the infamous Cæsar Borgia, was raised from the status of a divinity student at Pisa to that of a bishop, and shortly after was made archbishop, and then cardinal! Alexander's pontificate presents a depth of moral degradation unsurpassed in the history of the Papacy. The shameless orgies of the Vatican, the depravities of the papal court and family, were a scandal to all Christendom. Murders at Rome became events of nightly occurrence. At the age of seventy-two the Pope died suddenly, supposed by poison, Aug. 1503. His death was the signal for great disturbances. Pius III. died two days after his election, and was succeeded by Julius II. (1503), who granted to Henry VIII. of England (when Prince of Wales) a dispensation to marry Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur. Julius died in 1513. His successor was John, Cardinal de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X. He was the Pope of the *Renaissance*, the patron of Art and Letters, the former represented by Michael Angelo and Raphael, the latter by such names as Ariosto and Erasmus. Leo himself was an accomplished classical scholar. The rebuilding of St. Peter's is due to him, and his method of raising money for this purpose, by the sale of indulgences preached by Tetzel, is one of the well-known episodes of the German Reformation movement. See TETZEL; INDULGENCE. It was Leo X.'s Bull which Luther burned outside the walls of Wittemberg. On the title "Defender of the Faith," conferred on Henry VIII. of England (see DEFENDER OF THE FAITH). He died on Dec. 1, 1521. The next Pope, Adrian VI., died after a short pontificate, and was succeeded by Clement VII. in 1523, then in his fifty-fifth year. In war between the King of France and the Emperor Charles V., the Pope took the side of the French King. Hence Rome was besieged and taken, and the Pope was compelled to make terms with Charles. The Reformation at this time made rapid strides in Germany. Against the intolerant decision of the Second Diet of Spires the Princes of the Empire and thirteen imperial cities entered a solemn *protest*, which gave birth to the historic designation "Protestant" See PROTESTANT.

Alexander Farnese succeeded Clement in 1534, under the name of Paul III. He was a man of sagacity and experience, but his morals were no higher than the debased age in which he lived. In 1538 he launched his Bull of excommunication against Henry VIII. The dissensions prevailing between the Papacy and the Empire helped on the Reformation movement. Verger, the Pope's delegate, was sent to Germany to win back Luther and his followers. In vain he argued and cajoled: "Your doctrine is but eighteen years old, but look at its frightful consequences! Why not keep your opinions to yourself? Do come and give us your vast influence." In substance the Reformer replied, "I care nothing for Rome's hatred or for Rome's gifts . . . I cannot make your council a success [the contemplated one to be held at Mantua]; your Pope *can*, if he lets God's Spirit freely guide it and *takes the Bible* as his only standard." The projected Council of Mantua proved a failure. In 1542 the Pope convened the Council which derives its name from the place of meeting, at Trent. The Protestants refused to attend. After repeated delay the first session of this historic Council was opened Dec. 13, 1545. During Paul's pontificate, Ignatius Loyola founded the Order of the Jesuits. See LOYOLA; JESUITS. Paul III. died in Nov. 1549 at the advanced age of eighty-five. Julius III. in 1550 was chosen for the vacant chair. War broke out between the Emperor and Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and caused the postponement of the Tridentine Council for ten years. Meanwhile four Popes occupied the Vatican. Julius dying in 1555 was followed by Marcellus II., who died within the year of his election and was succeeded by Paul IV., who re-established the Inquisition, granting it power to extort confession by torture, and instituted the festival of St. Dominic in honour of that Inquisitor. He showed a readiness to call in the help of the Protestants, and even that of the "infidel Turks," to aid him in his struggles with the civil power. Great disturbances took place in Rome at his death in 1559.

John Angelo de Medicis, under the name of Pius IV., was elected to the papal chair. His pontificate witnessed the re-opening of the Council of Trent and its final session (the twenty-fifth) Dec. 3, 1563. The decrees of this Council were confirmed in the following year by Pius IV., who added XII. Articles of belief to the Nicene Creed. On the death of Pius IV. Dec. 1565, Pius V. was chosen his successor. He bore a character for inflexibility in matters of discipline, and was a vigorous persecutor of heretics. In 1569 he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth. His successor in 1572, Gregory XIII., proved himself a patron of the Jesuits and built for them the Roman College in Rome as well as numerous other seminaries for the instruction of youth under the direction of the Society. To Gregory XIII. is due the reform of the Calendar and the introduction of the *New Style*. Among the coins struck by this pontiff is that in commemoration of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572.

The succeeding Pope, Sixtus V., was a man of obscure origin, the son of a vine-dresser. He had been a Franciscan monk, then a bishop, and was finally elected to the papal chair in 1585. His severity towards even trivial offenders amounted to ferocity. To the energy of Sixtus, Rome owes many of her present buildings. The Lateran palace was restored, the Vatican Library built. While zealous in constructing new works, he destroyed some of the features of classic Rome, which the antiquaries must ever regret. The tomb of Cæcilia Metella barely escaped his destroying hand. Sixtus died in August 1590. His successor, Urban VII., followed him to the grave after twelve days' rule. Gregory XIV. was elected in 1590, but died in Oct. 1591. Innocent IX., an aged man, lived only to the last day of the same year. Clement VIII., his successor, proved himself a man of great energy and marked individuality. His reputation for virtue and religious duties was greatly enhanced after his elevation to the Papacy. The famous controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans concerning "Grace," "Free Will," and "Predestination," was carried on under his pontificate. The Pope took a lively interest in the controversy, but pronounced no decision, probably not to provoke either of the powerful disputant Orders. Clement died on March 3, 1605. His successor Leo XI.'s election and death took place within the same month (April). Paul V. then came into the papal chair (1605). A deed of merciless cruelty signalised his elevation. A poor author, Piccinardi by name, had written a life of Clement VIII., in which he instituted a comparison between that Pope and the Emperor Tiberius. The "Life" was still in manuscript, its author had refrained from publishing or printing it. A woman having betrayed the circumstance to the Pope, that dignitary expressed himself in such a manner as to relieve the anxiety of Piccinardi, when, to the astonishment of all, the hapless man was beheaded one day on the bridge of St. Angelo! Paul V.'s conceptions of the Papacy were of the most exalted and extravagant order. The Pope is the *sole vicegerent* of Jesus Christ. To him is committed *the power of the keys*. He is to be reverenced in humility by all kings and nations. Paul placed the republic of Venice under an interdict. The Venetians responded by declaring the Bull null and void, at the same time banishing both the Capuchin and Jesuit Orders from their domain. Through the mediation of the King of France the former were restored, but the Venetian Senate refused to re-admit the latter. Paul died in Jan. 1621. Gregory, his successor, was a steadfast friend of the Jesuits. He established the *Propaganda Fidei*, and advanced Loyola and Xavier to the calendar of saints. He died in the third year of his pontificate. Maffeo Barbarino was elected to the supreme dignity under the name of Urban VIII. (1623), at the age of fifty-five. He distinguished himself more during his twenty years' pontificate as a military engineer than as an ecclesiastic. Rome and the States of the Church were strongly fortified, a manufactory of arms was established at Tivoli, and everything betokened the existence of a kingdom of this world, fully prepared for offensive and defensive war. He exhorted the Catholic princes of his time to repress heresy by all means possible. He renewed the infamous Bull *In Cœna Domini*, relating to the excommunication of heretics. The celebrated Jansenist controversy (see JANSENISTS) arose during this pontificate. Innocent X. came into the papal chair in 1644 at the advanced age of seventy-two. He was involved in perplexities caused by the irregularities in the papal family and palace. The influence of a bad and reckless woman once more became conspicuous within the walls of the Vatican. Amid these unhappy circumstances the old man breathed his last in the eleventh year of his pontificate. For three days the lifeless body lay neglected by all, until a canon, formerly in the papal service, caused the last honours to be rendered to his deceased master. The next occupant of the papal chair, Cardinal Chigi, who took the title of Alexander VII. (1655), was a contemporary of Louis XIV. of France. He issued a Bull against the Jansenists, who had declared the Pope to be fallible in matters of fact, while their opponents the Jesuits maintained that when matters of fact were connected with those of faith, the infallibility of the Pope extended to both. Alexander died in 1667. The two succeeding Popes were Clement IX. and Clement X. (1670–76). Innocent XI., his successor, throughout his thirteen years' reign was continuously embroiled in disputes with Louis XIV., who seized Avignon, which was the property of the Church. This remarkable man played a part similar to that of Henry VIII. in its apparent inconsistency. He quarrelled with the Pope, was the relentless persecutor of the Huguenots, rallied his bishops, and formulated what henceforth were known as Gallican principles (see GALLICANISM). In 1689 the papal chair again became vacant by the death of Innocent XI. in his seventy-eighth year. The following were his successors: Alexander VIII., died after a sixteen months' rule; Innocent XII., elected 1699, died 1700; Clement XI., died 1721; Innocent XIII., died 1724. He issued a Bull against the Jesuits, whom he accused of authorising idolatry in

China. The dissolution of the Society seems only to have been averted by his death after a reign of two years and six months.

Benedict XIII., a Dominican, succeeded to a short pontificate of five and a half years. His successors were Clement XII. (1730–40); Benedict XIV. was a pontiff of a conciliatory character. He issued a brief, having for its object the reform of Jesuits in Portugal, and this at the request of the king. He occupied the papal chair for nearly eighteen years, dying at the age of eighty-three. After a vacancy of two months, during which the Conclave met fifty-three times, Rezzonico was elected Pope as Clement XIII. in 1758. This Pontiff, recognising the Jesuits as the most faithful defenders of the papal See, made great efforts, but in vain, to protect them. His conflicts with the European sovereigns, who were bent upon dissolving the Order in their respective territories, hastened his death, which occurred in (or about) 1765. The next Pope, Clement XIV., commenced by dropping the publication of the Bull, *In Cœna Domini*, at Rome on Maundy Thursday, as a compliment to some princes. See M'Ghee's *Laws of the Papacy*, p. 304. That bull remains, however, still in full force. He was a member of the Franciscan Order, and to him Protestants are indebted for the suppression of the Jesuits Order, a decision of immeasurable importance. The Pope took four years before he made up his mind to take that line of action. Clement was succeeded by Pius VI. in 1775. He quarrelled with the Emperor Joseph II. (of the House of Hapsburg) over his drastic reforms, consisting in the large reduction of monastic institutions, and his exercise of the power to nominate to episcopal sees, not only within the Austrian States, but in Italy itself. The Emperor paid an unwelcome visit to Rome, and was greeted by the populace as Emperor, with the cry, "*Siete a casa vostra: siete il padrone!*" "You are in your own house: be master!" About a year later the terrible Revolution in France broke out. The General of the French Directory entered Rome as a conqueror in 1798. Rome was occupied by French troops, and the Pope dethroned. Pius ended his days a prisoner at Valence after the longest pontificate hitherto on record, viz. twenty-four years and six months, on Aug. 29, 1799. His successor in 1800 was Pius VII., who had been a Benedictine monk. He was elected on March 14, crowned at Venice, and entered Rome in the following July. In May 1804 Napoleon Buonaparte was proclaimed Emperor, and on the 2nd of December received his crown from the hands of the Pope at Paris. A few years subsequently, Napoleon, unable to bend the Pope to his will, occupied Rome, and confined the Pope to his palace in the Quirinal. On May 17, 1809, the remainder of the Roman States were united to the French Empire. As one of the consequences of the victory of Austerlitz, the Holy Roman Empire, as it is called, came to an end in the exclusion of the House of Austria from Italy in 1805. In 1812 the Pope was brought to Fontainebleau. Two years later, on the abdication of Napoleon, he re-entered Rome, where he died, Aug. 20, 1823. His pontificate was but a year shorter in duration than that of his immediate predecessor.

Leo XII. was elected to the vacant chair in 1823, and died Feb. 10, 1829. During the short pontificate of his successor, Pius VIII., the Revolution which placed Louis Philippe on the throne of France, took place. Gregory XVI. was elevated to the papal throne in 1831, and occupied it till his death in 1846. As Professor of Theology in a Benedictine monastery, he had published a work in which he contended for the infallibility of the Pope. This idea was to be proclaimed at no distant date as an acknowledged principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The next Pope, Pius IX. (John Maria Mastai Ferretti) was destined to break the record as to length of reign. He was created on June 16, 1846, and continued to rule for thirty-one years and seven months. The French Revolution of 1848 forced the Pope to fly in disguise "with knot on shoulder, and plush above the knee," and to remain for a year and a half an exile in Neapolitan territory. His return was effected by French interference in April 1850. The same year witnessed the division of England into Roman Catholic dioceses. Cardinal Wiseman was nominated Archbishop of Westminster, and territorial titles conferred on other Roman Catholic prelates. In 1854 the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was declared to be an Article of the Christian Creed. The defeat of Austria in 1866 by Prussia resulted in the material weakening of the temporal power of the Pope, who had to depend on the French garrison at Rome. When these troops were withdrawn from necessity, owing to the French reverses in 1871, the Italian army under Victor Emmanuel possessed themselves of Rome, and it became the capital of Italy. The Papacy was shorn of its remaining territories, and the Vatican was henceforth to be the only ground in Italy belonging to "the successor of St. Peter"—his palatial residence, if he so willed to view it, or his prison, if he thought better so to designate it. Pius IX. chose the latter alternative, and it was perpetuated by his successor, Gioacchino Pecci, Leo XIII., who, on the death of Pius IX., was elected Pope in 1878. It fell to the lot of Pius IX. to place the top stone of papal assumption by the

declaration of Papal Infallibility as *an article of faith*. Thus *fourteen* new articles were added to the Nicene Creed between 1564 and 1870.

Leo XIII. has issued a number of Encyclical Letters. That on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Universities is specially worthy of note, for the teaching of Thomas Aquinas is there proclaimed to be the true Catholic teaching (see THOMISTS AND SCOTISTS). Leo XIII. issued several remarkable bulls, among which may be mentioned that termed *Apostolicæ Curæ*, which declared the "Orders" of the English Church completely null and void. Although Leo XIII. has been lauded in some quarters as a liberal Pope, his conduct in 1849 during the massacres of Perugia, when he was archbishop, ought never to have been forgotten. It was strongly condemned at the time in the English press.

It is premature to say anything about the new Pope, Pius X., who ascended the papal throne this year (1903).

The total number of Popes to the present time is 263. This allows about seven years on an average to each papal reign. The average term of office of the Archbishops of Canterbury is said to be fourteen years.

Select Literature.—Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, 1884. Canon J. C. Robinson's *History of the Christian Church*, 3 vols., 1866. Ranke's *History of the Popes*, 3 vols. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, 1871. Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, 9 vols., 1867. Philip Smith, *History of Christian Church*, 1878, and *History of Middle Ages*, 1885. T. Rhys Evans' *Council of Trent*, 1888. [W. H. W.]

PORT-ROYALISTS.—See MORAL THEOLOGY; JANSENISTS.

POSSESSION, DIABOLICAL.—See DEMON; EXORCISM; EXORCISTS.

POSTIL.—Originally postils (or postills) were notes in the margin of the Bible, so called because written after the words of the text (*post illa*). Subsequently, postil came to be applied to a short homily composed on a passage of Scripture. In this sense we read of the postils of Luther and others. [J. C. L.]

PRÆMUNIRE.—The statutes of Præmunire were so called from the writ which was issued to enforce them—*præmunire facias*, *i.e.* cause to be forewarned. They date from a period long before Reformation times, the first of them being in Edward III.'s reign. Their object was to prevent, first, the encroachments of the ecclesiastical courts on the king's courts, and, next, to prevent foreigners being introduced into English bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices, without the king's consent. A common form of papal encroachment on the courts was to threaten and excommunicate a bishop who consented to institute the nominee of a patron who had established his right of presentation in the king's court. These statutes were also passed to prevent the Pope appointing and translating bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries in England without the king's consent. The Statutes of Præmunire made it an offence rendering the offender liable to outlawry, and general forfeiture of goods and chattels, to obtain at Rome, or elsewhere, translations to bishoprics, &c., processes, sentences of excommunication, or any other things which "touch the King, his crown and regality." The Statute of 16 Rich. II. *e.g.* is generally known as the Statute of Præmunire against papal provisions, *i.e.* ecclesiastical promotions. Henry IV. extended the remedy to other similar "mischiefs." Henry VIII. further extended the principle of præmunire to all appeals to Rome, so that it became not only an offence to appeal to Rome from the interference of civil courts in matters alleged to be ecclesiastical, but also to appeal on purely ecclesiastical questions. Henry VIII. also made it a crime involving the offence of præmunire for any dean and chapter not to elect the person nominated to them by the king as bishop or archbishop. The seeking or obtaining confirmation from Rome of an appointment to a bishopric also involved this offence. The gist of the offence consisted in bringing in a foreign authority into this realm, and so creating an *imperium in imperio*. [E. B. W.]

PRAYER BOOK, THE.—Early in Cranmer's primacy the Roman Church itself began improving its forms of prayer, and a Spanish cardinal, Francis Quignon, an intimate friend of those few who then longed for reform, undertook at the Pope's desire to revise the Breviary. The new book appeared in February 1535, but with such disquieting changes that in August 1536 it was superseded by another from the same hand, and this lived till 1558. The earlier edition, after long obscurity, was reprinted from one of very few known copies by Dr. J. W. Legg in 1888.[1] In England, by royal orders in 1538, 1539, and 1541, a long-standing abuse in public worship ended with the abolition of the shrine, altar, relics, images, pictures, breviary-office, and whole sainthood, of "Bishop Becket" from Canterbury Cathedral and elsewhere.[2] In 1542 Convocation pre-

[1] Dr. John Wickham Legg, F.S.A., *Breviarium Romanum Quignonianum*, 1888, Pref.; Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 1890, pp. 21, 22.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 835, 847, 857; Burnet, i. 393–94 Nares; i. 387 Pocock; Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 131, ed. 1812.

scribed the observance of the Sarum rite for the whole province of Canterbury, and the reading of two chapters of the Bible in the daily service.[1] Cranmer in 1543, in the king's name, directed that the mass-books, antiphoners, portasses, should be reformed, and all mention of the Pope dropped, together with apocryphas, feigned legends, and superstitious orations; that the names of saints not contained in Scripture or authentic doctors should be removed both from the books and the calendar; that the service should be framed from Scripture and historic sources.[2] In 1544 came the Litany in English into public use, no bare vernacular of the old Latin appeals to the catalogue of saints, but yet while preserving the same formation and march, still in a single place marred by invocations to creaturely existences, one of them (St. Mary) being named, otherwise confining itself absolutely, as when soon after revised, to the God Triune. This litany was characterised by one petition terribly severe, for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome "and all his detestable enormities."[3]

On Jan. 24, 1545–46, Cranmer begged the king to address him and his brother archbishop a letter (for which he enclosed a draft) to send round to the bishops for discontinuing sundry superstitions in church.[4] Henry let him know that further changes at that time would hamper his policy abroad, and he must pause,[5] thus conceding the principle of further reform and bearing out what in the following reign Somerset wrote to that effect to the Lady Mary.[6] Henry died Jan. 28, 1547.

On Nov. 22, 1547, in Edward's first Convocation, the Lower House desired of the archbishop that, whereas certain prelates and learned men had composed, as they understood, by command of King Henry,[7] books of divine service, they might be allowed to peruse them and so assist in expediting the work in hand.[8] Lathbury remarks hereupon: "It is evident that the arrangement of the liturgy had already been commenced by the bishops." Whether the materials asked for were produced seems unknown, nor does any further mention of them occur, according to Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop, who had the fortune to discover, as they believed, an original portion of them among the manuscripts of the British Museum,[9] and used it in their valuable work,[10] its title being *Festivale et Horarum Canonicarum Series.*

Another instalment of the coming Prayer Book appeared on Nov. 26, 1547, when there began in the Lords a Bill for the laity to receive the Communion in both kinds. It passed in Parliament Dec. 20, receiving the royal assent Dec. 24.[11] The service by which it was proposed to carry out this ruling would appear to have been originally introduced to the Lower House of Convocation from Cranmer in some shape, described in a memorandum apparently contemporary as "a form of a certain ordinance for the receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds," on Nov. 30, and unanimously accepted by it on Dec. 2.[12] After undergoing further consideration by a body of divines appointed by the king early in 1548 it was printed March 8, 1548, with a religiously worded proclamation by the king accompanying it, and on March 13 distributed by the Privy Council to the bishops for general use on Easter Day, April 1.[13] The design of the service was not to alter the customary ritual of the Mass, which went on, all in Latin, just as before, but to enable and invite the laity to come oftener, and with a proper understanding receive in both kinds with the priest, the obligation of auricular confession as a preliminary being also abolished. As all now accepted the principle of lay communion in both kinds, there was no dispute as to the service, and thus, with the Litany already in use, two considerable elements of the approaching English Prayer Book were

[1] Wilkins, iii. 863. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, vol. i. 183. The Litany of 1544 may be seen in the Appendix (p. 570) to the Parker Society's volume (1851), *Private Prayers put forth by Authority during the Reign of Elizabeth.*

[4] Burnet, iv. 325 Nares, with O.S. date Jan. 24, 1545; v. 353 Pocock. Also Cranmer's "Letters" in *Works*, Parker Society, vol. ii. p. 414.

[5] See note 5, col. 2, in Cranmer, *ibid.* p. 415.

[6] Burnet, ii. 62; iv 263 Nares; ii. 91; v. 168, Pocock.

[7] Of Convocation, say Strype and Lathbury, *vide* next note.

[8] Wilkins, iv. 15; Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 220; Lathbury, *Convocation*, 135.

[9] Royal MSS. 7 B. iv.

[10] *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, 1890, pp. 16, 17; p. 317, account of the MS.

[11] *Lords' Journal*, i. 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 313; *Commons*, i. 2, 3.

[12] Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 221 ed. 1812. See also Wake, *State of the Church*, 1703, fol. p. 592; Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 217, ed. Lathbury, 1852; W. K. Clay, *Book of Common Prayer Illustrated*, 1841, Pref. p. viii.; Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, 1844, vol. i. p. 72, No. xiv. note; J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 1866, part ii., p. 150, col. 2.

[13] A printed copy with colophon and date may be seen in the Parker Society's *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, pp. 1–8.

provided without difficulty, and matters promised well, though two more liturgical booklets were added to the various Latin ones already on the priest's desk. The next step was to have the booklets, with additions, in one book, all English, for the hands of the people, not for the priest's exclusively. The volume was to begin, not with Holy Communion, the rarer service, attended by the fewest and most serious persons, but with the more ordinary prayers, those for morning and evening, frequented by the generality. In framing these the compilers kept in view two main principles: (1) The incorporation of as much as possible of Scripture text; the retention of ancient collects, in the old breviary and horary sequence, linking the current Church with that of previous days. Here the earliest and best edition of Quignon's revise was made use of.[1] Quignon was followed in making the recitation of Scripture conspicuously predominate amid all Church formulary. (2) Our English liturgist went still further, bent on extruding all things apocryphal on the one hand, and unscriptural on the other, in the forms that were retained. *Hail Mary* disappeared. Holy-day collects were quite remarkable for neglecting every saint's meritorious intercession. The ideal aimed at, anything much short of which would have been but poor liturgic reform, was very largely realised.

On Dec. 9, 1548, a Bill for authorising a Prayer Book was put into the House of Commons, and into the House of Lords on the day following.[2] But it must have been deemed advisable by Government that Parliamentary proceedings should be preceded by an informal discussion in the Upper Chamber, by the bishops and some learned men before the nobility, on that portion of the book which must form the turning-point of the whole subject, the Lord's Supper, regarding which, as we are assured by a contemporary letter, contention was going on in every corner of England.[3] That such a debate was held about this time has been long known from surviving letters,[4] which give its general results; but no actual record of it was commonly known, so far as we are aware, until quite recently, when the Roman Catholic historians, Dr. Gasquet and Mr. Bishop, came upon an original report of it among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, and in 1890 printed it in their welcome volume, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, with a description of the document and its probable history.[5] It is headed: "*Certain Notes Touching the Disputations of the Bishops, in this last Parliament Assembled, of the Lord's Supper.*"[6] On Saturday, Dec. 15, 1548, the debate began under Protector Somerset as moderator, who doubtless had before him for guidance another still surviving product of this occasion, the publication of which is likewise due to the above two writers. Its manuscript title is *Of the Sacrament of Thanksgiving: a Short Treatise of Peter Martir's Making*, inscribed to the Protector, with the date Dec. 1.[7] Its ten heads, indicating the main points on which Cranmer's side took its stand, are given, with abbreviation, by Gasquet and Bishop.[8] The first, "Christ is in the Holy Supper to them that do come to His table, and He doth verily feed the faithful with His body and blood," struck the keynote. The second denied tran substantiation; the third, "intermixture," evidently directed towards Luther. Other sections affirmed Christ's presence to the faithful recipient, not in the elements, and not apart from the *use* of the sacrament. The ninth and tenth declared against the adoration and the reservation of the elements. Thus the discussion, which closed on Dec. 19, 1548, included vastly more than the order for lay communion, which when debated in 1547 commanded so ready an assent. The heart of things was in question; a new consecration prayer was needed, in English, which all could understand, the Latin, so like a performer's charm, being discarded, with the rejection of ceremonies

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, 21.

[2] Burnet, ii. 148 Nares; 176 Pocock. The editor of the Parker Society's *Original Letters*, i. 322, note 3, thinks Burnet's date should have been Dec. 19, but he gives no sufficient reason. Burnet apparently meant to say that the Bill was at that early day put in charge of some member of each House, who at the proper moment would formally introduce it by a first reading, and then carry it forward.

[3] Peter Martyr, Oxford, Dec. 26, 1548, *Original Letters*, ii. 469.

[4] Peter Martyr's in the preceding note, and Bartholomew Traheron's, London, Dec. 31, 1548, in same collection, i. 322.

[5] In their Appendix V., p. 395. In 1894 the *Great Debate* was edited in a cheap pamphlet form, with critical notes, some of them correcting Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop, by Mr. J. T. Tomlinson. See Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 74, 79; Tomlinson, pp. 10, 11, 21, 22; Mr. Tomlinson has done special service to the memory of Cranmer, who is charged in Dr. Gasquet's book with the dishonesty of tampering with the Prayer Book after he had got his colleagues to sign it.

[6] Press-mark 17 B. xxxix. In the printed catalogue of the Royal MSS. the title is *The Great Parliamentary Debate on the Lord's Supper.*

[7] Its press-mark is 17 C. v. Title in the printed catalogue of the Royal MSS., *Peter Martyr's Book of the Eucharist.*

[8] Gasquet and Bishop, 159.

that affirmed minutely every mediæval distortion of the genuine Eucharist. The papal party, with a sure instinct towards vital points in their own system, laid all possible stress on the omission of the oblation, the elevation, the adoration, of the sacred elements.[1] But in the account of these proceedings the Lower House cannot be left out. On the testimony of a close observer, all its members daily thronged the Upper Chamber listening to "these sharp and fervent disputations."[2] There they learned to know their archbishop, in charge of this critical business, in another light, as a deep theologian, powerful in debate not the mere man of affairs they had usually seen hitherto. The noble task of providing the nation with a worship worthy of the name gave him a new reputation, and made him one of the people. So we gather from this witness. On Dec. 19, the day this great debate concluded, the precious book was opened in the Commons, who thus had official knowledge of the entire new rite they would soon be asked to vote for. On that day, as their journal records, baldly as usual, "The book for the service in the church read. Re-delivered to Mr. Secretary Smythe."[3] Their acceptance of it when the Bill should duly follow, was assured, not in the interest of reform alone, but in that of civil order quite as much. "They can no longer," says again our contemporary witness, "retrace their steps. Such great innovations have everywhere taken place, and all things are so changed from their former state, that if they were long suffered to remain so, wonderful disorder would ensue."[4] The Bill to initiate the grand experiment of establishing one exclusive form of prayer in the mother-tongue in every church and cathedral, within York province as well as in Canterbury, a worship so revolutionary too—for that it was, in spite of all old material embodied in its antique form—beginning in the Lords, was read there Jan. 7, 10, 15, 1549, and on its passing eight out of the twenty prelates present, with three lay peers, dissented.[5] In the Commons the three readings were taken on Jan. 17, 19, 21.[6] On the 22nd the Lords received back their Bill concluded,[7] and there our knowledge of it as a Bill ends. No royal assent is recorded. The earliest day discoverable from surviving copies for the printing of the book is March 7, 1549.[8] On March 14 the king prorogued Parliament, but the expected royal assents do not appear in the Journal, though the Act stands first among those passed in the session.[9] The Prayer Book of 1549 was enacted by the first of the four Acts of Uniformity in English history. This statute (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1) mentions no annexed book, as does the statute of 1552, and in the absence of one, if the MS. were lost, the standard of textual accuracy was to be sought in the copies issued by the king's printer. Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, when at the latest its statutable use began, and every household in the remotest corner of the land became entitled to a share in this Scriptural, vernacular worship, may be regarded as the birthday of the English Reformation. This monumental book, for which England thanks her first reformed archbishop, awaited improvement, but its main lines have proved as imperishable as they still are recognisable.

The necessity of a new form of ordination, to give ministers who had been ordained mainly for the function of sacrificing a more distinct mission to celebrate a Communion and teach the Word of God, was obvious. On Jan. 8, 1550, a bill to provide such a service began in the Lords, and at its third reading, Jan 25, five bishops out of twelve present dissented, besides five lay lords.[10] It was read in the Commons, Jan. 25, 30, 31,[11] finishing in the Lords Jan. 31,[12] five bishops again dissenting. On Feb. 1, the day of the prorogation by the king in person, the royal assent was presumably given. The Act, 3 & 4 Edward VI., c. 12,[13] sanctioned the service in advance before one was ready, and in this way. Whatever form should be prepared and set forth under the Great Seal before the ensuing April 1, by a majority of six bishops and six divines to be appointed by the king, that and no other was to have legal force.[14] This was a virtual instalment of Edward's Second Book.

By the end of 1550 the foes of the new worship were using every ceremonial artifice to make it in the people's eyes resemble the old one, and practically to bring the old one back. Many officiants so recited the Communion service that it could not be heard or followed, transferring the book from one side

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, 161, 165, 194, 397, 405.

[2] Peter Martyr, Oxford, Dec. 26, 1548. *Original Letters*, ii. 469.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, i. 5.

[4] Peter Martyr, in *Original Letters*, ii. 470.

[5] *Lords' Journals*, i. 328, 329, 331.

[6] *Commons' Journals*, i. 5.

[7] *Lords' Journals*, i. 333.

[8] Facsimile title-pages in *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, pp. 9–15, 158 *n.* 3.

[9] *Lords' Journals*, i. 353, 354.

[10] *Ibid.*, i. 377, 383, 384.

[11] *Commons' Journals*, i. 15, 16.

[12] *Lords' Journals*, i. 387.

[13] Statutes at Large, vol. v. p. 344.

[14] See some historical details in Tomlinson's Prayer Book, Homilies, *Articles*, 1897, pp. 277, 279.

of the altar to the other, reciting the discarded canon while the *Sanctus* was being sung, bending over the altar, lifting up the hands, genuflecting, showing the bread and the cup, striking the breast, washing out the chalice, crossing the air, while the superstitious adored as before but did not communicate.[1]

The result was a revision, and the Second Prayer Book, established by a second Act of Uniformity, passed April 14, 1552, by which time the reformed bishops had increased in number, and on Nov. 1, 1552, its use became obligatory. This second Uniformity Act, 5 & 6 Ed. VI. c. 1, 1552, contains the statement that it has "annexed" to it the authorised Book of Common Prayer; but in the latest edition of the statute (1888) there is a notification that the book does not appear on the roll or in the Parliament Office. The Communion Office was now, as Gasquet and Bishop express it, "changed beyond recognition," not, however, by actual alteration in its substance so much as by "the revolutionising of the order"[2] of its constituent parts, designed to render the service more difficult of misrepresentation, rather than to change what was originally put and quite innocently intended. Some pieces were transposed, with safer diction, to a safer place, as for instance, when a large portion of what in 1549 was the Canon, or prayer of consecration, which Gardiner declared capable of the interpretation of a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead,[3] was put back (with prayer for the departed expunged), under a title of its own, "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." The words on delivering the elements were altered to those which form the present second clause. Every prayer, every single word, between the consecration and the reception was removed, including the hymn *Agnus Dei*, to take away all possible excuse for saying that adoration was offered to Christ's body present in the consecrated bread and wine. The Act establishing the Second Prayer Book, calling the First "a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church,"[4] has been quoted as admitting that the Second Book was superfluous and that the first might as well revive. That is pushing the words too far. They are to be taken in their broad general sense, and in comparison with the ancient services, as when Latimer, in 1554, said of the two Communion services, 1549 and 1552, he could remember no great difference between them, both being "one Supper of the Lord," as contained in the New Testament,[5] rather than the Mass, the material parts or "sinews" of which he regarded the popish consecration, transubstantiation, oblation, and adoration, all four being opposed to Scripture.[6]

On April 28, 1559, in the first year of Elizabeth a third Act of Uniformity reinstated, but without any "annexed" copy, the book of 1552, which Mary had abolished, to become obligatory on June 24, but with certain reservations, only one of which, however, appears fully adopted in the earliest extant copy dated that year,[7] viz., the two sentences at the delivery of the bread and wine combined together. What papalists thought of the Communion service of 1559 is plain from the language of Bishop Scot, their spokesman in the Lords. Besides slighting the titles, *Holy Communion*, *Lord's Supper*, he pointed out that on its own showing the communicant received only "creatures of bread and wine," there being no consecration, no oblation, no prayer for them to be made the body and blood, which therefore could not be, and were not, communicated to him.[8] In later editions through Elizabeth's reign numerous augmentations occur,[9] not specifically provided for in the Act, and resting probably (for nothing is said officially) on what was then understood as the queen's supreme Church authority conferred by the Act of Supremacy, 1559, to an extent as ample as that exercised by Henry and Edward, which was very great. One notable augmentation, and in the very earliest known copy, 1559, revived the vestments in use under Edward's First Book;[10] another, a petition for the sovereign to be kept "in the true worshipping of" God,[11] the drift of which language, so immediately after Mary's reign, cannot be mistaken. The deprecation against the bishop of Rome was omitted.

[1] Substance of Bucer's *Censura*, quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, 269.

[2] Gasquet and Bishop, 288.

[3] *Ibid.*, 281, 282. Gardiner also made out that the Prayer of humble access, which in 1549 stood *after* the Consecration, was an act of adoration to Christ in the elements.

[4] Opening passage of the Act, p. 213 of *Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Parker Society; Gasquet and Bishop, 302.

[5] Latimer's Disputation at Oxford in 1554, in his *Remains*, p. 262, Parker Society; Gasquet and Bishop, 276.

[6] Conference between Latimer and Ridley, 1554, in Ridley's *Works*, p. 112, Parker Society; Gasquet and Bishop, 276.

[7] *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society, pp. 28 (lines 1–4), 195.

[8] Bishop Scot's speech in Cardwell's *Conferences*, pp. 111, 112, 113.

[9] Details in Cardwell's *Conferences*, pp. 31, 32.

[10] *Liturg. Serv. Elizab.*, 53.

[11] *Ibid.*, 70.

The fourth Prayer Book, James I.'s in 1604, was that of Elizabeth augmented in various particulars, as just explained, throughout her reign, revised by the king and the ecclesiastical commissioners, not enacted by Parliament as its predecessors had been, but printed by order of the Crown, for which was alleged a general statutory permission.[1] This was the book the revision of which was attempted in the Savoy Conference, April 15 to July 24, 1661,[2] and carried out by Convocation, Nov. 21 to Dec. 20, 1661,[3] without any changes of vital importance though with many of detail.[4] It was enacted by a fourth Act of Uniformity, our latest, Charles II.'s, which ended in the Lords without a dissentient, May 8, and received the royal assent on May 19, 1662.[5] To this Act was annexed, as belonging to it, the manuscript book itself, known as the *Annexed Book*, the only one of the Prayer Books besides that of 1552 known to have been so treated. In very sorrowful circumstances it came into legal use on August 24, 1662. A facsimile copy of the Annexed Book, lithographed from photographs, was issued to the public early in 1891.

The age of the English Prayer Book, reckoned from the first movements towards it by king and archbishop in 1543, may, in 1903, be called 360 years. For its structure and liturgic elements it may probably compare in antiquity with any vernacular book of public prayer now in existence. The historic churchman is ardently attracted by imaginary stones and carvings and features ecclesiastical embedded in its stately fabric;[6] but along with many a warm friend and grateful worshipper who knows nothing of these, he is unspeakably more drawn by the vital truths saved for this Church at the Reformation, and by the choice language which makes them familiar to his heart and memory in worship. Any who are troubled or puzzled by the Ornaments Rubric in its 1662 form, will do well to note the key to its right understanding, namely the word "retained," then first employed in the formula, offered to our hand with such demonstration by men like Roundell Palmer and Hugh Cairns in 1866,[7] recommended by Bishop Moule of Durham in 1898,[8] and in 1903 with much fulness of proof by Bishop Ridding of Southwell.[9]

The Prayer Book, while in contact with churchmen of various schools in successive generations, has never yet in all its official manifestoes lost sight of its origin and history amid the struggles of the Protestant Reformation; never has it shown a shrinking from that cause, or behaved towards it with dislike and disdain; never laboured or seemed to labour its overthrow or betrayal. That is the right attitude for those who live and thrive in its atmosphere. Its prefaces breathe honest loyalty to its past, and inculcate the same spirit in every new generation. For such a descent of loyalty every son of the English Church may give God praise indeed.

The Preface of 1662 remarks, "It hath been the wisdom . . . in the reigns of several princes of blessed memory since the Reformation" of the Church to make alterations in some particulars of divine worship, yet so that the main body and essentials of it, in its chiefest materials, in its frame and order, "have still continued the same unto this day, and yet do stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against it." This Preface, adverting to the main particulars of the revision of 1661, and pointing out what a claim they have upon us from the august authority on which, in the eyes of Church people, they must rest, concludes thus: "We have good hope that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England." See on some points the APPENDIX.

[C. H.]

PREACHING.—Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. . . . Therefore whether it were I, or they, so we preached and so ye believed" (1 Cor. i. 17; xv. 11). The main object of the work in which St. Paul was engaged is here distinctly stated. The apostle states that the central idea of his apostleship was, not the performance of rites and ceremonies, however important and valuable, but "preaching." The only subject of that preaching was "the gospel," or, what he describes in Ephes. iii. 8: as "The unsearchable riches of Christ;" and of the power of that "preaching" when duly carried out, he says, "So ye believed," which, according to St. Paul, is to receive

[1] James I.'s *Proclamation for the authorising and uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer to be used throughout the realm*, March 5, 1603–4. Cardwell, *Conferences*, 225.

[2] Cardwell's *Conferences*, 257, 259, 266, 300, 302

[3] *Ibid.*, 370–72.

[4] *Ibid.*, 371–75, 380–92.

[5] *Lords' Journals*, xi. 450, 471.

[6] Bishop Handley Moule, *Our Prayer Book*, p. 4.

[7] *Counsels' Opinion* by them, printed in the First Report, August 19, 1867, of the Ritual Commission, p. 139.

[8] In *Our Prayer Book*, p. 27.

[9] In a long letter in the *Times* of July 6, 1903, copied into the *Church Intelligencer*, August 1903, p. 119.

Divine power unto salvation in all its fulness and beauty (Rom. i. 16). In attempting therefore to deal with the subject of preaching, we approach (according to St. Paul's judgment from the time that he became an apostle) that subject which, of all others, may (and, indeed, *must*) be considered as the very central power of the Church's life, which we are called to enjoy and to propagate. Preaching is the means by which alone—so far as human agency is concerned—that "knowledge of the true God and of His Son Jesus Christ," which is declared to be "eternal life" by the Saviour Himself (St. John xvii. 3), can be passed on to the world at large by those who possess it. "For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe" (1 Cor. i. 21).

I. How, then, shall the word "preaching" be defined? It is merely "the transmission of tidings from one to another," or "the official conveying of intelligence, with which one person is entrusted, to others to whom it is of vital importance." A preacher of the *gospel* ought to realise his commission, or that he is sent of God to communicate "good tidings of great joy" to all whom he can reach, because (1) they need that gospel, (2) they have a right to receive it, and (3) they have the power of embracing it to their own eternal advantage. Every one who proposes to "preach" under the dispensation of the gospel should realise with St. Paul, "Though I preach . . . I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea! woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel" (1 Cor. ix. 16). When nations possess a written language and can read, the good tidings may be conveyed by books, but where, as is the case with some three-fourths of the human race, there is as yet no power of reading, the human voice is the medium by which intelligence can be conveyed, and this therefore will be the action that we speak of as "preaching."

II. It is only under the religious system known as "the gospel" that "preaching" seems to have taken a position of primary importance. Among the earlier heathen races preaching can hardly be said to have existed; and even under the Law of Moses it is rarely spoken of as a habit adopted by those who had charge of the law and its accessories. Greek and Roman teachers, no doubt, conveyed their instructions by word of mouth; but such would be described as "teaching," rather than as "preaching," seeing that neither in the sense of the word κηρύσσειν ("to announce or proclaim, as a *herald*"), nor in the sense of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ("to declare or make known, good tidings") did they ever stand forth to address the people. In the Old Testament pages, though of course the prophets were "preachers" (Neh. vi. 7, and Jonah iii. 2) "preaching" is only distinctly mentioned five or six times (although the writer of Ecclesiastes is seven times entitled "the preacher").[1] In the New Testament these terms occur not less than a hundred and one times, besides the special mention of "preaching *the gospel*" no less than thirty-nine times.

This fact alone will show the importance attached to "preaching" under the Gospel dispensation. It is not unworthy of notice, or of small significance, that the two sacraments of "Baptism" and "the Lord's Supper" are only mentioned in the Scriptures on the rarest possible occasions, although appointed by the Great Head of the Church. Though some instances of the administration of sacraments are given in the Acts, and a few incidental allusions are found in the Epistles, "preaching" is everywhere in the New Testament insisted upon both by the Lord Jesus and His apostles as the one great means appointed by God for bringing life and light to the souls of men. Was it not that He might "preach the gospel to the poor" that the Saviour announced Himself as "anointed with the Spirit of the Lord"? Was it not that He might "preach the unsearchable riches of Christ," that St. Paul declared himself a recipient of the special "grace of God"? In short, no man can honestly study the New Testament Scriptures without discerning that a truly awful solemnity and importance are there attached to the office and work of the preacher. Indeed, preaching is so closely connected with Christianity that we read that when the Christians were first scattered abroad by persecution they "went everywhere preaching the word" (Acts viii. 4). To announce the good tidings of salvation when once they have been received is as much a necessity of the spiritual life as breathing outwards is of the physical life; because spiritual life means participation in the nature of God, which is love, and love gives forth all it has that is beneficial to others. They, then, who have divine life themselves must seek to communicate it; and every word spoken to this end is in one sense a "*preaching* of the gospel." It cannot be forgotten that our Lord was not only Himself a great preacher,

[1] Although the rendering "preacher" is the most probable meaning of Koheleth, which is translated "Ecclesiastes" is the LXX. (so Vulg.), the preaching thereby referred to is so radically distinct from that of the New Testament that the passages in Ecclesiastes are better left out of the reckoning.—C. H. H. W.

but that He carefully prepared His disciples for that special work.

"Preaching," in its more professional sense, is public teaching by men appointed to the office and work of the ministry. Such ministers should like St. Paul, be "separated and called by God's grace," and be able to say of themselves that the Son of God has been revealed in them, that they might preach Him among the heathen," or nations of the world (Gal. i. 15, 16). No man can carry out such a preaching as this, "except he be sent" (Rom. x. 15). But admitting that certain men have the separation, the call, and the appointment to the ministry of Christ's Church, the chief questions which demand consideration (and especially in the present day) are: (1) What part or place should "preaching" have in the work of the ministry? and (2) To what subjects shall the preacher direct himself and his hearers in fulfilment of the high office to which he is called?

There are many points to which attention ought to be given, such as preparation, manner, utterance, style, &c., &c. But all these, it is believed, will find their due proportion and place when once the main points are settled on which all else depends.

The points to which we would direct special attention are:—

III. What part or place should "preaching" have in the work of the minister, *i.e.* the man set apart for the service of others, under the gospel dispensation? Clearly the answer is, according to the Scriptures, "Preaching (as Dr. Stalker says) is the central thing in the minister's work." It must, to one who has studied and would emulate his Master or the apostles, be the one chief end and object of his existence to "preach the Word; to be instant in season and out of season; to be made all things to all men, that he may by all means save some, by preaching the gospel of which a dispensation is committed unto him." It is difficult to imagine any faithful student of Scripture giving any prominence to other things, in comparison with this! To the Lord Jesus Christ there was but one purpose in life, after He had been called into public life and anointed with the Spirit of God, viz. that He should "preach the gospel to the poor." To His disciples He gave, in fact, but one great commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," and surely all who claim to be not only members of Christ's Church but to enjoy in any special sense what is called "Apostolical Succession," should seek to exercise their ministry in "conformity with apostolic example." We never read of the apostles, or of their earliest successors, claiming special prerogatives and powers as "priests" or as appointed to offer sacrifices for the sins of the people, or as called to the position of "lords over God's heritage." But we are told that the Lord "ordained twelve that they should be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach" (St. Mark iii. 14). The Acts of the Apostles, as already noticed, show that the Christians—"went everywhere preaching" where an open door could be found.

"Preaching" (says Dr. Oswald Dykes) "is an institute peculiar to the gospel. It is an agency previously unknown which Christianity has created for itself. Jesus and His messengers are therefore the only (true) preachers. Just as the gospel has been truly apprehended, has it sought expression purely through this form. Rationalise it into a philosophy, and the pulpit becomes a tribune to lecture from; mistake it for a magical mystery, and the pulpit is deserted for the altar." Again he says, "Pentecost gave tongues to the disciples, and was the birthday of preaching." The statement possibly requires qualification. But preaching was a distinguishing mark of the gospel dispensation, as exhibited in the only charter of rights and duties possessed by Christ's Church, how is it possible for enlightened Christians to accept any theory or system by which preaching is relegated to a secondary position, and rites and ceremonies (however beautiful in themselves) are deemed the highest service and prerogative that the clergy can know? "Sacraments," though ordained by Christ Himself, can only offer to the minister the position of "an instrument." "Preaching," on the other hand, presents to him who does it the wondrous honour of being God's own medium for conveying life to the world, and out of the fulness of the earth's vessel pouring grace, mercy, and peace to men's souls.

IV. To what subjects will the "true preacher" direct his own and his hearers' attention? Emphatically must we again reply in the words of Holy Scripture. The Master Himself said that the preacher could have but one subject, viz. "the gospel"; and St. Paul has most clearly and solemnly defined this as "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." To preach less or more than this, or any other gospel, is to be altogether untrue to our anointing by the Holy One; and notwithstanding that, in every age there have, as we know, been many who have altogether failed to realise this as their one duty and privilege, and who have offered to their hearers anything and everything rather than Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The fact remains, however, stamped on every page of the New Testament and in the history of every Church which has existed, that only in cases where the ministers

have thus magnified their office, and have lived to offer Christ in their preaching as "the way, the truth, and the life" for a poor sin-stricken world, have sinners been converted, and saints been edified in the Lord. To preach philosophy, politics, or public matters of dispute, to offer solutions of natural problems from the pulpit, may please and interest hearers for a time, but never will the word spoken be blessed as it should be until preaching is framed on the exact lines of St. Paul's, viz. Christ, Christ, and nothing but Christ. The *cross* of Christ, as the one and only means of reconciliation to God; the *life* of Christ as the one and only power by which men can live unto God; and the future *glory* of Christ, as the one and only hope of men's living for ever with God. This is that "foolishness of preaching" which "saves them that believe"; because it offers to the lost race another life instead of their own, a life that can satisfy God, quicken men's souls, and glorify all that receive it, until they are like the Son of God. To preach anything but Christ is to act as a traitor to one's King, and to offer husks to those who need, and are perishing for want of, the one true bread and water of life. "Every sermon" (says Tholuck) "ought to have Heaven for its Father, and Earth for its Mother," *i.e.* it should bring God to man, to engender heavenly life, and sanctify the earthly by raising it to the standard of the heavenly through the introduction of *Christ* to the soul of man. Thus and thus alone will the preacher be enabled to preserve the true balance between the doctrinal, the ethical, and the philosophical. To preach a spiritual theory or ideal may stir the emotions; to preach an ethical system may disturb and appeal to the conscience; to preach a philosophical essay may attract the attention of the learned. But each and all of these *must* fail unless throughout the whole of the discourse there is presented to the needy soul "*the Christ* of God," as a Person, and as a Person who, by the soul's humble acceptance of HIM (and not "IT"), can secure to the man everything that he can rightly need or desire.

This kind of preaching may be utterly "human," even while it is permeated or instinct with the Divine. It will, according to St. Paul: (1) bring the Divine from above to meet the human in its weaknesses; and (2) raise the human from earth, to enjoy the Divine in its potentialities.

Thus let "the message of the mind and will of the loving and redeeming God" be honestly and faithfully communicated by the preacher from that only source of true sermons "the Bible"; and as surely as it was promised by St. Paul to "his own son in the faith," Timothy, so surely may every preacher take this comfort to his soul: "Thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."

Authorities.—Rev. Charles Simeon, *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, 8vo, 1853; Rev. Dr. James Stalker, *The Preacher and His Models*, 8vo, 1891 (*Yale Lectures*); *Preaching, the Matter and the Manner*, 8vo, 1893; William Connor Magee (Archbishop of York), *The Art of Preaching and Extempore Speaking*, 8vo, 1894; William Boyd Carpenter (Bishop of Ripon), *Lectures on Preaching*, 8vo, 1895; Rev. Dr. R. W. Dale, *Nine Lectures on Preaching*, 8vo (*Yale Lectures*); Broadus' *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*, edited by Prof. E. C. Dargan, D.D.; Austin Phelp's *Theory of Preaching*; C. H. Spurgeon, *Lectures to my Students*; Ward Beecher's *Lectures on Preaching*; Nord's *Art of Extempore Speaking*. The works of Bossuet, Fénelon, Massillon also contain many references to details connected with preaching. [H. W. W. P.]

PREBEND, PREBENDARY. — Prebend (Lat. *prœbenda*, an allowance; *prœbere*, to furnish) meant originally the provision which each member of an ecclesiastical community received from the common table. When the common life was dissolved and the revenues of an institution divided among the members, the fixed income thus formed was called a prebend, and the recipient a prebendary.

In the Church of England a prebendary is a clergyman attached to a collegiate or cathedral church, who enjoys a prebend in consideration of his officiating in the church at stated times. Since the Act of 1840, the title has been abolished in most cathedrals; and where it is retained, the prebendaries rank below the canons residentiary, and are on much the same footing as honorary canons. [J. C. L.]

PRECENTOR.—(Lat. *præ*, before, and *cantor*, a singer) denotes the leader of a body of singers. In the Mediæval Church, the precentor was one of the chief dignitaries of a cathedral chapter, second only to the dean. In the Church of England, a distinction has to be made between the cathedrals of the old and new foundation. In the former the dignity of the precentorship is maintained; in the latter the office is held by one of the minor canons. In the Scottish Presbyterian and some other Churches, the leader of the congregational praise is called the precentor. [J. C. L.]

PRECONIZATION.—A public proclamation by a crier, beginning "Oyez, oyez, oyez." The best known preconization in England in matters ecclesiastical is the ancient form gone through at the confirmation of bishops, when a proclamation is publicly made three times by the Apparitor General inviting persons "to come forward and make their objections in

due form of law and they shall be heard." But when they come forward they are told that they cannot be heard as to the fitness or orthodoxy of the confirmee, but only as to his identity and the regularity of his previous election (see Rex *v.* Archbishop of Canterbury in L.R. 1902, K.B. 503).

In the Roman Catholic Church preconization means the public confirmation by the Pope of the appointment of a bishop, of which appointment such confirmation is an essential part.

[B. W.]

PRELATE.—An ecclesiastical dignitary; in the Church of England a bishop or archbishop. The literal meaning of the word is one who is "preferred" or "placed before" others in honour or jurisdiction. The prælati of the Lower House of Convocation were the archdeacons.

PRESANCTIFIED.—See MASS.

PRESBYTER.—There is no precise information as to the time and manner in which the Christian *Presbyterate* came into existence. Government, however, by elders or presbyters in civil matters was so ancient that it has been traced up to Israel's sojourn in Egypt. When Synagogues came into existence after the return from captivity, those Synagogues were managed by elders. The High Priest, Priests, and Levites officiated in the Temple, but took no necessary part in the Synagogue. The Christian Church was formed after the latter model, and not after that of the Temple; its places of worship were long termed "Synagogues." One instance of this usage occurs in the New Testament in James ii. 2, when the word rendered "assembly" in the A.V., is in the original Greek "Synagogue." There are also instances of the same usage in the ancient writings of Hermas, of Justin Martyr, and of Ignatius.[1] Such facts are significant. They tend to prove that the Christian Church in all its arrangements had in view the arrangements of the Synagogue. The Church was modelled after the Synagogue and not after the Temple. At the earliest time at which the Christian Jews began to have their places of worship, in which they were instructed by the Apostles and others, their places of worship were called "Synagogues," and those Synagogues were duly provided with "elders" or "presbyters." Bishop Lightfoot is correct in affirming that the Christian Presbyterate "was adopted from the Synagogue," for, as he remarks, "the institution of Synagogues was flexible enough to allow free scope for wide divergences of creed and practice" (*Philippians*, p. 192). Although in process of time the presbyters became a teaching Order, they were at the commencement simply laymen. They were generally inducted to office by "the laying on of hands," which practice became universal in the Christian Church, but there is not a particle of evidence to prove that the Apostles' hands were laid on the earliest Christian Presbyters. See Hatch's *Bampton Lectures*.

[C. H. H. W.]

PRESBYTERY.—In the Greek New Testament πρεσβυτέριον is twice used (Luke xxii. 66; Acts xxii. 5), for the elders of the Jewish Sanhedrin, and once (1 Tim. iv. 14) for the body of presbyters or elders in a Christian congregation. This suggests, what history otherwise confirms, that the presbytery of the primitive Church had its roots in the eldership of the Jewish ecclesia. Each congregation seems to have had its body of elders, also called bishops with reference to their functions of oversight, whose special duty it was to govern, to exercise discipline, and also, as the case of Timothy would show, to ordain. Originally the presbytery had no fixed president, but at a very early period one of the congregational presbyter-bishops rose by a natural evolution to a position of permanent headship over the rest.

In the Presbyterian Churches of to-day, a presbytery does not mean, as in the primitive Church, a court of elders in a single congregation. To this purely local court the name of session, or kirk-session, is now applied, while presbytery is used of a district court composed of all the ministers and at least one representative elder (in some Churches the sessions of the larger congregations are allowed to send two elders) from all the sessions within its bounds. The presbytery exercises jurisdiction over its congregations and their ministers, but is subject to the authority of synods, which are provincial groups of presbyteries, and of the General Assembly, in which all the presbyteries of the entire Church are represented.

In Roman Catholic churches presbytery is an architectural term for that part of the church behind the altar which contains seats for the celebrant and the other clergy. It forms part of the choir, and is divided from the rest of the building by rails, so that none but priests may enter it. Presbytery is also

[1] See the chapter on "The Church and the Synagogue," in the work of Rev. Fred. H. Chase, D.D., on *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. i., Cambridge University Press, 1891. Dr. Chase gives some interesting arguments to prove that the Lord's Prayer itself was a part of the early liturgy used in those places of meeting, as well as interesting suggestions to show that the adoption of the synagogue system in the early Church had an intimate connection with the composition of the written Gospels.

used, like the French *presbytère*, for the residence of a priest, corresponding to parsonage or the Scotch "manse." [J. C. L.]

PRESENCE, OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE.—Presence independent of any percipient mind, and Presence dependent on the perception of the mind.

It is a comparatively short time that these two words Objective and Subjective have borne the above distinctive meanings. Two centuries ago they were used interchangeably, and Objective, more commonly than not, meant what we now understand by Subjective. German philosophical writers first introduced the distinction of the two words in the seventeenth century. S. T. Coleridge transferred it into English philosophy (begging others to help him in doing so for the sake of clearness of conception), and thence it has passed, but not immediately, into theological use. Aquinas, Locke, the Homilies, Pearson (to name no more), use Objective in the sense in which Subjective is now used; in Jewel's controversy with Harding, Subjective is used for what Coleridge meant by Objective. Both words are quite unhistorical, unknown to Scripture, unknown to the writers of the Primitive Church, unknown to the Schoolmen and mediæval divines, unknown at the period of the Reformation, unknown to the school of the seventeenth century theologians and to their adversaries, unknown in English theology till the other day, when the phrase Objective Presence was grasped at as conveying the essential idea of transubstantiation without the employment of a term which would rouse immediate hostility.

This confusion of signification and unhistorical character are enough to make us banish the words Objective and Subjective from theology. But this is not all, for there is a further confusion attaching to the words when they are applied to the doctrine of the Holy Communion.

Christ by His Holy Spirit is present everywhere in the Universe; for, being God, He is omnipresent. Christ by His Holy Spirit is present wherever two or three are gathered together in His name; for He has promised it. Therefore, Christ by His Holy Spirit is present *at the ordinance* of the Lord's Supper, where men have gathered to fulfil His last command. If this Presence be called Objective because not dependent for its existence on the perceptions of those assembled, the epithet may be allowed, provided that it be understood that in the same sense He is objectively present wherever two or three meet for prayer. But Christ's presence *at the ordinance* and *by His Spirit* is not to be confounded with a presence *in the elements* of *His Body and Blood;* and these two things are either ignorantly or wilfully confounded by those who insist upon an Objective Presence. What do men mean when they say that Christ's body and blood are in the bread and wine? What body? What blood? The body that was nailed to the Cross? The blood that flowed from His pierced side? But no such body and blood can possibly now exist. Is it then His present body and blood? But they "are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of His natural body to be at one time in more places than one." Therefore Christ's body and blood are not objectively present either separately in the element of bread and the element of wine, or both together in both or either of the elements.

The Objective Presence in the elements not only involves the irreverent thought that Christ could and would hide all the constituent parts of His human body from head to foot in innumerable little pieces of wheaten bread and in innumerable cups of wine (and that at the same moment), but also that His presence at His own ordinance is dependent on the will of a man. The priest's formula summons Him. Not till the priest has uttered the words *Hoc est corpus meum* is He allowed to be present, and when those words are uttered He must come down bodily and enter a wheaten cake. But if the priest makes a mistake in the formula, for example, if he says, *Hic est corpus meum*, or, *Hoc corpus est meum*, Christ must not come, but must wait till the priest has corrected his Latin; and when He has entered the cake, He has still (remaining there) to enter the cup at the moment that the priest says, *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, or *Hic est sanguis meus*, but if the priest says, *Hic sanguis est meus*, or, *Ille est sanguis meus*, then He must wait till the priest gets his wording right, and if the priest goes on without correcting his Latin, the bread continues bread and nothing more, and the wine continues nothing but wine, and all who worship them on their elevation are *ex concesso* guilty of the idolatry of worshipping as God what has remained merely a wheaten cake and wine. A person who begins worshipping a moment too soon is liable to the same risk.

The expressions Real Presence, as used by Hooker and other divines, and the Real Objective Presence, as now commonly used, must not be confounded. "The Real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood," says Hooker, "is not to be sought for in the sacrament (that is, in the outward sign or elements), but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament" (*Eccl. Pol.*, v. 67). This, it will be seen, is the very contradictory of the tenet that it is to be found in the bread and wine; and it is an unworthy artifice to defend the modern tenet by appeal-

the venerated names of Hooker, or of Taylor, who repudiated it, the first rave reprobation, the second with in- on and horror, while allowing the Real Presence, if by it were meant e presence of Christ in the heart of the l recipient. By the expression Real e they, and the other Anglican theo- who use it, meant not indeed neces- Subjective Presence, but a Presence of he place, cause, and mode was left un- . Dr. Mozley has said that there is y wide interval" between the doctrine ted to the Fathers, called Objective, doctrine of Hooker, said to be Subjec- t is best to banish both the terms in sent connection as being ambiguous, rical, untheological, and misleading. is *Catholic Religion* Mr. Vernon Staley ted St. Augustine as saying, "No man is flesh unless he first adores" (On xcviii.). So has Jeremy Taylor, who s that it means "No man eats Christ's orthily but he that first adores Christ," s he says must be done "with a *sursum* hearts lift up to heaven, where Christ e are sure) at the Right Hand of the " (*Real Presence*, xiii.). But Mr. Staley es the quotation thus after a semicolon: ne wise men and the barbarians did this body in the manger, with great d reverence, let us therefore, who are of heaven, at least not fall short of the ans. But thou seest Him not in the , but on the altar; and thou beholdest t in the Virgin's arms, but presented priest and brought to thee in sacrifice Holy Spirit of God" (p. 302). These ous words of grave import. Mr. Staley hat they, too, are taken from St. Augus- Psalm xcviii., and that they so imme- follow the words previously quoted ey are only divided from them by a on. But they are not there at all. They St. Augustine's at all. Probably they een transcribed from some modern , as untrustworthy as we have shown alker's to be (*Mass*). Year after year, ition after edition they have been used h simple people, on the authority of ustine, that it is right to bow down at rds "This is My body," "This is My "as an act of adoration to our Lord cramentally present under the form of and wine" (*ibid.*); and yet there is ; in any way like them in St. Augustine. expression "under the form of bread ne" is a favourite with the advocates of trine of the Objective Presence in the ts. It is a common practice for them n the authority of the Homilies for it, but as every one ought to know, they do not occur in the Homilies. A notice was affixed to the First Book of Homilies to the effect that a Homily with the title containing the words in question might be hereafter expected, but when the Second Book of Homilies appeared, it was found that that title had been repudiated, and the name given to the Homily was "On the worthy receiving of the Sacrament," and in it the "dream" of a "gross, carnal feeding, basely objecting (here used for subjecting) and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures" was condemned.

That Christ's body and blood, and therefore Christ Himself, are introduced into the bread and wine by the formula of words known as the Consecration Prayer, is not a belief authorised by the Church of England, nor does she recognise any such phrases as an Objective or a Subjective Presence. [F. M.]

PRESENTATION is the act of offering a clerk to the ordinary or bishop by the patron or owner of the legal estate or advowson. It seems to be the better opinion that the presentation must be made in writing, such as a letter to the bishop. Where the right of presentation is attached to the ownership of an estate and the property is vested in trustees, then the trustees have the right to present, but the person enjoying the rents and profits of the property has the right of nominating to them a clerk, and they are bound to act on his nomination. Until the presentation has been acted on by the bishop, and institution given, it may be revoked. The owner of an advowson is bound to present a clerk fit in doctrine, learning, and morals. It is only if the clerk be unfit in any of these respects that the bishop can refuse him. By the 39th Canon the bishop can insist upon examining him whether he is "worthy of his ministry." By the Act of Uniformity the clerk must be in priest's orders. The way in which this is proved is by his showing his letters of orders, or a certified copy of them if they are lost. Moral character is shown usually by letters testimonial from three beneficed clergy of the diocese countersigned by the bishop of the diocese, but the reasoning in Bishop of Exeter *v.* Marshall (L.R. 3 House of Lords, 17) goes to show that if it can be shown that the clerk presented is a fit person in any other way, the bishop cannot insist on this method of proving moral character. In that case the bishop of the diocese from which the clerk came did not give letters testimonial and commendatory, and the House of Lords held that the Bishop of Exeter, whose duty it was to institute, could not insist on these. By Canon 95 the bishop has twenty-eight days in which to inform himself of the qualifications of the clerk, and if the bishop is not satisfied he should

within that time state his refusal. Now, by sec. 2 (2) of the Benefices Act, 1898, the bishop is directed not to collate, institute, or admit any person to a benefice until the expiration of one month after giving notice in writing to its churchwardens. The rules, made under the Act, provide that such notice shall be sent to them by registered letter, and should state the ecclesiastical preferments previously held by the person proposed to be instituted, and his full name. The churchwardens are to put up this notice on the notice-board of the church, and after the expiration of the month are to send the bishop a certificate that they have done so. The rules made under the same Act provide that if the bishop refuses to institute, he should state his grounds of refusal by sending a notice both to the person presenting and to the presentee by registered letter. It is not sufficient for the bishop to allege want of learning or doctrine generally, he must state specifically in what respect he alleges the clerk is deficient, so that if either the presenter or the presentee chooses to appeal, the court can see whether the bishop has fixed too high a standard, or whether he is justified in refusing the presentee (Willis *v.* Bishop of Oxford, 2 P.D. 192). In the case of Gorham *v.* Bishop of Exeter (Moore Sp. Rep.) the Privy Council held that the views as to baptism which the bishop thought unorthodox, were views that could be held in the Church of England, and ordered institution. To the three grounds of objection given above, the Benefices Act of 1898 adds others by sec. 2, which are intended to prevent simony and the presenting of unsuitable persons. That Act enables the bishop (subject to an appeal to a court specially constituted by the Act consisting of the archbishop of the province and a high-court judge) to refuse to institute on a presentation made by a person within a year of the transfer of an advowson to him, unless it is proved that the transfer was not effected with a view of a probable vacancy within the year. Next, the bishop can refuse to institute (subject to the appeal above stated) (1) If the presentee has been ordained deacon within three years; (2) is unfit by reason of physical or mental infirmity; (3) pecuniary embarrassment of a serious character; (4) grave misconduct, or neglect of duty in an ecclesiastical office; (5) evil life, having by his conduct caused grave scandal concerning his moral character since his ordination; or (6) having, with reference to the presentation, been knowingly a party, or privy, to any transaction or agreement as to the transfer of an advowson which is invalid under the Act.

It has been decided that if a clergyman has been guilty of conduct which would have been sufficient cause to deprive him of his living (if he had one), that is sufficient cause for refusing institution. That was decided in a case in which a clergyman had been guilty of ritual offences, Heywood *v.* Bishop of Manchester (12. Q.B.D. 404). Until the Benefices Act was passed the patron had his remedy for a refusal of institution by a proceeding in a common law-court in the nature of *quare impedit*. The presented clerk's remedy was in the ecclesiastical courts by *duplex querela*. The fifth subsection of sec. 3 provides that neither proceeding shall be taken in future where the procedure under the Act is available, but the appeal shall be made to a court consisting of a judge of the high court (nominated by the Chancellor for that purpose), and the archbishop of the province. This does not apply to a refusal based on a ground of doctrine or ritual, which is to go as before to the ecclesiastical courts and finally to the Privy Council. In Welsh dioceses the bishop may refuse to institute a person who cannot perform divine service or preach in Welsh (Marquis of Abergavenny *v.* Bishop of Llandaff, 20 Q.B.D. 460).

In an old case it was held that the bishop ought to make his objection quickly, and that where he did not object for nineteen days, his objection was too late (Cro. Eliz. 119). The period of twenty-eight days mentioned by the 95th Canon does not bind the laity, but now that the Benefices Act, 1898, directs the bishop not to institute before he has given a month's notice to the churchwardens, it would probably be held that he has at least that month to satisfy himself of the suitability of the presentee. After that time has elapsed it would seem that both the lay patron and the presentee (unless he has done something to waive his rights) could call upon the bishop to institute. The patron must present within six months. See LAPSE.

If the bishop refuse the first presentee, the patron may present others, provided he does so within the six months. This used only to be the privilege of lay patrons, but the Benefices Act now gives the same right to clerical patrons (sec. 6). No account in reckoning the date for lapse, is to be taken of the period between the presentation by the patron and the refusal of the bishop to institute, or of the period between the refusal of the bishop to institute or admit and the decision of the court upon such refusal.

Bankruptcy does not prevent the owner of an advowson presenting. The right of presentation devolving upon lunatics is exercised by the Lord Chancellor. Mr. Cripps, in his *Law of the Church and Clergy*, says aliens cannot exercise the right. Infancy is, however, no bar to

g (Arthington v. Coverley, 2 Ab. Eq. man Catholics are disabled from pre- and their rights are exercised in uth of the Trent by the University i, and in those situated north of University of Cambridge.

[E. B. W.]

ATION OF THE VIRGIN —See MARY.

—Presbyter, or elder; one of the ders recognised by nearly every nder the name of priest or minister. d *presbyter* is derived from the σβύτερος (elder); from this came the *resbytero*, and the allied forms, Dutch, Old French, *prestre;* Modern French, talian, *prete;* Saxon, *preoster;* and by contraction, *priest* (see Dr. Hook's *Dictionary*). There lies in the term itself etymologically no idea of the of a sacrifice, nor does such a signifi- long to the Hebrew כֹּהֵן (cōhēn). The word is rendered as "principal officer" s iv. 5, and "chief ruler" in 2 Sam. and xx. 26 by the A.V. (marginal ; of R.V. "chief minister"). The signification of the word is very ob- e *Synonyms of the Old Testament*, p. anon R. B. Girdlestone). The associa- ie word with the idea of "sacrifice" rom the accidental union of two offices in the same person. As a f fact, however, it was not the busi- the priest to sacrifice. Under the system the *people* sacrificed, *i.e.* victims, while the priests, as repre- s of the mercy of God, sprinkled the he atonement on the altar and turned s into fragrant smoke. It is however gretted that the translators of the ament used the word *priest* as the it of *cohen*. The Greek word for ng priest" used in the New Testament (hiereus), and it is also unfortunate only English equivalent for this be *priest*, derived from *presbyter*. d *hiereus* should have been properly d everywhere "sacrificing priest," translators may have refrained from ing it because the constant repetition ficing" would have been monotonous ward. The Church of England in ully distinguishes between her minis- Roman Catholic priests, declaring need no 'sacrificing priest.'" *Homily raments*, first part. Christian ministers ointed evangelists, pastors, teachers, , elders, and overseers, which terms rmony with the idea of the Christian , though removed from the ideas of alism.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would doubtless have termed the minister of Christ *hiereus* if he had had any idea of a *sacrificial* character as inherent in the ministry of such a person. The apostles call themselves elders, apostles, ambassadors, but never sacrificing priests. The doctrine of the Church in the Sub-Apostolic age was innocent of sacerdotalism. Irenæus (A.D. 167) wrote, "All righteous men hold the priestly order" (*Adv. Hær.*, lib. iv. c. xx. p. 245). Tertullian (A.D 192) says, "Are not also laymen priests? It is written, He has made us a kingdom and priests to God" (*De Exhort. Cast.*, c. vii. p. 566), while even St. Augustine (A.D. 400) declares, "As we are all Christians on account of our mystical chrism, so also *all are priests*, since they are all members of the One Priest, concerning whom the apostle Peter says, 'a holy people, a royal priesthood'" (*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xx. c. x. tom.v. f. 271).

The Church of England does not regard her ministers as priests empowered to offer sacrifices. The Reformers removed from the Ordination Service the portion which gave authority to the minister to offer sacrifices, as well as that part of the Communion Service in which the priest professed to offer Christ's body. In the Latin of Article XXXI. the word *sacerdos* (a sacrificing priest) is used of those who had been priests of Rome, and in Art. XXXII. the word *presbyteri* (elders) of the priests of the Church of England in general. In the Prayer Book generally, the term "priest" is synonymous with "minister." The Puritans at the Savoy Conference, indeed, wished to have the word "minister" substituted for "priest" throughout. The Bishops replied that the word "minister . . . signifies at large every one that ministers in that holy office, of whatsoever order soever he be." But they desired to prevent "deacons" from consecrating the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and therefore retained the old word. "Minister" is used even in the Communion Office for the priest. (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 342).

The claims of sacerdotalism are based upon a twofold fallacy. This is, first, that the priesthood of Christ can be *transferred*. In Heb. vii. 24, on the contrary, it is declared to be untransferable and "intransmissible." That this is the correct meaning of the Greek word is admitted by the best authorities. The second fallacy of sacerdotalism is that a ministry is absolute and indispensable. Bishop Lightfoot says upon this point, "It (*i.e.* the function of the minister) may be a general rule, it may be, under ordinary circumstances, a practically universal law, that the highest acts of congregational worship shall be performed through the principal officers of the

congregation. But an emergency may arise when "the spirit" and not the letter must decide. The Christian ideal will then interfere and interpret our duty. The higher ordinance of the universal priesthood will overrule all special limitations. The layman will assume functions which are otherwise restricted to the ordained minister" (*Dissertation No. 1, On The Christian Ministry*, at the end of Bishop Lightfoot's Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, 3rd ed. p. 266).

[M. E. W. J.]

PRIESTHOOD.—In the Old Testament the whole body of the Jews are spoken of as "priests" (Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6). But their ministers are regarded as a distinct class, with special duties to be performed in a carefully specified manner and with a proper ritual. In the New Testament the whole body of Christian believers is also termed "an holy priesthood" (1 Pet. ii. 5). Apparently to emphasize the difference between the Jewish economy and the Christian, the word "priest" is never applied to the Christian minister apart from the laity, nor is there any allusion to ministers as a separate caste, to any duties of theirs of a sacrificial nature, or to any elaborate system of ritual as connected with any sacerdotal system. In so far then as ministers are "priests," they are so in common with the rest of Christians, all of whom have been made "kings and priests unto God" (Rev. i. 6). The Greek word (*hiereus*) for sacrificing priest is never once employed in the New Testament of the Christian minister, but is applied thirty-six times to the priests of the line of Aaron, who were typical of the Lord Jesus, our one great sacrificing High Priest for ever. See PRIEST; PRESBYTER.

PRIMER.—The *King's Primer* was published by authority in 1545. Its object was to furnish the unlearned with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. This Primer contained the Litany almost in its present form, excepting that it then included certain petitions for "the prayers of angels, saints, and martyrs," and a prayer to be delivered from "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome." The former of these petitions was omitted from Edward VI.'s Prayer Book, and both from that of Elizabeth.

PRIOR.—The title of a monastic official next below an abbot in dignity. The word, however, is used with different applications, a distinction being made between conventual and claustral priors. In conventual cathedrals, where the abbot's place was held by the bishop, the prior (*prior conventualis*) was the real head of the monastery. In convents presided over by an abbot, the prior (*prior claustralis*, or prior of the cloisters) was the officer of second rank, who represented the abbot in his absence. The superiors of cells, or small monastic establishments dependent on larger monasteries, were also called priors.

[J. C. L.]

PRIORY.—A monastery presided over by a prior or prioress. It differed from an abbey only in that its superior bore the name of prior instead of abbot. The English conventual cathedrals were all priories, and so also were those offshoots from the abbeys which continued to be subordinate to their parent foundations. In later times the distinction between abbeys and priories practically disappeared. [J. C. L.]

PRISCILLIANISTS.—See HERESY; PERSECUTIONS.

PRIVATE JUDGMENT.—Against the Protestant view of the right and duty of private judgment on religious matters, the Church of Rome urges the weakness and liability to error of private judgment as a reason why we should surrender ourselves to the sole and supreme direction of a so-called infallible guide, which that Church professes to be. Now, in the first place, this very objection of the Romanist implies an appeal to reason and to the exercise of private judgment. For a man who decides to follow an infallible guide on the grounds stated by the Romanist, decides on his own private judgment, and that on one most essential point which virtually includes all other decisions on religious matters. Further, if a man will not trust himself to use his own private judgment even on this most essential point, but resolves to consult another, and is willing to be led entirely by another's judgment, even here he exercises his own private judgment in his resolve to leave the matter in another's hands. In no way, therefore, can any man quite rid himself of the exercise and responsibility of his private judgment. "The responsibility is laid upon us by God, and we dare not, if we could, abdicate it. Before a man can rationally *judge* that he should *submit his judgment* in other things to the Church of Rome, he must first have judged: (1) That there is a God. (2) That Christianity comes from God. (3) That Christ has promised to give an infallible authority in the Church. (4) That such authority resides in the Church of Rome. Now, to say that men who are competent to form sound judgments upon these points are quite incompetent to form sound judgments about any other matters of religion, is very like saying that men may have sound judgments of their own *before* they enter the Church of Rome, but that they *lose* all sound judgment entirely from the moment they enter it" (see Archbishop Whately's *Cautions for the Times*). The Tridentine Decree

which forbade the exercise of private judgment in matters of religion and the interpretation of Holy Scripture, is thus reproduced and formulated by the Vatican Council. "Since what the Holy Synod of Trent wisely decreed concerning the interpretation of Holy Scripture, for the purpose of restraining perverse intellects, has been wrongly expounded by some, we, renewing that decree, declare that this is its meaning, that on matters of faith and morals pertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be regarded as the true sense of sacred Scripture which Holy Mother Church has held and holds (which has the right to judge about the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures); and therefore no one may interpret that Holy Scripture contrary to that sense, or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

Here, then, we have an implicit appeal to the Fathers and Holy Scripture in connection with the Romish claim to infallible guidance, which is clearly inconsistent with the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Fathers themselves as a body. God's Word constantly appeals to reason, to conscience, and to private judgment We are told to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. v. 21). "Let every man be persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv. 5). "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say" (1 Cor. x. 15). "How is it that even of your own selves judge ye not what is right?" "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason for the hope that is in you." Further, our blessed Lord Himself appealed to Holy Scripture, not to the traditions or authority of the Jewish Church, when He reproved the Sadducees in the words, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures" (Matt. xxii. 29); and again, when He said, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me" (John v. 39.)

Now, even in the most distinctive dogma of the Roman Church—the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors—there does not appear anything like an "unanimous consent of the Fathers," as, for example, in the application of Christ's words to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18. 19), from which the Papal Supremacy is deduced. There is, on the other hand, a considerable amount of testimony of the Fathers in favour of the right and duty of private judgment and the exercise of reason in dealing with Holy Scripture as the sole Rule of Faith. According to Tertullian, "Reason is of God, who ordered and disposed nothing without reason, and wills that all things shall be treated and considered with reason." (This reminds one of Bishop Butler's view, that "reason is the only faculty we have wherewith to judge anything, even revelation itself.") Justin Martyr (*Dial. with Tryph.*) writes, "We are enjoined by Christ Himself to put no faith in human doctrines, but in those declared by the blessed prophets and taught by Himself." St. Basil the Great writes: "It is a manifest falling away from faith and a mark of presumption, either to omit anything in Scripture, or to introduce anything not in Scripture" (*De Fide*). Further, St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xlix.) writes: "There is no way of knowing what is the true Church of Christ save by Scripture." Again, Lactantius (xi. 8) regards it as a duty in spiritual matters to trust rather to oneself (*magis confidere sibi*), and use one's own judgment (*suo judicio*) and one's own senses to investigate and weigh the truth, rather than to believe and be deceived by the errors of others as if one were without reason (*rationis expers*). Again, if God provided for the Jewish Church no infallible guide for the interpretation and teaching of Old Testament Holy Scripture, on what ground are we to assume that God must have, in the interests of truth, appointed any infallible guide in the Christian Church other than, and beyond, the promised guidance into all saving and necessary truth by the Holy Spirit. The Old Testament, like the New, appeals to reason and Scripture as our guide, as in such texts as, "Come, let us reason together, saith the Lord" (Isaiah); and the words of the Psalmist, "Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my path." Irenæus writes: "Read diligently the Gospels given unto us by the Apostles, and read diligently the prophets, and ye shall find every action and the *whole* doctrine preached in them." Jerome wrote: "As we deny not those things which are written, so we refuse those things which are not written." St. Augustine lays it down, "Whatsoever ye hear from Holy Scriptures, let that savour well unto you; whatsoever is without them, refuse." Similar testimony to the same truth of the supremacy of Holy Scripture as a guide, and a like appeal to reason is furnished by Clemens Alexandrinus, by Cyprian, by Hilary, by Hippolytus, and other Fathers. See Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive*. It is clear, too, from history that Romanism made Christianity too corrupt with her unwarranted and unscriptural dogmas and practices to bear the light of Holy Scripture, and too incredible to bear the light of reason, and therefore the same Church prohibited the use of reason and of private judgment in matters of religion, and put forth the dogma of an infallible guide as a substitute for the guidance of God's word and of human reason, God's gift, though for the use of each we are individually respon-

sible. See Dr. Salmon on *Infallibility*; Davison on *Prophecy*; Palmer's *Church of Christ*; and Archbishop Whately's *Cautions for the Times*.

[T. H. L. L.]

PRIVILEGE OF PETER.—It is upon this fancied foundation that the superstructure of Papal Supremacy is built. The so-called "privilege" or superiority of St. Peter to the other apostles is itself based upon four texts, viz. (1) Peter's Confession, and our Lord's promise to build His Church upon "this rock" (Matt. xvi. 18); (2) The gift of the keys (Matt. xvi. 19); (3) Peter's restoration (Luke xxii. 31); and (4) The admonition to St. Peter (John xxi. 15). Now, with regard to (1), the Fathers themselves are hopelessly divided as to the application of "this rock." But many of them, including Augustine and Jerome, hold that the "rock" refers to Christ Himself, and many others that it refers to St. Peter's confession of faith in the Lord Jesus, and this view would seem to be the best explanation of the words Certainly St. Peter showed immediately that *he* was but a frail kind of rock (Matt. xvi. 23). Concerning (2), the gift of the keys signified that St. Peter should open the kingdom of heaven by the preaching of the Gospel to both Jews and Gentiles. The power of "binding and loosing" was conferred upon *all* the apostles, and therefore constituted no peculiar dignity in regard to St. Peter himself (see Matt. xviii. 18). As to (3), this text, reminding us of the apostle's *fall*, is rather an argument *against* his supremacy. There would be special need and special reason for St. Peter to confirm his brethren after his conversion, and to do so would be a special pleasure to him after his sad denial. (4) With regard to John xxi. 15, the threefold question as to the apostle's love for Christ reminds us (as doubtless it was meant to remind him) of his threefold denial, and the fact that the apostle was "grieved" (v. 17) by the question shows how far the true state of the case was from any special dignity being conferred upon him. Nor was the commission to feed Christ's sheep and lambs peculiar to St. Peter, but is incumbent upon every minister, as the word pastor (a shepherd), derived from the Latin *pascere*, to feed, shows.

On the opposite side the following considerations show that no special pre-eminence was ever assigned to St. Peter among the apostles: (1) Christ at least twice declared that no distinction of rank could be permitted among them (Mark ix. 33–35; Luke xxii. 24–26). It is noteworthy that the last occasion was at the Last Supper, long after the gift of "the keys" to St. Peter. (2) This apostle was the only one sternly rebuked by Christ for attempting to oppose God's will (Matt. xvi. 23); and (3) he was the only apostle, except the traitor Judas, who actually fell away from Christ, denying Him with an oath, and that under aggravated circumstances. (4) Not a single act of jurisdiction or authority on St. Peter's part over any apostle or elder is to be found. (5) St. James, not St. Peter, presided at Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17; xv. 13–21; Gal. ii. 9–12). (6) St. Peter is sent with St. John on a mission to Samaria (Acts viii. 14). From the Roman standpoint, he should have been the sender, not the sent. (7) He alone of the apostles is recorded to have erred on a point of Church order and practice involving doctrine, and to have been strenuously opposed by St. Paul. (8) St. Peter is divinely restricted to the Church of the Jews by birth (Gal. ii. 7, 8), and is withdrawn from all authority over the Gentiles, to whom both the Roman and Protestant Churches belong. (9) The activity, energy, and authority of St. Paul quite eclipse those of St. Peter (2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 28; Rom. i. 5, 6, 7). (10) The only possible scriptural connection of St. Peter with Rome is the pure conjecture that "Babylon," in 1 Peter v. 13, may mean Rome. Even if this guess were correct, there is no mention of St. Peter having had the least authority there. (11) St. Paul stigmatises the attaching of themselves by Christians specifically to St. Peter, or to any other apostle, as distinct from the whole Church of Christ as schismatical (1 Cor. i. 12, 13). (12) So far from St. Peter claiming for himself even such a position as St. Paul claimed, the only special title St. Peter assumes is that of "fellow-elder" (1 Peter v. 1). (13) That portion of the New Testament we owe to St. Peter, even considering the Gospel according to St. Mark as mainly derived from information supplied by St. Peter, is largely inferior both in bulk and spiritual importance to the writings of St. Paul, and the Gospels which came from the hands of the other evangelists. (15) The Vicar whom our Saviour appointed immediately before His sufferings was no mere man, but the Holy Ghost Himself (John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 13–15).

The Privilege of Peter was simply and solely this, that to him alone was granted the honour (which from the circumstances of the case could not be repeated) of being the *first* to unlock the doors of the kingdom of heaven to both Jews (Acts ii. 14–41) and Gentiles (Acts x. 34–48). That which the Pope grasps at, therefore, in the "Privileges of Peter" is but an intangible shadow, something which does not exist at all, and in claiming to be heir to this, the Pope (as Dr. Littledale has well pointed out) occupies a position similar to that which would be held by the heirs of Christopher Columbus, if any should be alive, who should

lay claim to the enjoyment or monopoly of continuing to discover America. But, further, the Pope is evidently not the successor of St. Peter for the three following important reasons: first, St. Peter was infallible in his teaching, but until 1870 many Romanists believed the Pope to be fallible. If the Pope were St. Peter's successor, how could the Church of the nineteenth century be different from the Church of all the preceding ages? Secondly, St. Peter possessed miraculous gifts. The Popes evidently do not, and do not generally claim such power. Thirdly, the Pope does not teach the doctrine of St. Peter, and "they have not the inheritance of Peter who have not the faith of Peter" (Ambrose, *De Pœnit.* v. 1, c. *Dis. Protest.*). Those, then, who support the claim of Rome to the "Privilege of Peter," support the elevation of a human being into that place which God alone should occupy. What relation does the humble, laborious apostle bear to those proud pontiffs who wear the triple crown, are borne in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome on the shoulders of the people, and placed on the altar above that "which is called God and worshipped," namely the *Host*, and who have been surrounded by foreign bayonets dyed with the blood of their flock? [M. E. W. J.]

PROCESSION.—The movement of a company of persons from one spot to another in an orderly line.

There are three sorts of ecclesiastical processions: (1) Those of the persons who constitute the procession only. (2) Those of images borne by the processionists. (3) Those of the Host, or wafer, or cake, supposed to be the Son of God, carried in like manner by the processionists.

1. There is nothing objectionable in the first class of processions, provided they have not a superstitious purpose, such as the procession in Roman Catholic Churches on Easter Eve, or superstitious accompaniments, such as incense or lights.

2. Processions of images are of two kinds. Sometimes their purpose is to earn the protection of the saint whose image is carried, in any moment of peril, sometimes to give the saint the pleasure of being received with respect and veneration. Of the first sort of these processions there are many instances in history, when a besieged garrison carried the protecting saint of a town round the walls as a defence against the assailants. The same principle is involved in this proceeding as was reproved in the presumptuous act of the Israelites when they took the ark, as a talisman, into the field of battle and were punished by its capture. The second sort of these processions may be witnessed in many of the villages and towns of Spain at the present time. On the fête day the patron saint's image is brought out with great pomp and carried to all the chief points of the neighbourhood, where his clients meet in large numbers and adore him. In the large village of Villaescusa, near Salamanca, the patron saint is St. Mary of the Elm, so called because her image is made out of an elm tree under which she is supposed to have wrought a miracle. St. Mary of the Elm is carried round the place annually, and if any accident happen, or disrespect be shown to her, it is felt and resented as keenly as a blow struck by an infidel at a sacred animal in some parts of India, or formerly in Egypt. About twenty years ago Protestantism found its way into Villaescusa by means of a Bible which an inhabitant had bought in a neighbouring town, and read to his sister and some friends. The priest announced that on the next fête day St. Mary of the Elm would show her indignation. Accordingly when the day for the procession came, it was found that St. Mary had lost her arms! The villagers rose in fury, seized a leading Protestant and hurried him off to a neighbouring town, where he was thrust into a prison scarcely long enough for him to lie down in, lighted only by a sort of trap-door at the top. There he might have stayed for a length of time, but friends of the Protestant cause called the attention of the Government to the case, and two of the *Guardias Civiles*—the most uncorrupt body of men in Spain—were sent to Villaescusa to investigate the matter. They very soon found that the Roman Catholic sacristan had unscrewed the arms in order to raise odium against the Protestants, and that they were then lying in his hayloft covered with hay. The result was this: the Protestant Confessor, whose name is Hernandez, was released, and a Protestant church and congregation was formed at Villaescusa, which is ministered to by one of Bishop Cabrera's clergy. But the procession of St. Mary of the Elm continued, and probably continues still.

Occasionally St. Mary of one title or place pays a visit to St. Mary of another title or place, in which case the processionists show the utmost courtesy to each other; but should they meet on another day in a narrow street, each refuses to yield to the other, being jealously desirous of showing that their St. Mary is the superior of the two. At Alhaurin if any one belonging to the procession of "Jesus above" (the hill) gets caught by the bearers of "Jesus below," the badges of the opposite party are torn off, and he or she is glad to escape with that. The Holy Week is the great time for these processions of images,

and the most noted place for them is Seville. "The processions are very splendidly arranged," writes an eye-witness in 1851, "but they are mere shows, and the cloak of the Blessed Virgin and the dress of the Nazarenes are discussed just as a gentleman's or lady's dress at a ball. The Nazarenes' dress in which they walk in procession is a long cap about a yard high, like the old san-benito caps, a dress with a train about three yards in length, and a veiled face. They carry not merely single images, but *pasos*, which are generally groups, or a figure under a superb canopy. Each fraternity has commonly two *pasos*, representing perhaps the Last Supper, or our Lord upon the Cross between the two thieves, the last and most splendid being invariably the Blessed Virgin. They come from their several parish churches, pass through the chief square where the royal party is placed under a canopy, and then proceed to the cathedral. On Thursday we saw four processions with nine *pasos*.

"Good Friday presented the most festival appearance of all. There were processions all day long. The whole population was out in the streets to see them, boys clambering everywhere that they ought not, and being driven down by the police, men and boys selling nuts and gingerbread and water. There was no ill temper and quarrelling, and no drinking except water; the people seemed to have met to enjoy themselves, and they did it. There was one unfortunate occurrence. One procession bearing the images of our Lord falling with the cross and of our Lady and Hope, fell in with another bearing those of the Conversion of the Penitent Thief and of our Lady of Montserrat, and they fought for the precedence. The former gained it, but the fight occasioned a panic in the great square, where there were, it is supposed, 20,000 persons. The brotherhood of the Conversion and of our Lady of Montserrat, wearing high caps with flaps over their faces that blinded them, and long trains that entangled their feet, were quite helpless in the confusion, and went down, I was told by an American, 'like ninepins.' When order was restored, the Infanta and all the royal party took candles and walked with them to console them. Our Lady of Montserrat had a splendid new robe of blue velvet. The images of our Lord's sufferings were strangely out of place in such a merry, tumultuous scene" (*Practical Working of the Church of Spain*, ch. x. xi.).

3. The processions of the Host are also of two kinds. Sometimes the Host is carried for the purpose of being given to the sick; sometimes to make a royal progress, outside the narrow bounds of a pyx, or a tabernacle, or a church, as Eastern potentates like occasionally to go abroad from their palaces, and receive the homage of their subjects.

In the early Church, when the consecrated bread and wine had to be sent to any sick man or sufferer who could not be present at the common evening meal, part of which consisted of the Lord's Supper, there was no procession for the purpose. The deacon just took them, at the end of the meal, to the appointed house, and so the sick man was recognised as a participant in the brotherly meal. It was only when the new religion formulated by Innocent III. grew up, that processions, and lights, and bells, and chants were introduced.

The special day on which Christ is supposed to make His royal progress in the shape of a wafer is *Corpus Christi* day. The festival was instituted for this purpose by Urban IV. in 1264, as a consequence of the dogma of transubstantiation, sanctioned in 1215, and, as is said, on account of the following miracle: "In 1230, Juliana, a nun of Liège, while looking at the full moon, saw a gap in its orb, and by a peculiar revelation from heaven, learned that the moon represented the Christian Church, and the gap the want of a certain festival—that of the adoration of the body of Christ in the consecrated Host—which she was to begin to celebrate and announce to the world" (Hook, *Church Dictionary*). Such is the purpose and such is the origin of a festival observed now by some hundreds of English clergymen. It is true that they do not observe it by the public processions which make the day so well known on the Continent, but they observe it by their selection of the day for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; and by selecting it they profess approval of that festival, appointed for worship of the consecrated element of bread as Christ Himself.

[F. M.]

PROCESSIONAL CROSS.—In the Westerton case it was held that "the word 'ornaments' applies, and in this rubric" (the Ornaments' Rubric) "is confined to those articles the use of which in the services and ministrations of the Church is prescribed by the Prayer Book of Edward VI." No use of the cross was prescribed by that book. Their lordships added that the "general question of crosses not used in the services, but employed only as decorations of churches, is entirely unaffected by the rubric." Processions which seem to form part of divine service are illegal (Elphinstone *v.* Purchas), and, consequently, the use of a processional cross in connection with such processions must be illegal also. But when used as mere emblems of the Christian faith, not as objects of superstitious reverence, they may still lawfully be erected as architectural decorations of churches. Moore's

special report of Liddell *v.* Westerton, pp. 156, 161, 175. [J. T. T.]

PROHIBITED BOOKS.—See INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.

PROHIBITION.—See INHIBITION.

PROPAGANDA.—See MISSIONS, ROMAN CATHOLIC.

PROPHESYINGS.—The "religious exercises," otherwise known by this name, originated about 1571, and were based on the Apostolic direction (1 Cor. xiv. 31), "Ye shall all prophesy one by one that all may learn and all be comforted." They were held usually on Saturday mornings, at first once a fortnight, and afterwards every week. The "practice," says Strype, "was taken up in divers places of the nation, and particularly in Northamptonshire, and allowed by many bishops in their dioceses: the manner whereof was, that the ministers of such a division, at a set time, met together in some church belonging to a market or other large town, and there each in their order explained according to their ability some particular portion of Scripture allotted them before. And after all of them had done, a moderator, who was one of the gravest and best learned among them, made his observations upon what the rest had said, and determined the true sense of the place. And all was to be despatched within such a space of time."[1] At Northampton the time allowed was two hours, the first speaker occupying three quarters of an hour, the second and third each a quarter, and the moderator the remainder. The moderator nominated the speakers, the bishop or archdeacon the moderator, and, in some dioceses, the moderator was the rural dean. "At these assemblies," proceeds Strype, 'there were great confluxes of people to hear and learn. And by this means the ministers and curates were forced to read authors, and consult expositors and commentators, and to follow their studies, that they might speak to purpose when they were to appear in public; and hereby they considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the Scripture." In the great dearth of preaching, and of clergymen competent to preach,[2] these exercises met a pressing need; and their thoroughly anti-Romish character[3] made them a medium of strong Protestant influence. But they were liable to certain abuses. Men more ready to speak than able to speak aptly and profitably might push themselves forward; indiscreet speakers might take occasion to inveigh "against the laws, rites, policies, and discipline of the Church of England established by public authority," or to "glance" at public affairs and persons; ministers "deprived from their livings and inhibited to preach" might make their appearance and take part "in the said exercises"; above all, "a lay person" might be "suffered to speak publicly in those assemblies."[4] Such abuses actually occurred, though the mischief done was vastly outweighed by the good. But the Queen, when she heard of them, and was also assured[5] that the "exercises" were "seminaries of Puritanism," determined to suppress the whole movement. Beginning with the diocese of Norwich (March 25, 1574),[6] she extended her orders for this purpose (May 7, 1577)[7] to the Church generally. Archbishop Grindal's remonstrance made to the Queen[8] (before the final order) in a noble letter was in vain. The "exercises" did not entirely cease all at once;[9] but, on the whole, the year 1577 saw the last of them, until (in a manner) they were revived by the lectureships of the later Puritans. [F. J. P.]

PROPITIATION.—A rendering favourable of one before alienated. There is but one propitiation that can be made for mankind, alienated from God through its sins. That propitiation was made once for all by the sin-offering upon the cross. Since that stupendous act of mercy man can neither have nor need any further offering for sin. Its effect is continuous, and therefore when His children, reconciled and adopted in Christ, fall into transgression, all that is required of them is repentance, in order to be restored to the favour of their Father. The great propitiatory offering was typified beforehand

[1] Strype's *Life of Grindal*, p. 326, *ff.*; *cf.* Fuller *Church History*, book ix. § iv. 2, 3.

[2] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 146, 154, 157, &c.

[3] See the *Confession of Faith*, signed by all who took part. Neal, i. 244.

[4] See Archbishop Grindal's "Regulations" (1576) in his *Remains*, pp. 373, 374.

[5] By Archbishop Parker as early as 1574 (Neal, i. 286).

[6] Prothero, *Select Statutes*, p. 204; *cf.* Neal, i. 286–89.

[7] The letter conveying her final "orders" may be seen in Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 467–69; or in Neal, i. 310, *note*.

[8] December 20, 1576; Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 376 90. He was "suspended" till just before his death, July 6, 1583.

[9] "Regulations" for the conduct of "exercises" in the diocese of Chester were issued by the bishop in 1585. See Prothero's *Select Statutes*, p. 206. For Lord Bacon's opinion of the "prophesyings" see his *Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (ed. 1657), reprinted in Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, p. 161.

in the Jewish dispensation by the sin and trespass offerings. When a man had committed a moral or ceremonial offence, which excluded him from the favour of God, he had to offer his sin-offering, which ceremonially restored him to that favour, because it represented and dimly pleaded the effects of the one great propitiatory offering to be made in the future. The peace or thank-offering had no such purpose. That was offered in joyous recognition that the offerer was living in the light of God's countenance, a pardoned child, whose offering a loving Father vouchsafed to share with him.

While we can have, as Christians, no sin-offering for the purpose of propitiation, we may still have our peace or thank-offering, and this is the offering of praise and thanksgiving which we present to God for the reconciliation effected in Christ, as well as for the temporal mercies that we enjoy. This thank-offering we make whenever we pour out our hearts in gratitude to God for His mercies in Christ, and more particularly when, feeling ourselves His forgiven children, we gather round His board with loving and grateful hearts for the purpose of rendering Him our praises and thanksgivings. What we then present to God is a peace-offering, not a sin-offering; a sacrifice of thanks, not a sacrifice of propitiation.

Ritualistic and Roman teaching confuse the two ideas of the sin-offering for propitiation and the peace-offering for thanksgiving; and this perplexes and darkens the whole scheme of the Christian faith and worship. If we have to make an offering for propitiation, we are not the reconciled children of the Father, adopted in Christ. Either we have not been admitted into the house, or we have been cast out of it. We may not ask and receive forgiveness as children, but must seek it as aliens, for whom the sin-offering must again be made—as indeed it professes to be made in the Mass. The whole theory ignores the truth so earnestly pressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that there is no more an offering for sin since the one offering on the cross, and it treats the adoption in Christ with contumely as a nullity, or of only partial and temporary effect. The Holy Eucharist is not a sacrifice to propitiate an averted Deity, but a grateful offering of our thanks to our Father for the love that accepts us as His children in Christ.[1] [F. M.]

[1] In the Book of Common Prayer, in the first prayer of thanksgiving after the administration of the bread and the wine, the words "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" refer to the thanksgiving portion of the service then entered upon, and not the portion which has been concluded.—EDD.

PROTESTANT.—(1) One who makes a protestation or declaration of his belief, or opinion, or resolution. (2) One who protests or makes a declaration against some belief, or opinion, or action.

1. The positive force of the word Protestant is too much ignored and forgotten. It is its primary signification. We can make a protestation with respect to anything that we feel strongly about. It is only because such a protestation is seldom made except in opposition to what we believe to be error, that the word Protestant grew to have a negative sense attached to it, so that it was supposed that if we protested we must be protesting *against* something. Yet our ordinary forms of speech bear testimony to the contrary, and show that we are wrong in thus confining the meaning of the term. The Queen in *Hamlet*, says, "The lady doth protest too much, methinks," that is, declares her resolve too vehemently. After a long day's journey we might say, "I protest that I am glad to rest." Here we are not denying anything, but only stating something with emphasis. The "Declaration" issued in 1900 by members of the English Church Union might as well have been called a "Protestation," and it would have been so called in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1641 Pym persuaded Parliament to "enter into a protestation," not against anything, but "for the defence of their privileges and the performance of their duties to God and the king, which they were obliged to as good Christians and good subjects," and a committee was ordered "speedily to withdraw and prepare such protestation." The "Protestation" was drawn up, and those who signed it bound themselves thereby "to defend the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majesty's royal person, and the powers and privileges of Parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject," all these things being positive acts to be performed, not negations.

The German theologians and partisans of Reform, from whom the name of Protestant comes, used the word in its positive sense. Their protestation was not a string of negatives, but a declaration of their faith, positive and negative. From them the word and its meaning passed into England; so that the Protestant Faith in England meant the Faith of the Church of England, as in Germany it meant the Faith of the Confession of Augsburg. It was not used in contrast with Catholic, nor even at first with Popish, but it signified the Catholic Faith cleared from the uncatholic additions and corruptions of the mediæval and modern Roman Church, which was the faith which the Church of England

made protestation, or protested, that it held. Thus all the seventeenth-century divines unhesitatingly speak of themselves as Protestants. Laud, for example, solemnly protested "that he was innocent of all practice, or so much as thought of practice, for any alteration to Popery or any way blemishing *the true Protestant Religion* established in the Church of England" (*Troubles and Trial*), and in his last Will and Testament he declared that he died in the orthodox profession of *the Catholic Faith*. In his estimation the "Catholic Faith" and the "Protestant Religion" were one and the same. Jeremy Taylor pronounced St. Augustine a Protestant in his teaching on the Holy Communion (*Real Presence*, xii. 30). He did not mean that Augustine formally denied the mediæval and modern Roman dogmas, which had not come into being in his day, but that he taught the true doctrine on the subject, which doctrine was identical with that which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was known as the Protestant doctrine.

2. As long as there were no forms of Protestantism except the Lutheran and the Anglican, there was no ambiguity in the word. It meant the religious system, positive and negative, of the Lutheran and the Anglican Churches respectively, and these two systems, so far as doctrine was concerned, differed little from each other. But when the various Dissenting communities sprang up—Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and others—they all styled themselves Protestant; and thus there arose various forms of Protestantism, differing in their positive tenets, but agreeing in their negation of Popery. This was confusing, and by degrees the word Protestant lost its positive connotation and came to be confined to the meaning of non-Papist. This is the sense which it commonly bears at present. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if a man said that he was a Protestant he was understood to mean that he held the faith of the Confession of Augsburg, or of the XXXIX. Articles. At the present time the name Protestant implies that the person so termed rejects all Popish doctrine (more particularly the doctrines summed up in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. and supplemented by Pius IX.), and unless he explains that he is using the word in its original sense, he is supposed to have stated nothing as to his positive beliefs. The speaker might be a Lutheran, an Anglican, an Independent, a Quaker, and would still call himself Protestant. This ambiguity, or rather, this limitation of the word to its negative signification, has caused some hesitation in the use of it, each religionist feeling that in saying that he is a Protestant he does not specify his own particular positive tenets and standing-ground. But the word, if it has shrunk somewhat in the extent of its signification by not now necessarily connoting Lutheranism, or Anglicanism, and if from another point of view it has enlarged its signification so as to embrace the various non-Romanist sects, is still a useful and wholesome word when properly employed, not, that is, as being in any way opposed to Catholic, when the latter term is used in its right sense—for we Protestants are members of the Holy Catholic Church, and hold the Catholic Faith—but as the contradictory of Papist. See Dr. Wace's valuable article in *Church and Faith*, which is full of information respecting the origin of Protestantism.

[F. M.]

A term which came into use at the German Imperial Diet of Spires, 1529, in the following circumstances. There had been a previous Diet at Spires in 1526, nine years after the Reform cause had been started by Luther, when the two parties were so evenly divided that a compromise was agreed on, and it was ruled that until the Emperor (then absent) returned to Germany, "each state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and the Emperor." This ruling, it was claimed, amounted to a temporary freedom of worship,[1] and was, as Robertson puts it, almost equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions.[2] Under this practical liberty the Reformation cause in Germany made great strides, creating much uneasiness in the papal party, which, by a vigorous effort, flocked to this second Diet at Spires, 1529, bent on carrying a decree which would re-establish their own supremacy as formerly. In the continued absence of the Emperor, his brother King Ferdinand, a strong papalist, presided, and a decree was proposed by which the tolerating clause of 1526 was greatly modified, for its entire abrogation was seen to be impossible. It would penalise all further innovations and all additional conversions, while tolerating those already made if their forcible suppression was seen to be dangerous to the public tranquility. Before the decree framed in that sense came to the vote, but while it was in debate, the reforming members of the Diet retired temporarily to a side apartment for a separate consultation, and drew up a declaration of their sentiments. It ran: "We protest and declare herewith openly before God as well as before all men,

[1] D'Aubigné, iv. 11, 12, ed. R.T.S.

[2] Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, ii. 252, ed. 1840.

that we, for us and for our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree in any thing that is contrary to God, to His Holy Word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls, and to the last decree of Spires."[1] Such was the original of the celebrated PROTEST made on April 19, 1529. It expressed a resolution to maintain their liberty of worship and doctrinal opinion, whereas the Diet was being asked to vote for what was in effect their gradual strangulation. On returning to the assembly they found the decree had been passed, nor could the president be induced to reopen the question. Finding themselves thus baffled, and determined not to yield the point, they continued their deliberations and drew up a statement more at large, embodying their first resolution in it, but accompanying this with a fuller account of their case, with documentary evidence to support it. This was their Protest in an expanded form to go before the whole nation in print and for all time. It bore the name of *Instrumentum Appellationis*, constituting their Appeal, which ended thus: "We therefore appeal for ourselves, for our subjects, and for all who receive or who shall hereafter receive the Word of God, from all past, present, or future vexatious measures, to his Imperial Majesty, and to a free and universal assembly of holy Christendom."[2] It was their protest in a legal form for public use, and its date was April 25, 1529, on which day (Sunday), it was solemnly signed and sealed by all the members of the Diet who were in agreement with it; and these were from that day known as *Protestantes*, PROTESTANTS. To one clause of this Appeal attention is to be particularly directed: "for all who receive, or who shall hereafter receive, the Word of God." Only such, therefore, are Protestants; and it is in vain that they are made, by those who seek to dishonour the name, to include infidels as well as Christians. The signatories were the following Princes, who, then or later, were joined by fourteen Imperial cities represented by their delegates at the Diet, viz., the elector John of Saxony, George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; the cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Issna, St. Gall, Weissenburg, Windsheim.[3] It should be noted that several of the Protesters at Spires were not Lutherans. Ranke remarks that sovereigns so considerable, especially in the north of Germany, cities so populous in the south and west, all united in opinion and in will, formed a body which commanded respect; they were determined to defend themselves with their combined strength against every attempt at compulsion on the part of the majority.[4] On May 6th, Melanchthon returned to Wittemberg from Spires deeply agitated, and firmly persuaded that the two parties were about to draw the sword.[5]

It would be a serious mistake to imagine that the Protest of Spires was a mere objection to Roman Catholic doctrines. The occasion did not require the Reformers to express that, however much they may have felt it; and, in fact, the protest in its ultimate form actually declared: "We form no judgment on that which concerns you, most dear Lords, and we are content to pray God daily that He will bring us all to unity and faith, in truth, charity, and holiness, through Jesus Christ our throne of grace and our only mediator."[6] But they were required to condemn themselves as unfit to be tolerated the moment the secular arm was strong enough to strike them down. They would not so dishonour their cause. [C. H.]

Note.—It ought also to be noted that the name "Protestant" was all along accepted in England after the Reformation as a name of the Established Religion as has been shown at great length by Rev. Charles Hole in his *Historical Review of the words Evangelical and Protestant*. Indeed the word was often used in contrast alike to "Puritan" and "Papist." [C. H. H. W.]

PROTHESIS is the Greek name for that which in the Greek Church is nearly akin to the Credence Table. It means the preparation Table on which the bread and wine are placed prior to consecration. The name is part of the Greek phrase used in the LXX. Version of the Old Testament for the table of the shewbread. See Wright's *Service of the Mass in Greek and Roman Churches*.

PSALTER OF THE VIRGIN, THE.—An adaptation of the Psalms of David for the worship of the Virgin Mary, made by Bonaventura, a saint of the Roman Church. This Psalter is nothing less than a blasphemous

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[1] D'Aubigné, iv. 60, ed. R.T.S.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 65 ed. 1846, R.T.S.; Ranke, iii. 176-77; Seckendorf, *Commentary on Lutheranism*, lib. ii. sec. 14, § xliv. p. 130, col. 2 (top), Leipzic, 1694.

[3] Gieseler, *Text-book*, 1868, Eng., vol. iv. 131, note 31; Ranke, *Hist. Ref.*, iii. 176; Robertson, *Charles V.*, ii. 253. Gieseler omits Duke Francis.

[4] Ranke, iii. 179.

[5] D'Aubigné, iv. 67. Ranke, iii. 185.

[6] D'Aubigné, iv. 58, ed. R.T.S.

alteration of the name of God, wherever it occurs, to that of the Virgin. The following are a few specimens, viz., Psalm i. 1, "Blessed is the man that loveth thy name, Virgin Mary, thy grace shall strengthen his heart." Psalm iii. 1, "Lady, how are they increased that trouble me; in thy wrath shalt thou persecute and scatter them." Psalm xxxiv. 1, "Unto thee, O Lady, will I lift up my soul: in the judgment of God, through thy prayer I shall not be afraid." Psalm cxlviii. 1, "Praise our Lady of heaven: praise her in the height." Verse 2, "Praise her Cherubim and Seraphim: Thrones and Dominions and Powers." Other unauthorised praises, adaptations of Scripture, the Te Deum, the Athanasian Creed, are included in this Psalter, *e.g.*, "For in the beauty of thy person, thou surpassest all women; thou excellest angels and archangels in the advancement of holiness." "Come unto her, all ye that labour and are heavy laden: and she will give rest unto your souls." "We praise thee, O Mother of God, we acknowledge thee, Virgin Mary. All the earth doth worship thee: the Spouse of the Everlasting Father." "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the right faith about Mary." See MARY, THE VIRGIN.

PSEUDO-ISIDORE.—See DECRETALS.

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT, 1874.—The short title of this Act is, perhaps, unfortunately chosen, as it does not "regulate public worship," but merely prescribes a certain procedure to be adopted where the law has been violated. It owed its origin to the Ritual Commissioners, who declared unanimously in their First Report that "it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of vesture from that which has been the long-established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an *easy and effectual process* for complaint and redress."

The Act was the direct outcome of this recommendation, but it failed to prove "effectual" for two reasons. The opponents of the Bill contrived to insert into it a power of veto on the part of the bishop of the diocese, with the result, in practice, that out of twenty-three representations under the Act, no fewer than seventeen were vetoed by the bishops. Strange to say, the reason assigned commonly was that litigation is in itself an evil, and ought to be avoided. Thus the very reason assigned by the Royal Commission (on which seven bishops sat), as well as the design of the legislature to provide an "easy" remedy, were both alike rendered abortive by the refusal of the bishops to administer the Act, or to permit others to avail themselves of it. A further reason for its want of success is found in the refusal of "the judge" to enforce his own decisions, so that in the Bell Cox case, after years of litigation, he positively refused to take further cognisance of the continued contumacy, and advised the promoter of the suit to commence a fresh action, owing to the length of time which had expired since the suit was commenced!

No law administered in that fashion is ever likely to receive much attention from law-breakers.

The Act provides an alternative process to that of the Church Discipline Act of 1840; but, of course, the person complained of cannot be proceeded against under *both* acts.

It does not apply to questions of doctrine or of crime, but merely to the introduction of illegal ornaments or decorations, or the illegal manner of bringing in ornaments, or the making unauthorised additions to, or alterations in, the fabric or furniture of the church. It deals also with ritual irregularities, and with variations from the prescribed services of the Church in the church or burial ground. Proceedings may be commenced by the archdeacon, or by a churchwarden, or by any three parishioners who, having for a twelvemonth previously resided in the parish, sign the prescribed form declaring themselves to be *bona fide* members of the Church of England. In the case of a cathedral, any three inhabitants of the diocese may institute proceedings, if similarly qualified. But as a faculty is not required for alterations in a cathedral, it is not easy to see how irregular action in respect of cathedral ornaments or decorations can be held in check, unless, of course, the thing so brought in is in itself essentially illegal. If the bishop chooses to veto any complaint, no relief can be obtained under this Act; but the bishop must publicly state his reasons. The following is a sample of the Episcopal reasoning in such cases.

In the case of Tedburn St. Mary the Bishop of Exeter filed in his registry the following "reason" for refusing to allow a law-breaker to be interfered with:—

"With regard to wafer bread, lighted candles on the holy table in the daytime, and the vestments complained of, I have stated to Mr. Tothill that they are, in my judgment, contrary to the laws and usages of the Church of England, and are therefore not only inexpedient, but wrong. I earnestly hope that the rector will yet see it his duty to submit to my admonition as his father in God. But in the present state of the law, I fear that prosecutions in the Courts on such matters of ritual, only aggravate the evils they are intended to suppress. (Signed) E. H. Exon."

If, however, justice is permitted to be done

the bishop may himself decide the case finally, if both parties agree to abide by his decision. But the precedent will not be binding upon others as regards any question of law involved. The parties may require the bishop to submit a special case drawn up by counsel for the opinion of the judge, in which case the bishop's judgment must be in conformity with that opinion. Such a speedy termination to the suit seldom or never happens, because the bishop, as fatherly adviser, has always been consulted by both sides in advance, and it is just because his "parental authority" has failed to satisfy one or both of the parties that they desire to have the matter adjudicated upon by an independent and trained judge. Unless, therefore, they both signify their consents within twenty-one days, the bishop is bound to send on the representation to the archbishop of the Province, who is to forthwith require the judge to hear the matter. The judge thereupon requires the party making the representation to give security for costs, after which he gives notice to both the parties of the date and place of the hearing. Within twenty-one days after such notice the defendant is to furnish, in writing, his answer to the representation. At the hearing, the evidence is taken *viva voce*, and the Court has all the powers of a judge of the High Court as to enforcing the attendance of witnesses, and the production of documents. The judge then issues such a monition as he deems suitable, and makes an order as to payment of costs. An appeal lies to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, with a view to which the judge will state the facts proved before him in the form of a special case, unless the parties agree beforehand to employ a shorthand writer to report the evidence. The judge under this Act combines the powers and functions of the Official Principals of both the archbishops, and is also the Master of the Faculties. He must be a member of the Church of England, and is appointed jointly by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, subject to the approval of the sovereign signified by the royal sign-manual. Should the two archbishops neglect for six months to fill up a vacancy in the office, the Crown appoints the judge by Letters patent (Whitehead's *Church Law*). [J. T. T.]

PURGATORY.—A supposed place of suffering after death, where souls are imagined to endure pains in fire equal in intensity to hell-fire, until they have satisfied the justice of God by working out their uncompleted penances which had been assigned them by their confessors.

In the middle of the third century it occurred to Origen, among other imaginations, probably after reading Plato's account of the future world, that on the Last Day there might be a vast conflagration, and that the soul of all mankind, dead and alive, might pass through this fire, in going to present themselves before the tribunal of God, and might be purified in the process, so as to appear less unworthily before their Judge. He little thought that this fancy of his would become the foundation of what amounts in practice to the most popular tenet of a new religion of which he knew nothing. The idea was taken up by Hilary and others as an interesting speculation, just as we might speculate on the number and order of angelic beings, or any other point not affecting practice, which we may believe or not as we please. In the fifth century Augustine, quoting in his *De Civitate Dei* Virgil's account of the sufferings of the wicked in the next life, which probably gave him the idea, suggested that if there were such a fire at all, about which he knew nothing, but which the expression "saved so as by fire" seemed to him possibly to indicate, it was "not incredible" and was "worth inquiry" whether it might not take place *before* the Last Day. That forms step No. 2 in the growth of what became a doctrine. The third step is due to Gregory I., if he is indeed the author of the silly book called *Dialogues;* but there are a number of works attributed to him which are not genuine, and for his credit's sake we may hope that the *Dialogues* is one of them. It contains visions of departed souls in suffering, though not lost for ever. From this time forward—the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century—the theory of a Purgatory may be said to have had a substantive existence. But it required two more steps before it came to bear any real similarity to the tenet now held under that name, and before its graver evils manifested themselves. These were its conjunction with (1) the practice of Masses for the dead; (2) Indulgences.

From the earliest times there were held Memorial Services (such as have of late been introduced among ourselves), and panegyrical addresses were made, on the occasion of the death of a martyr or any well-known champion of the faith. Their object was not to benefit the dead in another state of existence, but to commemorate them on earth, and to hold up their good examples as worthy to be followed by others. Then after a time the question was asked, Where are the dead whom we thus commemorate—where are all those who have died in the Lord? The answer, long before any sort of Purgatory had been dreamed of, was that they were resting in the Paradise of God, like the penitent thief, awaiting the final consummation of their bliss on the Last Day. Could our prayers on earth benefit them in this happy

resting-place? Who could tell? Who could say that they would? Who could say for certain that they would not? And so there grew up a practice of commending the blessed dead to the mercy of God, and hoping that some unknown good might accrue to them from such commendation. All this without a thought of their suffering pain, or of their pain being lightened by such aspirations.

Then came the tenet of Purgatory. If souls really had to go through this state of burning into which Origen's Platonic fancy had developed by the seventh century, might not these prayers or commemorations avail them in it? Had not, in fact, the poor girl Perpetua, while being tortured to death, dreamed (if the acts of her martyrdom be genuine) that her prayers had changed the state of her dead brother from punishment to refreshment? Might not her dream have been true, and might not other people's prayers have like effect? And as the idea of the Lord's Supper became changed from being primarily a sacrament to being a sacrifice, might not the offering of that sacrifice with the intention of benefiting the dead be more acceptable than the prayers of individuals? Thus grew up a belief in the advantages to be derived from Masses for the dead. And that belief was easily encouraged by the priesthood, for it put them in the position of being arbiters and masters of the fate of the laity. They could grant a Mass or withhold it. The effect of granting it would be that the soul would be tormented in the fire for a shorter time—how much shorter was not defined—and the relatives of the beloved dead poured money into the hands of the priest to shorten it more and more by more and more Masses. Each Mass had its price. At the present day the price in England is five shillings, or to the poor half-a-crown; abroad it is generally ninepence, and the Mass priest lives on his ninepence a day thus earned. Philip IV. of Spain left by will £100,000 to be expended in Masses for getting him quickly out of Purgatory. "Such facility they have," says Hooker, "to convert a pretended sacrament into a true revenue" (*Eccl. Pol.*, vi. 9).

And this was not all. For in the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas ingeniously constructed a spiritual treasure-house for the Pope, and in this treasure-house are stored up (1) the supererogatory merits of saints who did more good works than they need have done; (2) the supererogatory merits of St. Mary; (3) if required to supplement the store, the merits of Christ; (4) the merits accruing from any Masses said without special intention to benefit a given person or cause. And the key of this treasure-house is laid in the hands of the Pope, who may distribute its contents as he pleases. The way in which he distributes them is this: he gives notice that any one who will help him in doing any piece of work that he has in hand, whether it be building a church (as on Montmartre), or killing a heretical king or queen (as Elizabeth), or holding a jubilee (as in 1900), shall have such a share of the merits which he has to give away, as shall excuse him all the penances that he has to do on earth, and all the suffering that he would have to undergo in Purgatory. More still, the merits thus handed over to him shall not only save himself from the fire, but he may apply them to those who are already in the flames, and get them clean out on the spot, or if the Pope's gift has not been bountiful enough for that, he may shorten their sufferings by the equivalent in Purgatory of as many years as have been granted by the Indulgence.

This is the doctrine of Indulgences; and it will be seen at once how enormously this thirteenth-century tenet must have affected the doctrine of Purgatory and added to its importance. For now there is a second process, besides Masses for the dead, by which a deceased parent, or child, or a man himself, can be delivered from the flames. And to one or other of these processes, to buying Masses or to earning Indulgences, every believer in Purgatory, not destitute of good feeling for others or care for his own welfare, must devote himself.

There is yet another still more modern doctrine which affects the doctrine of Purgatory. This is the doctrine of Scapulars. Any one who dies wearing the Carmelite Scapular (a little piece of woollen cloth), or having it by him on his bed, is thereby made safe from hell, and is secure, on the testimony of half-a-dozen Popes, of being taken out of Purgatory on the Saturday after his death, when St. Mary, who has been made Empress of Purgatory during the past century, pays her weekly visit to her dominion with her Prime Minister Michael.

Now when we think (1) that there is no such place at all as Purgatory, (2) that therefore Masses for the dead are idle words tossed to the winds, (3) that no man can lay up merit before God, (4) that *a fortiori* no man can lay up more merit than he needs for himself, (5) that no man can transfer the merits of one to another, (6) that therefore Indulgences are frauds and delusions, (7) that wearing a bit of cloth cannot so affect the fate of a soul as to deliver it from hell and torments; and yet that all these things have to be accepted, if not believed, by educated Roman Catholics, and that they mould the daily life of unlettered Roman Catholics, we see how different the modern

Roman Catholic faith is from the Christian religion on points of the utmost concern to every soul of man. The Oriental Church has held aloof from the system from the beginning, and Protestants repudiated it in the sixteenth century.

Scriptural authority for the tenet of Purgatory there is none. A passage which has been brought forward as confirming it is 1 Cor. iii. 10–15. Any one who carefully reads that chapter will at once see that it has nothing whatever to do with the subject. In it St. Paul represents himself as a wise master-builder, who has laid the foundation of the Christian faith. That foundation is Jesus Christ, and there can be no other. But the inquisitive Greek teachers at Corinth were adding to that which St. Paul had taught, and this he describes as "building upon" the foundation that he had laid. It was a dangerous thing to do. What they "built upon" the foundation, that is, their added doctrines might be sound and good, and then they would bear the test of the Last Day's trial, as gold and silver bear the test of fire. But the new building might be flimsy and good for nothing, and then it would not bear the test, any more than wood, hay, or stubble would bear the test of fire. If it were sound and good, then the teachers would earn a reward for their labour; if flimsy and good for nothing it would disappear in the trial of the Last Day like wood, hay, and stubble in a fire. But in the latter case the teachers would be themselves saved because they had not deserted the foundation, yet they would be saved "so as by fire," or, as St. Jude says, "pulled out of the fire" which consumed their vain additions to the faith. Thus we may conceive that a good Roman Catholic priest may be saved through his having held to the foundation, while all the human traditions which he had been teaching are consumed and perish before his eyes in the blaze of God's displeasure, as wood, hay, and stubble are destroyed by natural fire. What has this to do with Purgatory? It is not men that are tortured, but false doctrines that are annihilated; and it is only of superstitious teachers, not of mankind in general, that the apostle speaks. From beginning to end the doctrine is not scriptural but pagan. See Dr. Wright's *Intermediate State.*

[F. M.]

The Council of Trent, in its 25th Session, declared that there is a Purgatory, and that "souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar." The Council did not then define the nature of the purgatorial torment, but the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* did, saying, "Moreover, there is a purgatorial fire in which the souls of the pious, tormented for a definite period, make expiation, that an entrance may be opened for them into the eternal country in which nothing defiled can enter." The doctrine has been amplified by Roman theologians, *e.g.* "What goes on in Purgatory? Men are burnt in a great fire kindled by divine justice. They love God, yet are punished by God. They desire to see Him, and cannot; they expect the moment for going into Paradise, and know not when it will arrive. They suffer torments much greater than all the torments of the world, but by force, without merit, and without recompense" (*Month of Mary*, Father Muzzarelli, p. 74. Burns & Oates, London, 1849). Again, St. Thomas Aquinas is quoted: "It is the same fire which torments the just in Purgatory and the damned in hell" (*Two Ancient Treatises on Purgatory*, by Revs. Father J. Mumford, S.J., and Father R. Thimelby, S.J., p. 4. Burns & Oates, London, 1893). The same volume informs us (p. 135), "It clearly follows that the furious fits of the stone fever, or raging gout, the tormenting colic, with all the horrible convulsions of the worst diseases, nay, though you join racks, gridirons, boiling oil, wild beasts, and a hundred horses drawing several ways and tearing one limb from another, with all the hellish devices of the most barbarous and cruel tyrants, all this does not reach the least part of the mildest pains in Purgatory."

The time assigned to Purgatory varies with the Roman theologians. One author put the extreme limit at ten years, but he was condemned by Pope Alexander VII. (*Month of the Dead*, p. 64, by Abbé Cloquet. New York, 1886). Cardinal Bellarmine says, "There are souls condemned to burn in Purgatory till the Day of Judgment" (*Idem*). Father Muzzarelli thus pleasantly computes the period, "Let us give to each venial sin one day in Purgatory, and suppose that each day you commit thirty faults. Therefore, to every day of your life 30 days in Purgatory will answer; to every year 30 years; to fifty, 1500 years; to sixty, 1800. Immortal God, what an astonishing payment! Add to the venial sins some mortal sin, absolved indeed, as far as the guilt goes, but not paid for entirely as far as the punishment goes. How many other centuries of years in Purgatory!" (*Month of Mary*, p. 75).

With regard to release from Purgatory, the power of the Virgin Mary is held to be great. "Whosoever in the state of grace shall say seven prayers before the crucifix, and seven Pater Nosters, and seven Ave Marias, shall obtain 56,000 years' pardon!!" (*Hours of the Blessed Virgin*). It is also asserted that

on the day of the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven, Purgatory was entirely emptied (*Glories of Mary*, by St. Alphonsus di Liguori, vol. i. pp. 236, 237. New York, 1887).

The texts quoted by Romanists in support of their tenet of Purgatory are: (1) Matt. v. 25, 26, really speaks of the duty of our forgiveness of our fellow-men, and has nothing to do with Purgatory. Moreover, Romanists have no right to argue from that text, because the Fathers are not unanimous as to its meaning. (2) Matt. xii. 32 contains our Lord's declaration that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable. Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, has given numerous quotations showing that "this world" in the phraseology of our Lord's day meant "the times prior to Messiah's coming," and by the "world to come" was signified "the times of the Messiah," who was to bring in "the time of reformation" (Heb. ix. 10). "The world to come" is so used in Heb. ii. 5 and vi. 5. Such is the probable explanation of our Lord's words in Matt. xii. 32. Hence they do not prove Purgatory. (3) 1 Cor. iii. 13. In this text St. Paul speaks of the fire of *judgment* at Christ's return, to be applied to the work of ministers. Every man's *work* will be tested by the number of souls brought to Christ, as such are "the seals" of the Christian ministry. Here, again, nothing whatever to do with Purgatory. On the interpretation of that passage also the Fathers are divided. (4) The question of prayers for the dead is mixed up with that of Purgatory, and in support of the latter importance is attached by Romanists to a passage in 2 Macc. xii. 43, 44. See PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD. Even according to Rome's own doctrine this could in no case prove a Purgatory, for those who fell, as there recorded, died in the *mortal* sin of idolatry, and could, therefore, on Romish principles, never enter Purgatory. Holy Scripture is opposed to the doctrine. All those passages that teach the complete justification of the believer, and his freedom from guilt, may be cited. Such are the following: Isa. liii. 5, 6; Rom. viii. 1, 33, 34; Col. ii. 13; 1 John i. 7; Luke xxiii. 42; 2 Cor. v. 1, 8; Phil. i. 21, 23; Rev. xiv. 13.

Early in the third century Tertullian is considered by Rome to have entertained the idea of Purgatory in his treatise *De Anima*, but it is questionable whether he meant anything of the kind, and he says he derived his teaching from Montanus. See MONTANISM. Between the time of Tertullian and Augustine, all the statements which have been supposed to favour Purgatory arise from Origen's interpretation of 1 Cor. iii. 13–15, and imply a belief not in Purgatory, but in a fiery ordeal at the Day of Judgment, through which all were supposed to pass, which will purify the righteous but consume the wicked. St. Augustine himself merely alleges a possible purging by fire after death as a *not improbable conjecture* (*De Civit. Dei*, xxi. 26, tom. vii. p. 649). That doctrine, then, was evidently a novelty in Augustine's day. It was not until a century and a half later that Pope Gregory I. distinctly laid down that "there is a purgatorial fire before the judgment for lighter faults" (Gregor. *Dial.*, lib. iv. cap. 30). In 1439, several Italian bishops met at Florence, being joined by the Greek emperor and some bishops from the East. This synod (for it was, of course, no Œcumenical Council) acknowledged that the Bishop of Rome was the primate and head of the Church, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, and that there is a Purgatory. The Greek bishops, however, were received with great indignation on returning to Constantinople, and the Eastern Church has never to this day acknowledged those three points. Such is the history of this doctrine prior to the authoritative declaration of the Council of Trent in 1563.

The weakness and inconsistency of the position of the Roman Church in regard to Purgatory, is evident from the following considerations: (1) If God cleanses and purifies souls in the purgatorial fire, then, to take them out of Purgatory before God would do so, to shorten their time there, as the Church of Rome professes to be able to do, must be bad for those souls, unless Rome is wiser than God Himself. (2) The Book of Wisdom, which the Roman Church includes in the canon of inspired Scripture, declares (iii. 1–3), "the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and *there shall no torment touch them . . . but they are in peace.*" (3) The souls in Purgatory are, according to Rome, *justified* souls, "holy souls," and yet are considered to be pursued by the *wrath* and *anger* and *vengeance* of God (see Cardinal Wiseman's *Lectures*, ii.). (4) The sins punished in Purgatory are venial sins. But venial sins are so trifling that they need not be confessed at all, even before communicating. Consequently, God visits with wrath and indignation what the Church considers as not really sins. (5) The right to grant Indulgences is, says the Romish Church, part of "the power of the keys," by which sins are remitted or retained. But if there be a Purgatory, then "the power of the keys" is indeed a shadowy power, for after absolution has been pronounced, a temporal penalty still remains to be endured.

The evil effects of the doctrine are apparent. It robs the Christian of comfort in the prospect of the "rest which remaineth to the people of God" after death. The doctrine of purgatorial torture is a chief factor in maintaining the power of the Romish priesthood, for only through the priests can relief be gained from the dreaded torments. But what a satire is it upon Rome's system that the priest at the "altar" has this power, and yet refuses to exercise it *until he is paid!* The Church of England well affirms in the XXIInd Article: "The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory . . . is a fond (*i.e.* foolish) thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God." See REVELATIONS, MODERN. [M. E. W. J.]

PURITANISM (English).—I. Puritanism, considered ideally, might be described as simply the effort to rid the Church of elements foreign to its true faith and order. In this sense it is coeval with Christianity; stands, in fact, for the general movement of the Protestant temper, whether its representative be St. Paul, or Wycliffe, or Luther. But, considered as something specifically English, it was a product of Henry VIII.'s "imperfect Reformation," and describes the movement which sought to make the Church's severance from Rome and her return to a primitive pattern more complete.

Bishop Hooper (1550), who submitted for a time to imprisonment in the Fleet rather than let himself be consecrated (to the See of Gloucester) in "the old Pontifical Habits," is usually instanced as the first Puritan.[1] His lineal successors may be found, perhaps, in those "exiles" who fled to the Continent during Mary's reign, and came back at the beginning of Elizabeth's with a strong preference for the Calvinistic discipline which they had seen in full swing at Geneva or Zurich.

An attempt to set this up instead of the Book of Common Prayer had already led to "The Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, Anno Domini 1554."[2] Returning to what many of them hoped would be a "fair field for Reformation," the exiles were confronted with a compromise—a compromise which may have been the dictate of political wisdom, but which, to such idealists, had a look of timorous folly. Nor did they stand alone. There was, indeed, good ground for the statement that at first the feeling among the English divines in favour of completing the Reformation of the Church so as to bring her ceremonies and ritual into closer accordance with those of the Calvinistic Churches, was all but universal. But the Act of Uniformity (1559) made it clear that the Queen had no mind to tolerate deviations from the prescribed order; and the Act of Supremacy—passed a short time before—gave unlimited power to carry her will into effect.

Puritanism,[3] strictly so called, was the result. It traversed two stages under Elizabeth; one, which extended over the first seven or eight years of her reign, had reference mainly to externals, "matters of ritual and apparel, the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling for the reception of the Holy Communion, the use of the ring in marriage, the wearing of the surplice in church, and of the square cap and tippet out of church."[4] During this period, the refusal of concession on such points became increasingly strict. Archbishop Parker's "Articles"—called later "the Advertisements" (1566), required the bishops to enforce them absolutely. Many ministers, in consequence, were deprived of their licences, and suspended from preaching.[5]

Next to London, Cambridge showed itself the centre of resistance, and among the heads of colleges there who petitioned for a milder procedure was John Whitgift.[6] Coercion bore its natural fruit. The Puritan revolt grew deeper and stronger, issuing in a conflict no longer about "vestments" merely, but about the Church's "constitution." This was the second stage, and it brings Puritanism before us under three progressive phases[7] which may be called the Conformist, the Non-Conformist, and the Separatist—the first represented by those who "avoided as many of the objectionable

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, chap. xvii.

[2] The *Phœnix Tracts*, vol. ii.

[3] For an account of the name, see Paget's *Introduction to Hooker*, Book v. (pp. 10–14). *Cf.* Camden, *Annales*, p. 132. In *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xviii. § 45, Sir Francis Englefield writes (April ⅔⅔, 1570) to the Duchess of Feria that "the Catholics condemn us (*i.e.* the Louvainists) as too severe and scrupulous, and call us the Puritans of the Catholics."

[4] Paget, *ibid.* p. 18. See Prothero's *Select Statutes*, p. 191, for Puritan demands in 1563. These were defeated in Lower House of Convocation by only one vote.

[5] See Strype's *Life of Parker*—

Book ii. cap. 22, 23	Case of Sampson and Humphrey.
„ iii. „ i.	
„ iii. „ ix.	Case of London ministers and "Advertisements."
ii. „ xx.	

[6] Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, Book i. cap. 2, (1565).

[7] To be carefully distinguished.

ceremonies as they could by accepting the office of lecturers and of chaplains in private families, which did not involve parochial duty or the necessity of reading every part of the liturgy;"[1] the second represented by those who, avowing their adhesion to what became known as the "Holy Discipline," endeavoured to set it up within the established Church despite laws to the contrary; the third, represented by men like Robert Browne, Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, who, agreeing with the latter in essentials, realised that they could not consistently remain inside the Church. The second, or Presbyterian party, were the Puritans proper, and, as such, are our present concern. Their attitude in 1570 may be gathered from the six propositions which their boldest leader, Thomas Cartwright—Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge—is said to have set down and subscribed with his own hand, viz.,[2] "The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished as having no foundation in Scripture; the offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, viz., bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical constitution—the bishops to preach the Word of God and pray, the deacons to take care of the poor; the Government of the Church ought not to be entrusted with bishops' chancellors or the officials of archdeacons, but every church should be governed by its own ministers and presbyters; ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain flock; nobody should ask or stand as a candidate for the ministry; bishops should not be created by civil authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the Church." A manifesto to similar effect—"so eagerly read that it went through four editions before the end of 1572"—was the *First Admonition to Parliament*, followed soon afterwards by a *Second Admonition*, which differed from the first only in this respect, that whereas the former set forth what should be reformed, the latter told how the work of Reformation should proceed. Of the latter, Cartwright was the direct author. Two years later a more scholarly presentation of the Presbyterian scheme appeared both in Latin and English, the English being entitled: *A Full and Plaine Declaration off Ecclesiasticall Discipline owt off the Word off God, and off the declininge off the Churche off England from the same.*[3] Though anonymous, there is no doubt that it came from the pen of Walter Travers, a man second only to Cartwright in eminence among the Puritans, and his equal in learning. Cartwright, however, wrote the preface, and is credited with the translation. He had a hand also in another document named *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra, Ex Dei Verbo Descripta*, or *A Draught off Discipline, essentiall and necessarie for all Time*, which, even more than the two *Admonitions* and the *Explicatio*, became a standard authority, and deserves to be styled *The Palladium of English Presbyterianism.*[4] These expositions of the discipline were accompanied by attempts to embody it in practice.

1572 saw the first English Presbytery organised at Wandsworth (in Surrey). About 1587 the whole of Northamptonshire was secretly divided into three "classes." The "device" "spread itself" to other parts of England, especially Warwickshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, &c. Throughout the country, indeed, a steady endeavour was going on "to draw the affections and hope of men and women in all classes towards the Puritan discipline and worship, and secretly to introduce into the existing structure of the Church as much as possible of the Puritan system."[5] There seemed good hope of success. In London and elsewhere a large proportion of the laity were Puritanical, and shunned the services of the compliant minister who was willing to do the bishop's bidding, with almost as much horror as those of a Papist. The Puritans were strong in Parliament and had sympathisers in the Privy Council. One sign of their popularity may be seen in the ease with which the religious exercises known as Prophesyings—though having originally little or no relation to the Puritan scheme—became a welcomed medium of Puritan influence to the crowds that frequented them. See PROPHESYINGS.

Another sign, of later date, may be discerned in the eager reception and wide circulation of the *Marprelate Tracts* (1588–89), which were violently Puritan; and the strength of Puritanism among the clergy may be inferred from the fact (*e.g.*) that above 500,[6] all beneficed in

[1] Tayler's *Retrospect of the Religious Life of England*, 2nd edit. p. 201.

[2] Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, Book ii. App. ix. p. 11 (Latin). *Cf.* Chark's Propositions (1572), Dering's (1573), Sampson's (1574) (Prothero's *Select Statutes*, 196, 197).

[3] For particulars, see Paget, p. 54 *ff.*, who says, "it is a grave blunder" to identify it with the document "published by authority" in 1644 and entitled, *A Directory of Government.*

[4] This is the work a copy of which was found in the study of T. Cartwright after his death, and made the basis of the *Directory of Church Government.* See previous note and Paget, pp. 69–75.

[5] Paget, p. 63. See Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, chaps. iii. v. vi.; Neal, i. 303–5.

[6] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 423.

the Church of England, useful preachers and of unspotted character, pledged themselves, by all lawful means, to further and advance the Holy Discipline. But the Queen happened to be of a contrary mind. She would tolerate no Puritan interference with her supremacy on the part of the House of Commons. She put down the "Prophesyings" (1577) as being "an implement of the Puritan agitation;" and suspended Grindal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his brave remonstrance.[1] She chose his successor, John Whitgift (1583), chiefly because of his known and keen hostility to Puritanism, and charged him "to restore the discipline of the Church and the uniformity established by law, which through the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some noblemen is run out of square."[2] With what alacrity the archbishop answered to the spur, there is no need to show. We may mention only his "Articles touching preachers and other orders for the Church;"[3] his relentless application of the powers vested in an extended "High Commission Court" — including the *ex officio* oath; and the terrible Act of 1593, due largely to his instigation, which brought to a head "the measures taken by Elizabeth to repress Puritanism."[4] This policy of sternness, backed up by the unfailing support of the Queen, and assisted by men like Aylmer, Bishop of London, of course wrought great suffering. Nearly all the prominent Puritans underwent imprisonment, or were "followed with innumerable vexations."[5] But, confessedly, the Church paid dearly for the archbishop's success. "A third part of the ministers of England were covered with a cloud of suspensions." Hence it came to pass that after the Church had been established twenty-eight years, there were only 2000 preachers to some 10,000 parish churches, and "if persons would hear a sermon they must go, in some places, five, seven, twelve—yea, in some counties twenty miles;"[6] while in not a few parishes where there was a minister, he was of the sort who "could only struggle through the service;" who "never preached, but read perhaps four purchased sermons in the course of the year, and disgraced his office by the example of a vicious life." It was this state of things which "gave the Puritan appeal a strength that even the ribald violence of some among its supporters could not countervail."[7]

II. Yet, in the last days of Elizabeth, Puritanism, though widespread as an influence, lost ground so far as it was identified with the "Holy Discipline"—a result due partly to the increasing hold of the established Order on a younger generation who had grown up under its shadow; partly to the majestic defence of this order by Hooker; partly to the recoil of some of the Puritans themselves from the logic of their position as exemplified in the "detested" Separatists; partly to weariness of an unequal conflict; partly to the hopes of a peaceful settlement at the hands of a "Presbyterian" sovereign. In fact, had James met the Puritans in a conciliatory spirit, it seems as if he might easily have won the great bulk of them for the Church. Those who signed[8] the Millenary Petition were all "Conformists" on the whole; and so far from "affecting a popular parity in the Church," desired rather a mitigation than an abolition of Episcopacy and only asked for the redress of particular grievances. How they fared in the Hampton Court Conference (Jan. 1604) is a trite story. Nothing was conceded to them of any consequence; and they heard the king threaten that unless they conformed in all points he would "harry them out of the land." Thus the controversy had no chance of sleeping—with an Archbishop Bancroft at the king's ear, it became inevitably a war to the knife.[9] There were some things especially which tended both to embitter the Puritan temper and widen its range. There was, *e.g.* the king's arbitrary political action; his practical desertion of Calvinism[10] in favour of Arminian divines; the scandalous moral laxity of his court. What touched them still more nearly was the publication of a *Book of Sports* (May 1618), which, besides enjoining every one to attend the whole divine service at his own parish church, authorised the usual popular games and recreations in the latter part of the Lord's Day. But, perhaps, what did most to sting,

[1] See Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 372 *ff.*, and Appendix i.; also Prothero, 202–6.

[2] Neal, i. 348. Camden's *Annales;* Prothero, p. 210.

[3] Oct. 1583. Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of the Church of England*, lxxxiv.; *cf.* Prothero, 211, 213.

[4] Gee and Hardy, *ibid.*, lxxxvi.

[5] Neal, i. p. 413. [6] *Ibid*, i. 417–18.

[7] Paget, p. 77.

[8] It was not actually signed by any one; and the number of "Petitioners" seems to have been 750 (see Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 148 *note*).

[9] Gardiner, vol. i. chap. iii.; *cf.* Prothero, pp. 413, 416, 420, 421.

[10] Calvinism had never been confined to the Puritans, it was "the common faith" of the Church. James himself was a Calvinist. But his inconsistent action led to Arminianism becoming a sign of the "good" Churchman, and Calvinism of the Puritan.

and spread, the Puritan spirit was the king's "Spanish Policy," which meant the triumph of the Catholic League in Germany, and seemed to threaten the overthrow of Protestantism in England. Never had the "cause," which of all causes was most sacred to the Puritan—the cause of Reformation against Rome—looked more forlorn than it did in the first years of James. A "Catholic" reaction, which began even before the defeat of the Armada, had grown and strengthened until it appeared likely to sweep all before it. Holland and England—England chiefly—were fast becoming the last refuge of the faith espoused so mightily by Luther and Calvin. Spain on the other hand, stood for that faith's deadliest foe. And James, for ends of his own, sought an alliance with Spain! Thus the Palatinate was lost; the Thirty Years' War precipitated; the Catholics at home emboldened; and the keenest possible insult dealt to the national temper, which, in this point was almost entirely Puritan.

III. Charles pursued the general policy of his father with a tenacity of which his father was incapable. He aimed to be absolute in the State, and to make the bishops absolute in the Church. The doctrine of divine right, alike in his own case and theirs, was a part of his inheritance. "Unbroken episcopal succession and hereditary regal succession were," with James, "the inviolable bases of Church and State. The two systems confirmed and supported each other. 'No bishop, no king,'" ran the famous formula which embodied the king's theory. Charles accepted this theory conscientiously, and consistently acted upon it. His entire belief in himself and Episcopacy is the key to much in his conduct, and redeems it from meanness. But though it, and its corollary Passive Obedience, found advocates more than enough among the High Church clergy, it had fatal effects. It made the Puritans realise more and more that they were summoned of God in the defence of civil and religious freedom. With what passionate intensity many gave themselves to their great task, the course of events which led up to the Church's downfall and the king's death remains to show. For a time, however, the battle went against them. It was in vain that the House of Commons passed its "Petition of Right" (1628), or adopted "Resolutions on Religion" (Feb. 24, 1629), or issued a "Protestation" (March 3, 1629), declaring any one "a capital enemy to this kingdom" who "shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce Popery, or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church."[1]

[1] Gee and Hardy, xcii.

When the king could not rule his Parliament, he proceeded to rule without it, and for eleven years the nation was set to learn by heart the meaning of despotism. He had excellent instruments at command — two pre-eminently — Thomas Wentworth for State affairs, and William Laud for affairs ecclesiastical. Both adopted the principle of "Thorough," and both achieved a notable degree of success. As regards the archbishop, even his bitterest critics must admit that he was sincere, that he knew his own mind, and that he worked towards his end with the unflinching zeal of a fanatic. But to the Puritans the end he had in view was hateful. They conceived religion to be a purely spiritual experience, based on immediate fellowship with God, and expressed in the simple forms of worship sanctioned by the New Testament alone. So to reform the Church as to bring it back to this—the kernel of religion—had been "the grand concern" of the Protestantism which they loved. Yet here was the chief minister of a Reformed Church striving his utmost to undo the reforms already obtained: repudiating the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches of the Continent because their ministers were not in the episcopal succession; enforcing conformity on refugee Protestants, as well as on all native ministers, in every detail of his Anglican ritual; turning the table of the Supper into an altar, and entrenching it in a so-called "Holy of Holies"; transforming the officiating minister into a sacrificing priest; bedecking him with surplice and cope; reinstating the crucifix; compelling the worshipper to kneel for communion, to bow toward the altar, to cross himself; advocating auricular confession and prayers for the dead—all with the undisguised intention to prepare the Church of England for reunion with Rome, "by raising it to a higher standard of Catholic feeling and Catholic practice."[2] No wonder the antagonism waxed ever more stubborn, and, having behind it some "nine-tenths of the English people," it could hardly fail to triumph in the end. But Laud did not measure difficulties. Puritan "scruples" were something to be crushed, and he was the man to crush them. What he did in this direction is a story too familiar for recital. He seemed to have the Puritans utterly at his mercy. Fines, deprivations, suspensions, imprisonments, mutilations, were of constant occurrence. He silenced favourite Puritan lecturers as well as regular ministers; he forbade country

[2] See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1633 and onwards (*passim*) for Laud and his doings; a good synoptical account of him is given in preface to the vol. for 1633–34, pp. 12–24.

gentlemen to keep private chaplains lest a Puritan should be among them; he suppressed the "feoffees" who were entrusted with the means of securing "a succession of Protestant ministers in the parishes of which they were patrons;" he prohibited the importation of Geneva Bibles because their marginal notes savoured of Calvinism; he forced a Lord Chief Justice to recant his words against the "Book of Sports," and ordered every incumbent to read to his people the king's declaration in its favour. Thousands deemed the situation hopeless—at least without civil war—and escaped (some) to the Continent, or (the great majority),[1] to New England, though Laud tried to prevent even this. But, in fact, the stars in their courses were fighting for the Puritan cause. Looking back, it is clear that Laud, no less than Wentworth and the king, was building on the sand; and that the forces which swept away his pretentious edifice in the Parliament of 1640 were irresistible. Anyhow, the catastrophe came.

IV. In its first Acts—Acts really conservative and designed to reverse Laud's policy—Parliament was practically unanimous; was, indeed, unanimously Puritan. Even the Lords agreed in declaring that the "wholesome order" of the Church, upset by Laud, must be restored, "and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to Law."[2] But ere long the fact emerged, which ought to be carefully noted, that there were Puritans and Puritans. By far the greater number of Puritans in both Houses were Episcopalian—anxious to restrain the power of the bishops, not at all anxious for their abolition; nor in any degree adverse to the Liturgy and discipline of the Church as by law established. Even "King" Pym and his adherents, who passed the Grand Remonstrance (Nov. 22, 1641), intended no more than (§ 184) "to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves . . . that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions." There was, however, from the first, a vigorous minority eager for extreme measures. There were thorough-going Presbyterians who objected on conscientious grounds to even a modified episcopacy; there were also thorough-going Independents who maintained the divine right of congregations only. To these, "the Root and Branch Petition" (Dec. 11, 1640) was acceptable, and by these the abortive Bill of that name (May 1641) was ardently supported. Held in check for a time, their opportunity arose through the bishops' own folly[3] and the king's self-will.[4] Thereupon came the Civil War; the enforced alliance of Parliament with the Scots; the Solemn League and Covenant;"[5] the Westminster Assembly (1643–47), with its "Directory of Worship" instead of the old Prayer Book,[6] and, finally, that triumph of the army which cut short once for all the intolerant hopes of Presbyterianism in England, and enthroned for ten years the genuine type of developed Puritanism in Cromwell.[7]

V. Glancing, now, at Puritanism during this period of its ascendancy, we may note the following facts:—

It was not inconsistent with a civil establishment and maintenance of the Church. Some, like Milton, were pure Voluntaryists; and the Convention known as the Little, or Barebones Parliament (July 4 to Dec. 13, 1653), consisting mostly of Independents, passed a Resolution[8] "that the power of patrons to present to benefices shall from henceforth be taken away, and that a Bill be brought in for that purpose." But the prevalent attitude, and Cromwell's in particular, was reflected rather in the Instrument of Government,[9] which declared that the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as may be, a provision less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers . . ."

(2) It aimed strenuously at the furtherance of true religion and godliness of life. Proof of this appears in repeated schemes for the propagation of the Gospel in England and Wales.[10] Witness, too, the "Commission of Triers" (March 20, 1654) "for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to

[1] Green, *Short History*, p. 499. "In the space of ten or eleven years 20,000 Englishmen . found refuge in the West." For details of the first Puritan settlements in New England see Punchard's *History of Congregationalism*, vol. iv. —especially chaps. ii. iii. xx.

[2] Sept. 9, 1641. Gee and Hardy, cl.; *cf.* xcvii.–cv.

[3] Bishops' "Protestation," Dec. 1641.

[4] Attempted arrest of the "five members," Jan. 3, 1642.

[5] Taken by the Commons, Sept. 25, 1643; by the Lords, Oct. 15; on Feb. 5, 1644, universally imposed upon all Englishmen over eighteen years of age.

[6] Enforced by Parliamentary ordinance, Aug. 23, 1645.

[7] See Masson's *Milton*, vol. iii. *passim*.

[8] Nov. 17, 1653.

[9] Dec. 16, 1653.

[10] See Summary in Shaw's *Hist. of the English Church*, 1640–60, ii. 80–82, *note*.

1 the Gospel." And as to the general of these latter, the somewhat reluctant ıony of Baxter (*inter alios*) can be cited t "to give them their due, they did abun- of good in the Church. They saved a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, :en teachers . . . and in their stead admitted y that were able, serious preachers, and a godly life, of what tolerable opinion r they were," . . . yea, "so great was the it above the hurt which they brought to Church, that many thousands of souls ıd God for the faithful ministers whom let in, and grieved when the Prelatists ards cast them out again."[1]

It was concerned for theological learn- ıs well as piety—nay, for such learn- ı the handmaid of piety. Nothing could der of the mark than to assert that "the ned clergy were superseded by carpenters obblers, who were conscious only of an uring of the Spirit." Clarendon's evi- ı is alone sufficient to refute this, when ıys that, at the Restoration, Oxford— ı Cromwell had been Chancellor and Owen Vice-chancellor—was found to be ınding in excellent learning."[2] Though ssed of little learning himself, Cromwell high value upon it in others, and en- ged it in all ways open to him. In fact, Puritans—some enthusiasts excepted— always an "erudite and cultivated ."[3]

Puritanism, on the whole, inclined to ılerant. Uniformity was not exacted, ded a minister could subscribe the gagement," and held the fundamentals ristianity. Presbyterians, Independents, sts, and even some Episcopalians, were ved by the "Triers." Fuller, an Episco- ı, was allowed to pass on simply declar- ıat "he made conscience of his thoughts." r's avowed antagonism to Cromwell and olicy did not expose him to any let or ance in his effort at a "wide comprehen- " There was doubtless much suffering g the sequestered clergy—suffering in cases nobly borne—and had the "Pro- ıtion"[4] been acted upon which forbade sequestered or ejected minister (after , 1656) to keep school, or act as chaplain, any wise officiate, their sufferings would been greatly intensified. But, in point of fact, the ordinance "was never applied or executed at all; and no one was prosecuted under it."[5] Nor is there anything to invalidate the statement that under Cromwell, "the embodiment of Puritanism," "all public measures affecting religion . . . mark an increasing respect for the principle of toleration."[6]

With the Restoration, Puritanism did not pass away, but it passed once more under the cross. Its political significance disappeared; it became more exclusively religious; and though its spirit never quite died out in the Established Church, it took refuge almost entirely in Nonconformity.[7]

If we attempt to apprehend that spirit, there is need to bear in mind the wise words of Gardiner[8] that, "the noblest part of every great movement, religious or otherwise, is invariably that which is universal—that is to say, which is under the influence of thoughts capable of combination with thoughts arising in the minds of its opponents." What, then, was the universal element in Puritanism, that which should find a response in every genuinely religious mind, and is of abiding significance? Certainly not its eccentricities of speech, opinion, and demeanour; for these, however prominent they may have become, were occasioned or emphasised by "special circumstances of time or place" which have long since disappeared. Nor can we claim for Puritanism that it ever had a monopoly of "high spiritual and moral aims," or that, but for it, religion must have died out in the Church. But it can be said that it comes before us as the mainstay of Protestantism in England, as its consistent and fearless exponent, as the indomitable witness for its great principles, and these particularly: that God's free grace, mediated by the soul's faith in Christ, is the essential root of human salvation; that God's will, revealed in His written Word and interpreted by His living Spirit, is the supreme law for human conduct both in the sphere of the Church and the world; that, therefore, the conscience must be free from merely human dictation, and, above all, from the enslaving rule of the priest.

At a time when there is a wide-spread effort to "undo" the Reformation; when Archbishop Laud is openly extolled as the true churchman's ideal, and the task he failed to accom-

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quiæ Baxterianæ, p. 72.

tory of Rebellion, Book x., § 124 (Oxford), vol. iv. 284).

ıson's *Milton*, vol. vi. 322; *Literature under monwealth*. *Cf.* Tayler, *Religious Life of* , 188–192.

. 24, 1655.

[5] Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. v. 62.

[6] Tayler, p. 138.

[7] The later history from the date of the "great ejectment" (24 August 1662) is identified with that of the "Free Churches," and lies outside the scope of this article.

[8] *Cromwell's Place in History*, p. 4.

plish is set forth as the churchman's insistent duty;[1] when, in short, sacerdotalism of the Romish type, with its entail of moral and spiritual degradation, is again in the ascendant, it may be well to recall the story of Puritanism, and to reflect that the convictions which created and made it mighty are not dead, nor incapable of re-enacting its early triumphs.

[F. J. P.]

PYX.—The *Pyx*, or *Vas*, is the vessel or vase in which the reserved wafers are placed in Roman Catholic churches. It was kept in England hanging over the high altar, with a lamp suspended in front of it. The *Ciborium* is sometimes used of a larger structure like the *baldachino* (see Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, pp. 65, 66). Tabernacles for the preservation of the sacred elements were introduced by Cardinal Pole. The Pyx is generally of silver, gilt inside, and is covered with a silk veil. The Roman Missal gives a form for the blessing of a Pyx by the bishop, or by a priest possessing episcopal faculties. There is also a small silver box in use among priests called a Pyx, in which the priest carries the consecrated wafer to the sick. It is generally carried in the breast-pocket of the priest, or hung in a bag around his neck. When not being carried to the sick the Pyx is kept in the tabernacle, the latter being the receptacle on "the altar," where the reserved elements are kept.

Q

QUAKERISM.—The Society of Friends, "in scorn called Quakers," are a body of Christians, whose history and form of Church government are in many respects unique, and who came into existence about the middle of the seventeenth century. Their founder, George Fox, was born at the little Leicestershire village of Fenny Drayton in the year 1624. His father was an honest weaver, named Christopher; his mother, Mary, was, he tells us, "of the family of the Lagos and of the stock of the Martyrs." It is probably the Martyrs in the Marian persecution who are here alluded to. The young George was a man of pure, upright life, with strong mental powers; a born mystic, with very scanty education, but wonderfully well versed in the English Bible, which he knew almost by heart.

To understand the spiritual struggles out of which Fox finally emerged as a preacher—not indeed of a new Gospel, but of what he believed to be the old Christianity revived—we must glance at the religious condition of England in the years between 1643 and 1647, when he was wandering lonely in the fields with no companion but his Bible, or living in lodgings in London "under great misery and trouble." For these are the years of the great Civil War. The religious fermentation which had been going on in England for more than a century, had come to a head. Cromwell and his Ironsides were wielding the sword of the Lord and of Gideon; Puritanism, long oppressed and trampled on, was now for a time victorious, and as a natural consequence, some men who had little of the earnest faith of the Puritans in their hearts, were shouting its Shibboleths aloud. There was still much genuine zeal for God, but side by side therewith there was also, doubtless, a jungle-growth of cant and insincerity, growing ready for the sarcastic scythe of the author of Hudibras.

The pulpits of England were at this time chiefly filled by Presbyterian ministers, the Anglican clergy having been ejected from their livings. To one after another of these "pious and painful preachers" did the tempest-tossed young shepherd resort for guidance, and found none that could minister to the anguish of his soul. Many of the "priests" who were pilloried in the pages of his Journal were probably devout and well-meaning men, but this was a case for which their religious pharmacopœia did not prescribe: there were depths in that troubled soul deeper than their conventional plummets could sound.

At last, after four years of struggle, Fox came out victorious. He had learned the great lesson; he heard a voice saying, when none of all those counsellors could help him, "There is one, even CHRIST JESUS, that can speak to thy condition," and hearing this, his heart did leap for joy. "I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that I saw also the infinite love of GOD, and I had great openings."

With this fresh hope in his heart Fox went forth in the year 1648 to preach to the English people, and practically (except for the years passed in foul dungeons during five protracted imprisonments) the rest of his life was one long missionary journey. His preaching met with astonishing success. To a nation wearied out with the mere logomachies of the rival Churches, his call, "Look to CHRIST within: follow the inward light," came almost as a new revelation. In some districts, especially in the north of England and in Wales, something like half the population became followers of Fox. "Children of the Light," or "Friends," were the names they gave themselves, but when a sneering judge, in answer to Fox's exhorta-

[1] See Lord Halifax's article, *Nineteenth Century*, March 1903.

tion to "tremble at the word of the Lord," fastened upon him the name of "Quaker," the nickname, given in derision, was scarcely refused by the new sect. "The people of God, in scorn called Quakers" was their usual manner of speaking of themselves, and uncouth or even absurd as the name may sound, it has had, at any rate, the great advantage of protecting them from bearing the name of Foxites.

No candid opponent of Quakerism will deny that there was an immense outburst of genuine Christian enthusiasm at its first preaching, or that the teachers did call attention to certain promises connected with the work of the Holy Spirit which had been practically somewhat lost sight of by the Church. On the other hand, no candid champion of Quakerism can deny that some symptoms of morbid excitement accompanied the movement. James Naylor, a Quaker preacher (though disowned by his brethren), allowed himself to be worshipped as if he had been Christ; congregations were sometimes disturbed by the ejaculations of dissentient Quakers; hysterical women occasionally brought contempt upon their new profession by their wild and indelicate actions; nor was even George Fox himself quite free from something like unhealthy cerebral excitement, though it is interesting to observe how his strong masculine good sense, as years passed on, got the better of his own and of his brethren's morbid tendencies.

The distinguishing doctrines and practices of the Society of Friends are well known, and must be very briefly summarised here. They are, a belief that all war is forbidden to the Christian; that oaths, even in a court of justice, are unlawful; that Christian baptism is not now water-baptism, but the baptism of the Spirit of which Christ spoke; that the partaking of material bread and wine is not necessary in order to enjoy communion with Christ. As for practice, there is an element —sometimes a large element—of silence in worship; the absence of an order of clergy, coupled with a recognition of spiritual gifts of preaching and teaching in members of the congregation, both men and women; the absence of any pecuniary provision for their preachers, except those who are engaged in missionary operations either abroad or at home.

A few words must be said as to the attitude of the Society of Friends towards other religious bodies. At the outset, as has been already hinted, their chief battles were with Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. These formed the bulk of the "Professors" of whom George Fox so frequently complains; and in his mouth "Professor" is practically equivalent to Puritan. Then, after the Restoration, the battle-ground changed. Power was now in the hands of the Episcopalian clergy. The Quakers' refusal to pay tithes was a constant source of offence, and led to long imprisonments both of male and female Quakers. Unbaptized children, and marriages contracted without the intervention of a priest were, of course, another stone of stumbling. Yet, on the whole, it seems to the present writer that Fox writes rather less bitterly of the Anglican Church than of the "Professors" who bore rule under the Commonwealth. In a remarkable conversation which he had with a clergyman named Dr. Cradock when he was in prison at Scarborough, Fox complained, "Ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. If ye had intended to keep your principles alive, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs, for Paul wrote epistles to the saints though he was in prison."

The Society of Friends seldom crossed swords with the Roman Catholics, who, of course, had now no compulsory power over them, and who were, in fact, often fellow-sufferers with them under the Commonwealth and under Charles II.; but we have a record of one or two interesting discussions between George Fox and the Jesuits. Fox asks the Jesuits what authority they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men, for all their several orders; and for their praying by beads and to images; for making crosses, for forbidding meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for their religion. At another time, "Many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon Friends, and said that of all sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people, and said it was a great pity they did not return to the Holy Mother Church. Thus they made a buzz among the people and said they would willingly discourse with Friends." Fox took up the challenge, but the discussion did not bring the two parties nearer. "One of them said, 'Ye are a company of dreamers.' 'Nay,' said I, 'ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles' successors, and yet confess ye have not the same power and spirit they were in.'" He then enumerated as before "the practices into which they were led by that evil spirit that was in them," ending with "putting people to death for their religion, and this practice of theirs I showed them was below the Law and far below the Gospel, which is liberty." "They were soon weary of this discourse, went away and gave a charge to the Papists, as we heard, 'that they should not

dispute with us or read any of our books,' so we were rid of them."

When James II. issued his Declaration of Indulgence, William Penn, who was a most loyal subject and friend of that monarch, was disposed to accept it as a measure of relief for the sorely harassed Quakers; but the main body feared gifts coming from such a hand, and though, of course, taking no actual part in the strife, seem to have welcomed the new order of things established in 1688. If Penn himself showed some lack of statesmanship in accepting the promises of such a king as James II. on behalf of religious freedom, he splendidly redeemed his error by the wise and liberal constitution which he framed for his new colony of Pennsylvania, and by his fair and essentially Christian treatment of the Indian aborigines of the country, with whom he made his celebrated treaty, a treaty of which it has been said that it is the only one that was never sworn to and never broken.

The one great doctrine to which the Society of Friends have ever held fast, and which they deemed themselves in an especial manner called to proclaim to the Christian world, was, that there is an Inward Light, kindled by God Himself in the soul of man, which, if it be followed, will lead every man nearer to his Maker, and will show him something of his duty to his fellow-man. They did not on this account undervalue the revelation which God gave of Himself by His Son Jesus Christ, but they believed that the two lights, the inward and the outward, would ever be found to harmonise with one another, and that a mere intellectual apprehension of the truths of Christianity is not enough to transform the moral nature of man. In other words, that "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit," a truth which, assuredly, was not, even in the seventeenth century, their exclusive possession, but which is perhaps more vividly perceived now by all Christians than it was when Fox began his preaching.

Of the philanthropic and evangelistic record of the work of the Society of Friends during the two centuries and a half of their existence, of their early efforts for the abolition of slavery, their labours for the reform of prisons, their energetic support of the Bible Society, their zeal in the cause of education, and their constant advocacy of peace, we have no room to speak. The names of John Woolman, William Allen, Stephen Grellet, Elizabeth Fry, Joseph John Gurney, and Joseph Sturge, are typical examples of this side of the Society's work. Within the last generation they have given themselves with considerable energy to the work of foreign missions, and already two of their number, in the prosecution of this work, have been honoured with the crown of martyrdom. William and Lucy Johnson, Quaker missionaries to Madagascar, with their infant daughter, were cruelly murdered by a mob of fanatical idolaters during the troubles consequent on the French conquest of the island.

At present the Society numbers about 18,000 in the British Isles, and 70,000 in America; but this latter number includes some churches with which English Friends have ceased to correspond, on account of divergences in doctrine, which manifested themselves in the early part of last century. In this country the numbers of the Society are not actually declining, but the rate of increase does not keep pace with that of the general population.

[T. H.]

QUIETISM. — If taken to mean a state of serene and absorbed contemplation as the highest medium of divine light and life, is not peculiar to the Christian Church. Buddhism, *e.g.* in its doctrine of the "paths" which lead to Nirvana, gives to it an essential place; and philosophy in some of its phases, has made much of it. Thus Plotinus (204 or 205 to 270) was a Quietist in teaching that the supreme aim of philosophy is to reach the "one and good" which is beyond thought, and visible to the "eyes of the soul" only when closed to other sights, only when the soul has risen above even the activity of thought and become passive.[1] Similar doctrine, largely derived from Neo-Platonism, appears in the *Mystic Theology* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite,[2] and through the influence of the latter, spread widely in the Greek Church. Maximus Confessor (580–662), foremost champion of orthodoxy against Monothelitism, was a Quietist in the sense of the Areopagite, as well as a keen dialectician; while Johannes Scotus Erigena, who was deeply influenced by Maximus, and translated the writings of Dionysius into Latin (ninth century), may be said to have mediated the diffusion of Quietism in the Church of the West. It flourished best, however, in the cells of the (Eastern) monks, with whom it sometimes sank into what has been named "a kind of religious somnambulism." A notable specimen of this sprang up among the monks of Mount Athos in the fourteenth century.[3] What they taught about the necessity of complete seclusion from the world, and persistent intro-

[1] See the *Neo-Platonists*, by T. Whittaker, p. 103 (1901).

[2] Mentioned for the first time in the records of a conference held in Constantinople, A.D. 533 (see Westcott's *Religious Thought in the West*, p. 148 *ff.*).

[3] See Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, i. 355.

spection as the condition of receiving the divine light, drew upon them the name Hesychasts (ἡσυχασται, Quietists), to which was added the ironical name ὀμφαλόψυχοι, because they expected (it was said) the divine light to come as they sat dreaming in a corner and looking at their navel. Their views were sanctioned by the Synods of Constantinople held in 1341, 1347, 1351, with the result that "religious somnambulism" became established in the Greek Church as the highest method of divine revelation, a fact of considerable significance for its later spiritual history.

Meister Eckhart (1260–1329), who spoke of God as the only Being, outside of whom all is illusion, and to whom it must be the great concern of the soul by mystic elevation to return, is an illustration of Quietism in the West. He had affinities with the Brethren of the Free Spirit (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), but escaped their Antinomian tendencies. His theology may be regarded as a protest against the prevailing Judaism and formalism of the Church—a statement applicable to the spiritual movement which centred in the "Rhenish School" generally. Of this school a notable product was the *Theologica Germanica*, written by a "priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic Order in Frankfort" (1350), but first brought to notice by Luther (1516), who said of it: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands whence I have learnt, or would wish to learn, more of what God and Christ, and man and all things are." While deeply reverent of the practical virtues, it taught that the spring of these and of all blessedness is the knowledge of God. And how is this attained? A passage like the following gives the answer: "Man's soul has two eyes—the one is the power of seeing into eternity, the other of seeing into time and the creatures . . . but these two eyes of the soul of man cannot both perform their work at once; but if the soul shall see with the right eye into eternity, then the left eye must close itself and refrain from working, and be as though it were dead. For if the left eye be fulfilling its office toward outward things, *i.e.* holding converse with time and the creatures, then must the right eye be hindered in its working, *i.e.* in its contemplation."[1] Thus its method of divine knowledge is Quietistic. Quietism, however, is usually associated with the name of Miguel de Molinos, a Spaniard[2] and priest, who settled at Rome (1669), and through the unworldliness of his character[3] won great influence as a spiritual director. His *Guida Spirituale*,[4] well described in the title of the English translation (1688), "The spiritual guide which disentangles the soul and brings it by the inward way to the getting of perfect contemplation and the rich treasure of eternal peace . . ." lets us into his secret. He urges (*inter alia*) that our perfection consists in an uninterrupted act of contemplation and love; that in this state the soul does not consciously reflect either on God or itself; that true prayer is this state of quietude, and that in prayer the first act of faith, the first intention of resignation prevails to constitute the whole act of worship. Such doctrine implied that the externals of religion were of comparative unimportance; and, in fact, the disciples of Molinos—soon amounting to thousands not only in Rome, but in various parts of Italy, and beyond—became more or less conspicuous by their indifference to what the Church esteemed most highly. "They seldom went to mass; they set small store by corporal austerities, relics, image-worship, and pilgrimages; they spent little upon masses for the souls of deceased relatives and friends; and, above all, they neglected the confessional." Their attitude was not one of active hostility, but of passive resistance. They simply passed by the Church and preferred their own "spiritual conferences"; or (in an adversary's phrase) their "mystic-pietistic conventicles."[5] Persecution was the inevitable result, unsuccessful at first, but speedily made effectual by the Inquisition and its powerful ally, Louis XIV. of France. On Sept. 3, 1687, Molinos "dressed in a red scapular with a red cross before and behind," knelt on a scaffold in front of the church of the Dominicans and recanted (in words) sixty-eight of his erroneous opinions. The remaining years of his life were spent in prison, and hundreds shared his

[1] Cap. vi., *cf.* also cap. vii. It would be difficult to over-estimate (for the Reformation) the influence—on its Protestant side—of such men as Eckhart; his disciples, Tauler (1290–1361); Suso (1300–1365); and Ruysbroek (1293–1381); the "Friends of God"; the "Brethren of the Common Life"; the author of *Theologica Germanica*, &c.

[2] Born at Saragossa, Dec. 6, 1627, studied at Pampeluna and the University of Coimbra.

[3] He refused all ecclesiastical preferment.

[4] Published in Spanish, 1675, in Italian, 1681; and soon afterwards in Dutch, French, Latin, and English translations.

[5] See article, QUIETISM, in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchen-lexikon, oder Ency. der Katholischen Theologie* (1899), "Their spirit was shown in the arrogance with which they rejected all forms and institutions of the Church life as nought and vain (*eitel und nichtig*), and sought to substitute an empty and dangerous spiritualism." In this article the date of Molinos' birth is given as Dec. 21, 1640.

fate.[1] Madame Guyon (1648–1717) held essentially the same views as Molinos; and the persecution set up against him involved her also in even greater sufferings. Her best known work, the *Short and Easy Method of Prayer* (*Moyen Court et très facile de faire oraison*), appeared in 1684, and the antagonism which this and her other writings evoked came to a head in 1694, when, at her own instance, they were examined by a commission of three (consisting of Bossuet, Bishop Noailles, and Abbé Trouson), with the purpose of deciding the question of their orthodoxy. Thirty propositions were culled from them as erroneous, and were retracted by the author. But she was not at the end of her troubles. Four years of imprisonment, mostly in the Bastille, preceded her retirement to Diziers near Blois, in 1702, where she lived an exemplary Christian life—no bitter word ever falling from her lips—till her death in 1717.[2] Fénélon, the saintly Archbishop of Cambray (1651–1715), was Madame Guyon's intimate friend, and a chivalrous defender of her personal character. His *Maximes des Saints sur la Vie intérieure* (Maxims of the Saints on the Life of the Soul), which he published in 1697, shows that, though not in complete agreement, the divergence between them was but slight. Fénélon defended Madame Guyon's two fundamental principles of disinterested love toward God, and of love as the supreme grace for Christians; nor did he disown the contemplative Quietism which she commended in preference to outward exercises of devotion and prayer as the means of realising the believer's highest aim of absolute union with God. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627–1704), who had taken the lead in denouncing Madame Guyon, immediately assailed the archbishop with extreme bitterness, and continued to do so, till in 1699 a Papal Brief declared in his favour. Fénélon received the sentence which condemned twenty-three propositions of his book as erroneous on March 12, just when he was about to ascend the pulpit, and yielded at once, changing his subject, says the story, and preaching a sermon on the duty of submission. So the great controversy died away.[3] But Quietism did not die. It lived on, not only through the influence of Molinos, Guyon, and Fénélon, but through others of inferior note, like Antoinette Bourignon (1616–80) and her faithful disciple, Peter Poiret (1646–1719).[4] More than a trace of it may be met with also in the Cartesian Malebranche (1638–1715), as well as in his English follower, John Norris of Bemerton (1657–1711). In fine, its kernel of truth—that the essence of true religion is spiritual, and consists in entire self-surrender to the will of God—found, and has ever found, a responsive chord in many humble souls,[5] especially when weary and sick of the dogmatic vanities and lifeless formalisms of a dominant ecclesiasticism.

[F. J. P.]

QUINQUAGESIMA.—A name given to the Sunday before Lent. The name was probably formed on the false analogy of Quadragesima, the designation given in the ancient Church to the season of Lent, the first Sunday in Lent being said to be "in Quadragesima," *i.e.* because it was about the fortieth day before Easter.

R

READING AND SPEAKING. "To learn to read is the business of half a life."—*Lord Macaulay.*—Cicero says in his *De Oratore*, "Mira est natura vocis." Truly it is the most wonderful God-given instrument in the world Some one has said, "The human voice lies midway between the lips and the heart, that all the light may fall from the lips, and all the love may well up from the heart." The human voice is one of God's choicest gifts to man. More has been accomplished in this world by the soft persuasive power of the voice breathed through human lips, than will ever be known here. John the Baptist described himself as "a voice." The forerunner of our Lord and Saviour was "a voice from God" and every Christian in this world is a "voice from God"—an utterance for the best of all Masters.

[1] For particulars, see Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, "Molinos"; and (for the Roman Catholic view), Wetzer and Weste's *Kirchen-Lexicon*, "Molinos"; "Quietism." *Cf.*, too, Introduction to *Golden Thoughts from the Spiritual Guide*, with Preface by J. H. Shorthouse, David Bryce & Son, Glasgow, 1883. Vaughan (*Hours with the Mystics*, vol. ii. p. 233), thinks a charge of Quietism might have been brought against St. Theresa (1515–1582) with more justice than against Molinos, but she was saved by her professed reverence for "ceremonial gewgaws," &c.

[2] See Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, ii. 207–241; Upham's *Life of M. Guyon* (London, 1862); her own curious *Autobiography* (Cologne, 1720); Macfadyen's edition of the *Short and Easy Method of Prayer*, 1901. A clear illustration of her profoundly Christian Spirit, and an indication of her influence may be found in Cowper's beautiful *Translations from the French of Madame de la Motte Guyon.*

[3] For a fair account of the Quietist controversy see Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, ii. 242–82.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 286–290.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 291.

Surely then, as we are all learners from the cradle to the grave, and as modern education embraces all fields of study, the very first thing we should be taught is to *use the voice* which God has given us. "Speak forth," said Thomas Carlyle, "what is in thee, what God hath given thee." Oh! the power there is in a voice for good or evil, for pleasure or pain; this world is one great receptive phonograph, with cylinder after cylinder of recorded speech in the past. Not every one has a sweet voice; some are keyed too high, some are too rough and loud; but *all* can cultivate a soft, gentle tone, and learn by study and thought and practice to moderate and cultivate "what God hath given thee."

The voice is almost everything in speaking and reading. It is the exquisite instrument which vibrates under the will of the speaker, as the voice of a Jenny Lind did in the singer. When we read now, after the lapse of many years, the great speeches of Burke, Fox, Pitt, or Canning, we almost wonder over the printed page, how they moved the passions, and swayed the judgment of their hearers. We can read them, but we realise that we never heard them. Their grandest speeches seem dead without the living voice.

The voice is the most perfect instrument in the world. It possesses the sounding-board, chords, and notes, which are but imitated in the *vox humana* stop on the organ. It comes to us from the divine Hand; we ought, therefore, to use it reverently, and no pains should be spared on our parts to improve its power and melody. It is no less necessary for the speaker than for the singer to improve the voice by daily practice. The muscles of the voice may be strengthened by training as the muscles of the body are by walking, riding, or rowing. The student who aims at being a public speaker, and who subjects his voice to regular training will soon find that the tones, depth, flexibility, modulation, and compass are all improved. The right use of all our powers depends upon cultivation, and they are lost through neglect.

The entire principles of the management of the voice are contained in those old lines:—

"Begin low, speak slow,
Take fire, rise higher,
When most impressed, be self-possessed."

It is useful to fix not only the eye, but the mind, on some one person, who is far distant from the voice, and to feel that one is speaking to that one person alone. If one finds that one listener is attentive, all who are nearer to the voice will hear well.

The first aim of every minister of religion should be to study how to read the Bible. For acquiring a good style in reading, writing, speaking, conciseness and accuracy, the best of all books is the Bible. It is unequalled for clearness, for wisdom, for teaching. If we are to be "men of one book" (and a man who has thoroughly mastered one good book is a powerful man), that Book should unquestionably be the Bible, for it is the master-key to all other books. Yet that Book, which is the minister's text-book and theme, requires for its proper interpretation, more study, more feeling, more pathos, and a better understanding than any book in the world. A deeper impression may be made on the mind by the reading of a Lesson in church than by the most brilliant sermon. This is no wonder, for the one is the Word of God, the other the words of man. One of the finest instances of good reading we have ever heard of took place 3000 years ago; the Israelites had lately returned from seventy years of Babylonish Captivity. Ezra, the scribe, stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose. "And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the street that was before the water-gate from the morning until midday, before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law. So they read in the law of God *distinctly* . . . and gave the sense . . . and caused them to *understand the reading*" (Nehem. viii. 2, 3, 8). Which of us ministers of religion, does not wish that he had heard Ezra? He must have had all the gifts of a reader, for he "read the law of God *distinctly* . . . and gave the sense . . . and caused them to *understand the reading*."

The conventional style of reading (as if by machinery) is common enough. The Church service is too often performed by us clergy in so mechanical a manner, that not only is the beauty and spirit of the service lost, but the very meaning is concealed and obscured. How can this be a matter of surprise when there is no good teaching of our mother-tongue in our public schools, no good teaching in our Universities, no good teaching in our Theological Colleges and no *competent* Episcopal test when young men come forward for ordination. We often complain that the laity take so little heart-interest in our services. We blame them. It would be much nearer the truth to blame ourselves. It is our own fault that there is no composition in the English tongue which is so little understood, so listlessly heard, and so little appreciated by the laity, as our incomparable Church Service. Enter a church, and, in less than five minutes it is easy to tell

whether the clergyman has cultured himself, or neglected himself. As a proof of this take the little word—*and*. This monosyllable is pronounced in six different ways, only one of which is right. Some pronounce it (1) *an'*, or (2) *en*, or (3) *un*, or (4) *'nd*, or (5) *'n*, while a select few call it (6) *and*. Thus, "good-*an'*-bad," "cause-*en*-effect," "pen-*un*-ink," "you-*'nd*-I," "cakes-*'n*-milk." These glaring faults are all clustered round the little monosyllable—"AND"[1]—by millions of speakers and readers who would be angry if we said to them, "You cannot yet pronounce the monosyllable *and* in your mother-tongue." Some reader may say, "Why exaggerate such a trifle?" there is no such thing as a trifle. Perfection is made up of trifles, and perfection is no trifle.

And here we assert that "intoning" is not "reading." It is admissible in our Cathedrals, but out of place in our churches. However well done, it is a musical service and not congregational, and in the hands of some of our clergy who sail dangerously near to the Church of Rome, it is almost as unintelligible as the services of the Church of Rome, in which we know the intention that the people shall not *understand* or take part in the service. It should, moreover, be noted that one might say *the* great peculiarity of the Anglican Church all over the world is that it possesses a Liturgy in which the people are expected to join. It is by this very fact marked off from the Roman, Russian, and Greek Churches. Hence, in the majority of cases it ought to be READ, and read intelligently and with devotion. Read thus, it commands attention, and leads to true worship. Read in a slovenly way, or even monotoned, it awakens no interest and arouses no feeling in the breasts of the would-be worshippers.

Most Englishmen, in Parliament, in the Church, at the Bar, seem to think that if good delivery comes to them, it must come spontaneously. "If a man is to be an orator," say they, "he is born an orator." This is contrary to all the experience of the past. All the finished speakers of the past became so by a toil and practice which ended only with life. Cicero said, "The poet is born such, the orator is made such."

In the reading of the Bible and our matchless Liturgy, is it too much to say that, next to the voice, FEELING is the soul of good rend One thrill of genuine feeling is of more than all the rhetorical rules of ancie modern times. Feeling in your own will send its electric current through hearts. There is a golden rule in five monosyllables: "FEEL EACH WORI SPEAK." And next to feeling comes EX SION. Expression in reading and speakir been described as "word-painting." are some few men who can throw more i single word than others of us can impor a whole page.

Few orators, even including John B could excel the late William Morley Pur the eminent Wesleyan preacher, in "painting." Who that ever heard h Punshon recite Macaulay's *Lay of Hora* likely to forget his "word-painting"? for instance, in the stanza in which the l falls:—

> "But, with a crash like thunder
> Fell every loosened beam;
> And, like a dam, the mighty wrec
> Lay right athwart the stream;
> And a long shout of triumph
> Rose from the walls of Rome,
> As to the highest turret-tops
> Was splashed the yellow foam."

Is it too much to say that as that trembled under his voice, you (mentally the bridge fall, you (mentally) heard the and you (mentally) saw the yellow splashed to the highest turret-tops. T only another way of saying that he was istic in the highest degree. He threw th sound into the word. How came he to p this coveted power of "word-painting" Genius? No! by study. He had studie whole scene till it became a picture in hi mind. Can we ordinary readers and spe attain to this? Yes, in our measure, b same process—by study. Nothing go great is given to man without indefati labour.

Any effort to deal with speaking wou incomplete without some notice of pla speaking. The pulpit has always been still is, the throne of the preacher. Wh a man is found who has anything good t and knows how to say it, he is sure to attentive listeners. But young men oug cultivate platform speaking. In the pulpit is one speaker, on the platform there are r A succession of different speakers, who different minds and different voices to upon the same subject, collects the scat rays of thought and eloquence, and if it unsectarian platform—as broad as Christi itself—all the better; for all speakers can

[1] The importance of pronouncing "and" aright in the reading of the Holy Scriptures will be better realised when it is remembered the unusual frequency of its use owing to the genius of the Hebrew language and literature, and to the unartificial way in which even the narrative portions of the New Testament are joined together.

as earnest advocates of some good cause. The platform is a grand school for the improvement of eloquence. Nothing must take the place of thoughtful preparation. After this the words will come. It should be a conscientious rule, both in the pulpit and on the platform, never to offer to others that which costs us nothing.

If I were asked what hints I would offer to those who are desirous of cultivating platform speaking, I would say: Firstly, speakers ought rarely to make apologies. One of the most common is the "want of ability," which may be quite true; but why not let the hearers discover this themselves? Others inform the audience that when they entered the room they had not the least expectation of being called upon to speak. These apologies have been called "the cant of the platform." Speakers ought not to read extracts from books or letters. If you desire to bore a meeting you cannot devise a more certain way than this. Reading in the pulpit is irksome, on the platform it is insufferable. If you have a letter of interest, hold it in your hand, and tell the audience its contents in your own words. This will interest them; the other plan will weary them. And speakers ought not to adopt a *preachey* style on the platform. A speech is quite different from a sermon. A sermon may be read; a speech should never be read, but always spoken. Many of us think that a sermon should also be spoken, not read—

> "What is a sermon, good or bad,
> When a man reads it like a lad?"

At the same time, where would much of the theology of the Church be to-day if men like Jeremy Taylor, South, Thomas Chalmers, and that prince of preachers, Henry Melvill, had not carefully written their sermons, which are now the heritage of the Church?

It is an error to suppose that long speeches denote strength of intellect. We must never be tempted to imagine that quantity can atone for quality. Henry Melvill once told the writer the following incident. Many years ago the old Duke of Wellington (of whom it was said that he fought more than forty battles, and never lost one) appointed Henry Melvill to be chaplain to the Tower of London, and sent Melvill a message that he wished to see him. During the short interview Melvill said, "I have preached to many people in my time, but never to soldiers; I shall be grateful for any hints your Grace may give me." The Duke made one of his laconic replies—worth being treasured by all preachers in the pulpit, and all speakers on the platform: "*Be brief*, Mr. Melvill, *and to the purpose*."

The names of those in the world who could "speak well" are brilliant. A Demosthenes, the magic music of whose eloquence it is impossible to describe; a Cicero, whose oratory was magnificent; a Paul, pleading for Christ, holding the multitude in breathless silence, and making judges and kings to tremble. In modern times, a Bourdaloue, a Massillon, and a Whitfield in the pulpit—a Burke, a Fox, and a Pitt in Parliament. The great need of Parliament to-day is better speakers. The great need of the Bar is better pleaders. The great need of the Church is better preachers.

Is there any remedy for the acknowledged defects of our nation in reading and speaking? This is a fair question. Any plan for national improvement in reading and speaking should be the joint product of the ablest men in the educational world. The first step should be the endowment of professorships at our universities. By beginning there we should work from the centre, and reach the extremities. A council of the head-masters of our Public Schools should follow, whose authority would give a sanction to what they proposed. If they were to draw up a scheme approved by men of judgment and experience, it would at once awaken the interest of parents and, perforce, commend itself to the heads of all preparatory schools throughout the country. Of course the question would arise: Where are the competent men to be found who could teach the art of reading and speaking? But if you create a want in any market in life, you will soon get a supply. The President of the British Association, Sir Norman Lockyer, in his Inaugural Address this year (1903), pleads for the "brain power" of our nation, and asks for twenty-four millions of money for our universities. Let us hope that if Parliament shall make large grants to our universities, professorships for the *Study of the English Language* may be founded; for, if we ever become preachers, pleaders, and speakers, it must be in our MOTHER-TONGUE. [J. F.]

REAL PRESENCE.—See CONSUBSTANTIATION; PRESENCE, OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE; TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

REASON, CONSCIENCE, and FAITH.—By REASON I mean man's inborn faculty of observing and interpreting phenomena, and looking through them to the underlying realities. This faculty enables us, with more or less correctness, to pronounce intelligent judgments: and in these far-reaching judgments we find man's immense superiority to the lower animals. This manifest superiority evokes in us the conception of personality. In our thoughts each one stands alone and claims a right to pronounce judgment on things around. This right belongs to the dignity of manhood, to the image of God in man. Whatever tends to deprive us of it tends to lower us in the scale of

being. Moreover, our best thoughts we wish to speak out, in order that whatever in them is good may enrich others, and whatever is not good may be corrected. Sometimes persons or influences around attempt, or tend, to impose silence upon us; and not unfrequently, under compulsion, or in order to avoid some greater evil, we submit to be silenced. But we always feel that this imposed silence, forced upon us as it is by an appeal not to our intelligence but to our fear, is degrading. This degradation often lays a fetter even upon our inward thought. What we dare not say, we do not wish to think. For the thoughts we dare not utter make us the more conscious of our bondage.

To enable the young to think and judge for themselves, and to judge wisely, is a chief aim of education. Only so far as we can do this are we fit for our place in life, be it what it may.

In our thoughts about men around and their actions, we frequently find ourselves pronouncing judgments altogether different from, and superior to, those pronounced on irrational objects. These last we judge to be useful or useless, pleasant or unpleasant; the actions of our fellows we pronounce to be right or wrong, and themselves good or bad. This difference is seen in the different emotions evoked by a great calamity and a great crime. The one we deplore, the other we condemn. Moreover, amid felt human fallibility and error, we often find ourselves pronouncing what we know to be an infallible sentence. Not unfrequently we are compelled to pronounce an adverse judgment even upon ourselves; and in this case we sometimes cringe helplessly in the presence of a judge enthroned in our own hearts, from whose condemnation there is neither appeal nor escape.

These judgments are, in all main outlines, the same in all ages and nations. Of this we have abundant proof in the literature of the ancient world, in which lie open to our inspection the thoughts of men who never heard the voice of Christ or read the Law of Moses. In spite of many minor differences, by all sorts of writers the same actions and types of character are praised and blamed. A universal testimony condemns always and everywhere murder, incest, robbery, falsehood, dishonour to parents, and much else which all men know to be evil. This wonderful moral agreement reveals, inwoven into all human thought, an inborn standard of right and wrong. In men's judgments about themselves and their fellows, we hear a voice speaking with the authority of the Author of their being. This was recognised by Socrates, as quoted in Xenophon's *Memoirs*, Book iv. 4, 19–21. "Dost thou know, said he, Hippias any unwritten laws? Those in every country, said he, held binding touching the things. Would thou then be able to sa he, that men made them? Why hov he, could all men come together when t not speak the same language? Then v you suppose, said he, has made these I think, said he, that gods gave these l men. For with all men it is thought rig of all to reverence gods. Is it then ever thought right to honour parents? It : he. Also that parents and children (marry? To me, Socrates, this does no to be a law of God. Why? said he. E I see some, said he, transgressing it. Y many other things they do against law then they who transgress the laws made gods pay a penalty which in no way m escape; just as some who transgres made by men escape punishment secr by violence."

Similarly Cicero, in his *Laws*, Book "This, then, as it appears to me, ha the decision of the wisest philosopher law was neither a thing contrived by the of man, nor established by any decree people, but a certain eternal principle governs the entire universe, wisely con ing what is right and forbidding what is Therefore they called that primal and s law the mind of God enjoining or fort each separate thing in accordance with On which account it is that this law, the gods have bestowed on the human so justly praised. For it is the reas mind of a wise Being equally able to t to good and to deter us from evil. . even he (Tarquin) had the light of rea duced from the nature of things, which to good actions and dissuades from evil and which does not begin for the first t be a law when it is drawn up in writi from the first moment that it exists: s existence is coeval with the divine Therefore the true and supreme law, commands and prohibitions are equally ritative, is the right reason of the Sov Jupiter."

The same universal law is recognised s Paul in Rom. ii. 14, 15: "Whenever Ge the men who have no law, do by natu things of the law, these having no law, themselves a law, who show the work of th written in their hearts, while their cons bears witness therewith, and their reas among themselves, while accusing or excu The context implies clearly that by this l law the Gentiles will be judged. This i put by Butler in his *Sermons on Human N* Sermon ii. §§ 10, 11, on the above pass Paul: "There is a superior principle of tion or conscience in every man, which

hes between the internal principles of his :t, as well as his external actions; which es judgment upon himself and them; pro- nces determinately some actions to be in nselves just, right, good; others to be in nselves evil, wrong, unjust; which, without g consulted, without being advised with, isterially exerts itself, and approves or con- ns him, the doer of them, accordingly; and :h, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and ys of course goes on to anticipate a higher more effectual sentence, which shall here- : second and affirm its own. . . . It is by faculty, natural to man, that he is a moral t, that he is a law to himself; by this lty, I say, not to be considered merely as nciple in his heart, which is to have some ence as well as others, but considered as :ulty in kind and in nature supreme over thers, which bears its own authority of g so."

is inborn moral standard, called by Butler SCIENCE, we are compelled to accept as upreme law, which at all hazard and cost nust always obey under penalty of self- emnation. Evidently it is, as Socrates Cicero saw, a voice of God in man; and equently, the earliest and most wide-spread ation of His will. This inward law may isread; its letters may be in some measure ed. But enough remains, except possibly e most depraved, to be a witness for God an. By it must be judged all moral teach-

Such teaching has authority over us only r as it secures the homage of our moral .

this inborn and universal revelation were added historical revelations given to Abra- and Israel, and the supreme revelation in st designed for all men. These later his- al revelations appeal to the earlier one. teaching even of Christ and His apostles be judged at the bar of the moral of man. So Paul in 2 Cor. iv. 2: "By festation of the truth commending our- s to every man's conscience, before God." t is the result of this appeal? Before the ding and image of Christ, as given in the Testament, everything in us that is best with lowly homage. Nay, more. His ls strengthen and raise our moral sense, give to us a higher conception of what would have us do and be. In other words, e presence of Christ the judge within pays age, and at the same time receives from a higher authority. Thus, that which is est in us attests the supreme majesty of st. The authority thus confirmed becomes eforth the law of our being.

ifortunately, this divine law and this me example, thus attested, do but evoke in us a deeper consciousness of our own guilt and defilement; and, at best, vain efforts to rise to the standard thus set before us. But in the good providence of God, the memoirs of Christ which contain this law, and the early expositions of the Gospel preserved in the New Testament, contain also other teaching of an altogether different kind. As His words are there recorded, and as the Gospel is expounded by His immediate followers, Christ announced for all who put faith in Him, pardon of sins and a new life of victory over all sin, leading up to eternal life in the presence of God.

This proclamation of pardon and salvation commends itself at once as supplying our deep spiritual need. And, coming as it does from One who claims, and at once secures, the homage of our moral sense, thousands have dared to believe it on His authority, and have found by happy experience that it has broken their inward fetters, and has raised them into new life. This verification is decisive. A hand which has set us free, and is day by day raising us, can be no other than the hand of God. The inborn moral sense which speaks in us with the authority of God, and which once condemned us, now reveals and attests the salvation we have received. This attestation, however, is only general. The voice is divine, but it needs to be interpreted by fallible man. We need another standard, external to ourselves, by which our moral judgments may be tested and corrected. This external evidence we find in the Christian records preserved in the New Testament, some of which may be traced by decisive documentary evidence to the greatest of the apostles of Christ, and nearly all to the first or second generation of His followers. The deep and far-reaching harmony underlying these very different documents leaves no room to doubt that the teaching common to them, differing as it does so widely from all earlier and contemporary teaching, came actually from the lips of Christ. In them we find decisive documentary and historical evidence that He claimed to be in a unique sense the Son of God; that in proof of this claim God raised Him from the dead; and that He announced, for all who believe in Him, pardon of sins through His approaching death on the cross, and a new life of unreserved devotion to God in the Spirit of God. No facts in the history of human thought are, in my view better attested than the above statements. For a proof of them, which is beyond the scope of this article, I must refer my readers to a dissertation at the end of my *Commentary on Romans*, or to a fuller discussion in my volume, *Through Christ to God*. This external

evidence confirms decisively the evidence afforded by the fitness and ability of the Gospel to supply our deep spiritual need, and enables us to sift in detail the traditional teaching of the Church. On this combined evidence, the FAITH of the servants of Christ rests securely. Thus are Reason, Conscience, and Faith in complete harmony. Our intelligence interprets the law written on our hearts and the ancient records which narrate the story of Christ and expound His teaching, tests and attests the trustworthiness of these last, and finds in them complete proof that the great doctrines mentioned above, which underlie the Christian life of all ages, came actually from the lips of One who by His resurrection from the dead was marked out from all others as the Son of God. Christ, thus set forth, claims the lowly homage of our moral sense, and His Word becomes the firm ground of intelligent faith.

In the Confession of Faith given in the bull of Pope Pius IV., known as *Injunctum Nobis*, the Roman Church requires its converts to say, "I likewise receive Holy Scripture according to that sense which holy Mother Church, whose it is to judge touching the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, has held and holds; nor will I ever accept and interpret it except according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." The meaning of this Confession is well expounded in Bagshaw's *Threshold of the Catholic Church: a Course of Plain Instructions for those Entering her Communion*. On page 2 we read: "The Protestant notion is that it is each one's business to find out his own religion—that is to say, that he must judge for himself what doctrines are most consistent with reason and the Holy Scriptures—or that he must follow the teaching of the clergyman whose views best commend themselves to his judgment. Catholics, on the contrary, believe that God has established an authority upon earth which all men must obey, and that faith is necessarily an obedience. . . . The most learned man in the world must, in this matter, submit his judgment precisely as a little child would do. He may use all his learning to find out the true Church; but, when he has found it, he must put all his books on one side, and ask to be taught, and believe what he is told on the authority of the Church, just as a child would do. If he has not humility to do this he can never be a Catholic."

This means, if I rightly understand it, that the Roman Church, in all that pertains to religion, whenever it speaks authoritatively, is the supreme judge for every man of what is true or false, right or wrong. In other words, the Roman Church, to all within its fold, supersedes the judgment of each one's own intelligence and moral sense by its own authoritative decision, and forbids independent study and criticism of the Bible in favour of its own authoritative interpretation.

This claim is the loftiest which any external authority can make. We ask at once, on what grounds does it rest? This question our author endeavours to answer in another volume, *The Credentials of the Catholic Church*. His argument, so far as I can understand it, is that without a living and infallible authority there can be no certainty in religion, and without certainty no faith and no salvation; that no other Church except the Roman claims this infallible authority, and that therefore, unless we admit the Roman claim, we can have no certainty, and therefore no assured salvation. But I have already shown that apart from the authority of the Roman Church we have in the New Testament complete documentary evidence of all that we need to know about Christ and the Gospel; and that this evidence is confirmed by the irresistible appeal which Christ, as He is depicted there, makes to our moral sense, and by the ever-progressing salvation wrought by the Gospel in those who believe it. They who have this blessed experience, supported as it is by the unanimous teaching of all the earliest Christian documents, need no other ground of certainty. To them, therefore, an essential link of the above argument is wanting, and the whole falls to the ground.

Nay, more. By Bagshaw's own admission, as quoted above, even the claim of the Roman Church to be a divinely appointed and infallible teacher must be judged by the intelligence and moral sense of each one. But the intelligence and moral sense of thousands, while bowing with lowly homage to Christ and His teaching, as depicted and set forth in the New Testament, reject as inadequate the credentials on which are based the stupendous claims of the Roman Church, and are in stern revolt against much of its teaching, *e.g.* against the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the practice of Confession. They who, outside the Roman Church, have found a spiritual life which their moral sense declares to be divine, resting on a documentary and historical foundation which their intelligence declares to be sound, are independent of the Roman Church, and are not likely to bow to that which would be intolerable and degrading bondage.

[J. A. B.]

RECLUSE.—Monks in general are often styled recluses. But the name recluse is also used

for such monks as lived under a more austere rule than even hermits, or than those ascetics who lived in communities. Recluses proper lived in cells and never spoke except to their superior, or to the brother who brought them the necessaries of life. Some monks were even styled *inclusi*. These latter were walled-up for life, with only an aperture left through which food could be supplied. See *Cath. Dict.;* Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*

RECONCILIATION SERVICE.—See SERVICES, OCCASIONAL.

REDEMPTION.—There are three Greek words respecting the benefits of Christ's death and passion which need first to be distinguished, and then viewed together in order to obtain a clear view respecting salvation.

The first of these is ἱλασμός (*hilasmos*), which means *expiation* and *propitiation*, and points to the fact that the manifestation of the goodwill of God to us has been gained by the offering up of Christ as the sin-offering. By and through the sacrifice on the cross the just anger of God against our sin was appeased, and God, without compromising His righteousness, was enabled to show Himself favourable to us (Heb. ii. 17 [*cf.* Luke xviii. 13]; Rom. iii. 25; Heb. ix. 5).

The second of these is ἀπολύτρωσις (*apolutrōsis*), *redemption*, *ransom*, and denotes the deliverance from the consequences of sin, secured by Christ and received when in union with Him. By this word is also marked the completeness (ἀπό, giving intensive force) of the redemption.

The third of these is καταλλαγή (*catallagē*) *reconciliation*, the blessing of the recovered favour of God. It denotes first and foremost a reconciliation by which God is reconciled to us, lays aside His holy anger against our sins and receives us into favour, a reconciliation effected for us once for all by Christ upon the cross (2 Cor. v. 18, 19). It denotes in the second place the reconciliation of us to God, the removing of the enmity and alienation on our part (Rom. v. 10; viii. 7; Eph. ii. 15; Col. i. 21; James iv. 4). Christ on the cross is our Peace and the Maker of Peace between God and man (Eph. ii. 14; Col. i. 20). See Trench's *Synonyms*, § lxxvii.

In regard to Protestants, there would be more or less agreement as to the fact of Christ's redemption, and the meaning of the family group of Greek words by which it is set forth to us in the Scriptures. Protestants are also substantially agreed as to the application of Christ's redemption in its actual beginning in any soul. The views of Protestants are more or less agreed upon such doctrines as Union with Christ, Regeneration, Conversion, and Justification. There is more difference on the subject of the application of Christ's redemption in its continuation. Upon Sanctification and Perseverance there is much cleavage of opinion. See SANCTIFICATION.

But when we come to the subject of the extent of redemption, or, to put it quite plainly, to inquire *for whom* Christ died, the division among Protestants becomes most marked, and the controversy has been keen and not unfrequently bitter. A comparatively small number hold what is termed the doctrine of Particular Redemption. See REDEMPTION, PARTICULAR. These theologians lay great stress upon statements in the Scriptures respecting the doctrine of Divine Election or Predestination, and do not sufficiently balance them by those equally clear declarations respecting man's responsibility and the invitations of the Gospel being offered to all in the widest terms (Isa. liii. 6; Matt. xi. 28; John i. 9, 29; iii. 17; Rom. v. 18; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 4–6; Heb. ii. 9; 1 John ii. 2).

Without entering fully into the discussion of this exceedingly difficult and profound subject, we propose to state the views of the two classes of Calvinists holding Particular Redemption. Those who adopt the supralapsarianism of Beza, regard the decree of individual salvation as preceding, in order of thought, the decree to permit the Fall. In this latter scheme the order of decrees is as follows: (1) the decree to save certain, and to reprobate others; (2) the decree to create both those who are to be saved and those who are to be reprobated; (3) the decree to permit the former and the latter to fall; (4) the decree to provide salvation only for the former that is, for the elect.

The sublapsarians regard the order of decrees as follows: (1) the decree to create; (2) the decree to permit the Fall; (3) the decree to provide a salvation in Christ sufficient for the needs of all; (4) the decree to secure the actual acceptance of this salvation on the part of some, or, in other words, the decree of election. Those sublapsarians who hold to the Anselmic view of a limited atonement, make the decrees 3 and 4, just mentioned, exchange places—the decree of election thus preceding the decree to provide redemption (see Strong's *Systematic Theology*, pp. 426–27).

Some who teach particular redemption, as Calvin taught it, hold with Calvin the theory of universal atonement, and others, who are hyper-Calvinists, maintain that of a limited atonement. The Calvinists would make the offer of salvation to all, but the hyper-Calvinists would limit the scope of the Gospel invitations to the elect; some go so far as to refuse

to press upon the sinner the acceptance of salvation.[1]

It is obvious into what dangerous extremes men lacking well-balanced minds may easily be led on either side when entering upon such speculative subjects to the neglect of the practical aspects of salvation. Whatever view we may hold upon divine decrees, election, predestination, the atonement, or redemption (particular or otherwise), we must not forget that the Scriptures teach that men, as sinners are the objects of God's saving grace (John xv. 19; Rom. xi. 5, 7; Eph. i. 4–6; 1 Pet. i. 2). In this matter our duty is stated in the last clause of Article XVII. of the Church of England: "We must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." In the doctrine of election it is of the utmost consequence that we keep close to Scripture itself, and to keep clear of philosophy. [C. N.]

REDEMPTION, PARTICULAR.—The tenets of Calvin, termed "the five points," contain the doctrine of Particular Redemption. They are as follows: (1) Predestination, *i.e.* some to eternal life, others to eternal death; (2) Original Sin, *i.e.* both the fault (*vitium*) and corruption (*depravatio*) caused by the sin of Adam which attaches to the whole human race, and is the source of all transgression; (3) Particular Redemption, *i.e.* Christ atoned for the elect only; (4) Irresistible grace, *i.e.* the call of God is effectual; (5) The perseverance of the saints, *i.e.* those who are effectually called can never fall away.

In the same way the Lambeth Articles (see ARTICLES, THE LAMBETH) inculcate the doctrine of Particular Redemption. They run thus: "(1) God hath from eternity predestinated some persons to life, others He hath reprobated to death; (2) This predestination to life proceeds not from faith or perseverance or good works, or any other quality being foreseen in the predestinated, but is the will or pleasure of God; (3) The number of the predestinated is predetermined and certain, and cannot be increased or lessened; (4) Those not predestinated to life will of necessity be damned on account of their own sins; (5) True, living, justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit in the elect is not extinguished, it does not perish, nor vanish away, either finally or totally; (6) a man truly faithful, *i.e.* endowed with justifying faith, and called according to purpose, is certain with the full assurance of faith about the remission of his own sins, and of eternal salvation through Christ; (7) Saving grace is not given or conferred on all men, by which they can be saved by it if they will; (8) No man can come to Christ unless it is given to him, and unless the Father draws him; and all men are not drawn by the Father to come to the Son; (9) It is not in every one's will or power to be saved." The Lambeth Articles are found in the original Latin with the approbation of the Archbishop of York (Dr. Matthew Hutton), in Archbishop Whitgift's *Works*, iii. p. 613, Parker Soc.

The chief Protestant writer who opposed Particular Redemption was Arminius, and the circumstances which led him to do so are somewhat remarkable. Arminius, who had studied under Beza, and adopted the tenets of Calvin, was engaged by the Supralapsarians to defend their views against the Sublapsarians. The professor applied himself honestly and diligently to the subject, and it ended in his giving up his Calvinism and coming to the conclusion that all that related to free-will, predestination, and grace, peculiar to the Calvinistic system, was erroneous, and not to be supported by the Scriptures; and he asserted the doctrine of "Universal Redemption." On his proclaiming these opinions (1591), he was violently opposed by Plancius, and afterwards by Gomarus, a colleague in the University of Leyden, where Arminius was appointed Professor of Theology in 1603 through his friends at Amsterdam. The doctrines Arminius now put forth relative to predestination, universal redemption, the corruption of human nature, conversion and perseverance, in answer to Calvin's five points, brought upon him during the remainder of his days violent opposition. He died in 1609.

The doctrines held by Arminius and his followers were: (1) God from all eternity determined to save all who He foresaw would persevere in the faith, and to condemn all who should continue in unbelief; (2) Christ atoned for the sins of all mankind, but those only who believe partake of the benefit of that atonement; (3) Man is of himself incapable of true faith, therefore regeneration by the Holy Spirit given of God through Christ, is necessary; (4) All good works are to be attributed to the grace of the Holy Spirit, which, however, does not force a man against his own inclination; (5) God gives to the truly faithful the means of continuing in this state (a possibility of falling away was afterwards added). [C. N.]

[1] Not a few strong Calvinists of the present day endeavour to mitigate the awfulness of their views respecting reprobation by eschatalogical speculations, and consider that the wicked after receiving the due rewards of their deeds will be annihilated. Some consider that the punishment of the wicked will, in almost all cases, end in their ultimate salvation.

REDEMPTORISTS.—This is the name given to the members of a religious order founded by Alphonsus Liguori, A.D. 1732. The members of this order take the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Their main occupation was intended to be the preaching at missions and retreats to all classes of persons, especially to such as live in remote country districts, and are supposed to be most neglected. The order was approved by Benedict XIV., A.D. 1749. The members spread with considerable rapidity. The Redemptorists have houses in London, Liverpool, Perth, Teignmouth, Dublin, Dundalk, Limerick, and elsewhere in the British Isles. Like the Jesuits, they have been expelled from Poland, Austria, Bavaria, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.

The Redemptorists are governed by a Superior-General called the Rector Major, who is elected for life and resides at Rome. The Superiors of the various provinces are called Provincials, and of the houses, Rectors. The order is a copy of the Jesuit fraternity, and the members try to rival their more notorious confrères. There is also an order of nuns, called Redemptorines, or Redemptoristines. The nuns are an enclosed order, whose duty it is to assist the missionaries by their prayers. They have several convents, generally in close touch with the monasteries of the Redemptorists. [T. C.]

REFORMATION, THE ENGLISH.—The restoration of the Church, corrupted by mediæval teaching and practice, to its early purity in doctrine and discipline.

The Reformation was the most important event in the ecclesiastical history of England, and yet it was but one act in a series of acts, some leading up to it, some following upon it; and therefore, to be justly viewed, it should be approached historically, however briefly.

We need not concern ourselves with the British or with the Anglo-Saxon Church, which was kept apart from the corrupting influences that emanated from Rome. It was at the Norman Conquest that those corruptions came in with a rush. Lanfranc, the first Norman archbishop, a man by birth and education and sympathy half Italian, half French, with a contempt and dislike of men of the Teutonic race, being thrust by William into the See of Canterbury (already occupied by Stigand) for the purpose of subduing the old National Church, as his master had subdued the nation, was devoted to the new theology, which he had learnt at his monastery of Bec, then a centre of an Ultramontane revival; and he brought with him from thence the doctrine of the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements, two centuries later entitled Transubstantiation. William had chased every Anglo-Saxon bishop except one from his see, and the French ecclesiastics who had been substituted for the native prelates followed the lead set them by Lanfranc, and thus without remonstrance the mediæval tenet, subsequently called Transubstantiation, became a part of the Norman-English Church's belief. Anselm, taking his inspiration, like Lanfranc, from Bec, formulated from Lanfranc's teaching the further tenet of the reception of the entire Christ in either element, which logically led two or three centuries later to the Denial of the Cup, sanctioned at the Council of Constance. Becket and Anselm, in their resistance to the Crown, laid the liberties and independence of the English Church at the feet of the Bishop of Rome in a way unknown to the Anglo-Saxon Church before the Conquest. By the time of John's reign Popery had established itself in England, and John, with a coward's abject terror of Innocent III., declared his dominions to be subject to the Pope whom he had vainly attempted to resist, and himself his vassal.

From that moment the current of popular feeling set in, which in due time brought about the Reformation. But it required time to increase the volume of the stream, and it was necessary to wait till an opportunity should make the flood irresistible. The opportunity seemed on the point of arriving in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., when Wickliffe had publicly assailed the two great papal doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Supremacy of the Pope, and Parliament had passed the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. But the prelates of the Church were still papal in spirit, and the usurping House of Lancaster found it necessary to ally itself with them in order to support its claim to the throne. A further lease of life was thus given to Popery in England, and reformers, under the name of Lollards, were persecuted to the death by king and priest. In the first year of the fifteenth century there was passed the terrible Act *De hæretico comburendo*, the counterpart of the continental Inquisition, under the provisions of which Sir John Oldcastle was burnt. Then came the Civil War between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and not till the Wars of the Roses were over, and Henry VII. was king, could ecclesiastical matters attract attention and the question of reform be mooted. Thus the long-ripening quarrel between England and Rome was deferred to the days of the Tudors; then the demand for it became imperative.

Dean Colet, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and even Archbishops Warham and Wolsey, sounded the bell for the Reformation which

they would not themselves put their hand to In 1532 Warham died, and Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury, and during his Archiepiscopate the Church of England shook off the papal yoke which since the days of John it had borne so uneasily. So great was the power of the Papacy that it required a combined act of the Church and State to reject it. This combination happily was formed in the sixteenth century. On grounds chiefly personal and political, Henry VIII. found himself in a position of antagonism to the Pope, similar in many respects, though not in its causes, to that which had existed in the reigns of Henry I., Henry II., and Edward III. But in those earlier days when the evils resulting from the Roman Supremacy had not been experienced, the Heads of the Church took part with the Pope against the king. Now the Church took part with the king and people against the Pope. Before a united England the Pope was powerless, and the result was the rejection of the papal authority both by Church and State—by the Church in her Convocations, by the State in her Parliaments. Henry himself continued to the last day of his life to hold Roman Catholic doctrine, like his predecessors, who, nevertheless, had resisted the papal authority. But the nation, with its deliverance from the Papacy, recovered its liberty of thought and speech and action. Printing had been invented, the Bible was no longer a closed book, the tenets of the early Church could be learnt by a study of the Fathers in spite of interpolations, and a reformation in doctrine, although delayed during the reign of Henry, could not but come. Henry was not prepared to go further than the rejection of papal authority, and by his VI. Articles he did his best to preserve Romish doctrine in the Church. With his death the obstacle to doctrinal reformation was removed.

In 1549 King Edward's First Prayer Book was published, soon followed by the Second Prayer Book of 1552. But King Edward VI. died, and his sister Mary resolved to restore the relation between the kingdom and the Papacy which had existed in the reign of John and in the reign of Henry III. She failed, and by burning at the stake Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and some 220 other martyrs, she and Reginald Pole inspired into the people of England a hatred and horror of Popery which we may trust will never be overcome. Cranmer was burnt by Mary to make room for Pole. Fortunately for England and for Elizabeth, Pole died almost at the same time with Mary, and therefore Elizabeth found the See of Canterbury vacant. She nominated Matthew Parker, who was duly consecrated by Barlow, Coverdale, Scory, and Hodgkins, who represented the English bishops of the pre-Marian era, Barlow having been Bishop of Bath and Wells, Coverdale of Exeter, Scory of Chichester, Hodgkins of Bedford.

The work of the Church in Elizabeth's reign was one both of abolition and of restoration. It abolished papal forms and doctrines re-introduced in Mary's reign, and it resumed the position which had been taken up in the reign of Edward VI., with the goodwill of the majority of the English nation. It was the Pope who divided Englishmen into two camps, by excommunicating Elizabeth and ordering his adherents to form themselves into the Roman Catholic sect in England. By the time that Elizabeth died, the Reformation had been accomplished, and the Church of England had taken its distinctive character—Catholic, as holding the Primitive Catholic Faith; Protestant, as holding that faith divested of the corruptions introduced in the Middle Ages, its standard of doctrine being the Three Creeds, the XXXIX. Articles, and the Prayer Book.

By this historical sketch, short as it is, a number of false impressions respecting the Reformation may be readily removed, such as (1) The idea that the Church of England dates only from the Reformation—an idea originated by the Jesuits and lazily acquiesced in by some Protestants.

(2) The idea that the State took away its dignities, emoluments, and property from one body of men called Roman Catholics, and gave them to another body of men called Protestants; whereas there never was but one body, one Church, the Church of England, which at the Reformation cast off the corruptions which in the lapse of time and by the craft of Rome had grown up, continuing to be the same Church, and, of course, retaining its temporalities.

(3) The idea that the present Roman Catholic Church in England is the representative of the old National Church, whereas it is a sect which had no existence at all from Pole's death in 1558 to 1570, when Pius V. instituted it; and it had no bishop at all belonging to it till 1623, when it was governed for two years by a Bishop of Chalcedon called William Bishop, and by another Bishop of Chalcedon, called Richard Smith, for four more years, and then again it ceased to have any bishop till the reign of James II., who set over it a Bishop of Adrumetum, named Leyburn, and a Bishop of Madura, named Giffard. These are the antecedents of the Romish sect in England, and it is only to William Bishop, A.D. 1673, that Cardinal Vaughan and his colleagues can trace their spiritual ancestry, whereas it is

only necessary to glance at a list of English archbishops to see Augustine's name at the top and Archbishop Temple's at the bottom of it.

(4) The idea that by going behind the Reformation settlement, the Ritualists are recovering "Catholic" doctrines and usages; whereas they are the doctrines and usages rejected at the Reformation just because they were *not* "Catholic," but innovations introduced in the Middle Ages, and specially by Innocent III. and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The principle of the English Reformation was the rejection of what was new and false, and the restoration of what was old and true.

(5) The idea that the blame for the division of Christendom belongs to the Protestants; to which Archbishop Laud answers: "I never said or thought that the Protestants made this rent. The cause of the schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses. For a schism must needs be theirs, whose the cause of it is" (*Conference with Fisher*, § 21).

(6) The idea that it was Henry VIII. who conducted and effected the English Reformation; whereas he was a bigoted Roman Catholic on every point except the Papal Supremacy, and he burnt impartially any that denied either Romish doctrine or his own supremacy.

(7) The idea, which is Mr. H. O. Wakeman's in his historical sketch, that "the Henrician Reformation," that is, the limitation of the Pope's authority in England, was all that was desirable, without rejecting Roman Catholic dogmas, and that the further Reformation under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, was an unhappy concession to "Protestantism," to which Mr Wakeman has a strong repugnance, believing that Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall were the rightful representatives of the Anglican Church, rather than Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. In matter of fact, Henry VIII. contributed thus much to the Reformation: he took away an obstacle, without the removal of which it could not have been effected. The doctrinal Reformation began with Edward VI.'s reign, and found its full statement and expression in the Prayer Book and Articles of the reign of Elizabeth, which have come down to us as a trust for our maintenance. [F. M.]

REFORMERS.—The name is specifically applied to the leaders of the great religious movement by which the Protestant nations were detached from the Papal Church, and the transition made from mediæval to modern history. At its very heart the Reformation was a religious movement. There were many co-operating forces—the revival of letters, the invention of printing, the discovery of the New World, the growth of national ideas and interests, the widespread disgust at the corruptions of the Papacy; but in its inmost essence Protestantism sprang from the depths of human spirits engaged in an earnest search after salvation and peace with God. Hence, like all great religious movements, it finds its characteristic historical expression in the lives of its leaders and representative men.

A great historical transformation is always preceded by a period of preparation. There were "Reformers before the Reformation"—Wyclif in England, Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, John Wessel in Germany, Savonarola in Italy. There were also considerable bodies of Christians, such as the Waldenses, the Lollards, the Friends of God, who had sought to escape from the growing formalism of the "Catholic" Church, and to return to the simpler and more spiritual ways of primitive Christianity. But when the name "Reformers" is used without further qualification, it is understood by common consent to apply to the leaders of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.

While the Reformation affected nearly all the countries of Western Europe, it divides itself naturally into three special spheres of influence. Germany, Switzerland, and England were the chief storm-centres of the movement; and, in accordance with this, Protestantism grouped itself into the Lutheran, the Reformed (Zwinglian and Calvinistic), and the Anglican Churches.

I. *The Lutheran Reformers. Germany.*—It was with Martin Luther in Germany that the Reformation properly began; and the first act in the great conflict was when Luther, in 1517, in protest against the sale of indulgences by the monk Tetzel, nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the Schloss Kirche in Wittenberg. The second momentous event was his still bolder deed in 1520, when he publicly burned the Pope's bull of excommunication; while the third was his famous appearance at the Diet of Worms in 1521, when the ban of the Emperor was added to that of the Pope. See LUTHER AND LUTHERANISM.

Luther is the greatest and most dramatic figure in the whole Reformation history; the little monk who shook the world. When he appeared the hour had struck, and Europe was ready for the spiritual revolution that followed. But only a great heroic soul, whose "words were half-battles," and his deeds more than half-victories, could have thrilled Europe as Luther did, and kindled faith and courage instantaneously in millions of hearts. It was Luther who first gave clear and far-sounding utterance to the central principles of the Reformation—that God's Word is the

Christian's only rule, that men are justified by grace on the ground of faith alone, and that the spiritual priesthood is the prerogative of all believers.

While Luther was the militant and popular hero of the German Reformation, Melancthon was its scholar and theologian. From the merely humanist point of view, men like Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Ulrich von Hutten did much to stimulate the movement, by directing their learning and wit against the corrupt doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church. But Luther never set great store upon this kind of co-operation. Melancthon, on the other hand, was a man after his own heart, a scholar hardly less illustrious than Erasmus, and at the same time a humble and saintly Christian, prepared, as Erasmus never was, to forsake all and follow Jesus. Luther gave the German people their Bible, hymn-book, and catechism; but it was Melancthon who gave them in his *Loci* the earliest system of Protestant theology, and it was his hand that drew up the Augsburg Confession, in which the leading doctrines of the Lutheran Church assumed their definite and authoritative form.

Scandinavia. — Though Luther was the greatest personality of the Reformation, Lutheranism, as an ecclesiastical system, never gained the far-reaching influence of the Calvinistic doctrine and polity. Outside of Germany, it was only in the Scandinavian countries that it was able to establish itself. Denmark owed much to the preaching of Jansen, a Danish monk who had been to Wittenberg; while Bugenhagen, though himself a German, drew up the Lutheran constitution of the Church of Denmark and Norway. Sweden, again, was evangelised by the brothers Olaf and Lorenz Petersen, both of whom had studied in Wittenberg; and Lorenz Andersen, afterwards the first Protestant Bishop of Upsala, translated the New Testament into Swedish, thus doing much to win the hearts of his countrymen for the Protestant cause.

II. *The Zwinglian and Calvinistic Reformers.* *Switzerland.* — Parallel with the Reformation in Germany, independent movements sprang up in Switzerland, which, though at first they attracted less general notice, were destined to have a still deeper influence upon the history of Protestantism. The earliest Swiss Reformer was Ulrich Zwingli, whose work lay among the German cantons, and was carried on chiefly at Zurich; while his friend and fellow-reformer Œcolampadius, who may be described as his Melancthon, found the sphere of his life-work in Basel. Zwingli was a man of much ability, learning, and eloquence, more of a humanist than Luther, combining in himself, according to Ranke, the best elements of renaissance and reform, and ready to go much further than the German Reformers in departure from the traditions of the Roman Church. He is chiefly remembered now for his controversy with Luther, especially at the Marburg Conference in 1529, on the subject of the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist—Luther maintaining that the presence is corporeal, and Zwingli that it is purely spiritual. At first Zwingli's influence over German Switzerland was very great. The images were swept out of the churches, and a Puritanic worship took the place of the Roman mass. But the forest cantons clung to the old ways; war broke out between the Reformed and "Catholic" parties; and at the battle of Cappel in 1531 Zwingli himself was slain. See ZWINGLI.

Important as Zwingli's work had been, it was soon to be eclipsed by the far greater work of John Calvin, which represented especially the French elements of Swiss thought, as Zwingli had represented the German. Calvin was himself a Frenchman, who had studied theology at Paris with a view to the priesthood, and afterwards had turned his attention to law. While still at the University, he underwent what he himself describes as a "sudden conversion," which made him a profound student of the Bible, and led him to cast in his lot with the Protestant party. Compelled to flee from France, he took refuge in Switzerland; and in Basel, at the age of twenty-seven, published the first edition of his *Institutes*. Shortly afterwards, on the urgent entreaty of William Farel, who along with Viret had introduced the evangelical teaching into the French cantons, he entered upon the work of the ministry at Geneva, in association with Farel himself. Before long both men were driven from the city; but, some years after, Calvin returned, and thereafter Geneva was his home, and the chief centre of his ever-widening activity. Here he developed his extraordinary genius as the greatest of all the theologians and ecclesiastical statesmen of the Reformation period, and the chief consolidator of the Protestant movement. By his *Institutes*, which he revised and enlarged, and his *Commentaries*, he exercised a shaping influence upon the doctrinal systems and constitutional arrangements of all the Reformed Churches, and in particular, developed that Presbyterian form of Church government which is their characteristic type. He made Geneva during his ministry the chief centre of the Protestant world, to which religious refugees flocked from most European countries, and from which they returned bearing the deep stamp of his influence. On the death of

Calvin, his work was carried on by his friend and follower Theodore Beza, who, in association with Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli in Zurich, laboured to the close of the sixteenth century for the consolidation of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and the spread of their principles in every Protestant land.

France.—It is natural to pass from Switzerland, the sphere of Calvin's labours, to France, the country of his birth. In a sense, Calvin belongs to France even more than to Switzerland; and he and Beza may be called the Fathers of the French Reformed Church. In France, however, the Protestant cause met with an opposition which it had not experienced in Germany or Switzerland. To the enmity of the hierarchy was added that of the Court, the Parliament, and the University of Paris. In spite of this, the Huguenots, as the French Protestants came to be called, grew in numbers and power; but the movement inevitably assumed a political form, and resulted in civil wars. Protestantism was represented for a time by Admiral Coligny, who perished in the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572; afterwards by the Princes of Navarre, and in particular by Prince Henry (Henry IV.), who carried the cause to victory in the Wars of the League. On ascending the throne of France, Henry professed himself a Romanist, with a view to conciliating his Roman Catholic subjects; but he secured the liberties of the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, the revocation of which by Louis XIV. in 1685 was so disastrous alike to Protestantism and to France.

Bohemia, Hungary, Poland.—While John Hus and Jerome of Prague shed a lustre upon Bohemia in the pre-Reformation period, no great names appear in the history of that country during the sixteenth century. Of Hungary the same thing has to be said. With regard to Poland, however, mention should be made of John a Lasco, a Calvinist, who spread the doctrines of the Reformed Church in his native land, and under whose supervision the Bible was translated into Polish.

Netherlands.—To the Netherlands belongs the honour of yielding the earliest martyrs of the Protestant faith, Heinrich Voes and Johann Esch, who were burned at Antwerp in 1523, and whose noble deaths were celebrated by Luther in a beautiful hymn. At first Luther's influence was paramount; but connection with France and Switzerland led by-and-by to the predominance of Calvinistic teaching. The Dutch confession of faith, known as the Belgic Confession, is essentially Calvinistic. It was drawn up by Guido de Brès, an ardent preacher of the Gospel, who afterwards sealed his testimony with his blood. The progress of the Reformation among the Dutch people is inseparably bound up with their heroic struggle for political liberty; and under their great leader, William of Orange, they threw off at one and the same time the double yoke of Spain and the Pope.

Scotland.—Among the heroes of the Scottish Reformation three men stand out in special relief—Patrick Hamilton, Scotland's first martyr, George Wishart, her great evangelist, who also suffered at the stake, and John Knox, the pre-eminent leader in the struggle, the mighty preacher whose voice was feared by his enemies "more than an army of ten thousand men," the Christian statesman who, above all others, brought it to pass that the papal jurisdiction and the Roman worship were abolished in Scotland, and Protestantism established as the national faith. Through his long connection with Geneva, and his close personal intercourse with Calvin, Knox had become a Calvinist of the Calvinists; and his views were severely impressed upon the constitution and doctrine of the Scottish Church. After his death, his work was taken up and continued by Andrew Melville, the chief author of the *Second Book of Discipline*, who definitely moulded the Protestantism of the country into those Presbyterian forms which have characterised it ever since.

III. *The Anglican Reformers.*—In England from the very beginning, the Reformation was a political as well as a religious movement. The growth of the national self-consciousness made it inevitable that sooner or later the bondage of Roman interference should be shaken off; and Henry's quarrel with the Pope on the subject of his divorce from Catharine of Aragon, so far from completely explaining the English Reformation, as Roman and Anglo-Catholic writers have tried to make out, only accelerated an event which was bound to take place. The Reformation in England, however, was very far from being only an act of political self-assertion on the part of a proud nation against the papal headship. The seeds sown by Wyclif and the Lollards had been fructifying, the influence of the great spiritual awakening on the Continent was contagious, and above all the dissemination of the English Bible, through the labours of Tyndale, Coverdale, and their successors, exemplified once more the truth of the Psalmist's utterance, "The entrance of Thy word giveth light."

On its spiritual side the Anglican Reformation is represented by Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Oxford, Hugh Latimer, for a time Bishop of Worchester, but above all, Thomas Cranmer,

Archbishop of Canterbury. During the reign of Henry VIII., Cranmer's conduct was marked by much pliancy and subserviency; but at heart he was a warm friend of the Swiss Reformers, and in secret he did what he could to foster the idea and hope of the Reformation.[1] On the accession of Edward VI., he was able to act with less restraint, for the sympathies both of the young king and of Somerset, the Lord Protector, were decidedly on the Protestant side. He invited from the Continent several distinguished Reformed divines, such as Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, who became professors respectively in Oxford and Cambridge; and it is to him personally, more than to any other, that the Church of England owes the preparation of the XLII. Articles, subsequently reduced to XXXIX., and of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., the earliest form of the Book of Common Prayer. On the death of Edward, Cranmer supported the claims of Lady Jane Grey, and when Mary gained the throne, his doom was already sealed. Not content with arraigning him for treason, Mary had him tried for heresy; and as a heretic he was condemned to die, after he had witnessed from his prison window the cruel martyrdom of his fellow-reformers, Latimer and Ridley.

Cranmer was not a man of heroic mould; and confinement in the Tower of London and the common gaol of Oxford had weakened his spirit. At this stage his courage entirely gave way, and under the temptation of false promises basely held out to him, he was induced to sign no fewer than six successive recantations. But when he was taken to St. Mary's Church, Oxford, and asked to repeat aloud what he had written, his faith revived, and instead of doing as his enemies expected, he retracted everything that "for fear of death" his hand had written "contrary to the truth." Immediately he was led to the stake, where he thrust his right hand into the flames, exclaiming with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended—this unworthy hand."

Of recent years, from the side of those who persistently disparage the English Reformation, characteristic attempts have been made to make out that Cranmer, before he died, had become at heart a thorough Romanist. In particular, Canon A. J. Mason, in his *Thomas Cranmer* ("Leaders of Religion" Series), has informed us that during his last days on earth the archbishop spent much of his time in repeating the old Romish Litanies, with their invocations of the saints, and that, at his own request, a Dominican friar was brought to him, to whom, on two different occasions, he made confession, and from whom he received absolution and the Blessed Sacrament. Dr. Charles H. H. Wright, however, has pointed out (*The Protestant Churchman*, April 1900) that Canon Mason has no authority for these statements but a Latin document printed from an anonymous manuscript, said to have been found among the papers of Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, a noted Roman Catholic divine of the sixteenth century, by one William Carter, a printer by trade, who acted as Harpsfield's amanuensis. Carter was a bitter enemy of the Reformation, and owned a secret printing-press, which he assiduously employed in issuing treasonable attacks upon Queen Elizabeth. In the end he was found guilty of publishing a book urging upon the Roman Catholic ladies of the Court the sacred duty of assassinating the Queen; and was, accordingly, executed at Tyburn. It seems plain that an anonymous manuscript, alleged to have been found among the papers of a persecuting priest by a man who did not hesitate to include assassination among the proper weapons of religious controversy, and which is quite unsupported by any other evidence, possesses no historical value alongside of the narratives of Foxe and Strype. The use which Canon Mason has made of it for his biographical construction can only be attributed either to an entire lack of the critical faculty, or to the perverting influence of a strong anti-Protestant basis.

A word may be said in closing about those countries of Western Europe in which the work of the Reformation took no root, and which, therefore, could not be dealt with under any of the three heads (Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican) of our general classification. It is common to describe the Reformation as a Teutonic revolt against the domination of the Latin races. This is not strictly correct; but it contains an element of truth, and Protestants have good grounds of history for claiming that the entire reversal that has taken place during the post-Reformation period in the relative positions of the Latin and Teutonic peoples is one of the great issues of the momentous events of the sixteenth

[1] Cranmer was twice married; first when he was at the University of Cambridge and held a Fellowship of Jesus' College. He was then neither monk nor priest, but having married he forfeited his Fellowship, although he still continued a college Lecturer. After the death of his wife, who died within the year, he was re-elected Fellow. Twenty years later he met the niece of Osiander, who became his second wife. As so many slanders have been uttered by Romanists and Ritualists against Cranmer these facts ought to be known.

century. In *Italy* there was no national movement in favour of a reform of religion. Towards the close of the preceding century Savonarola had carried on his striking work in Florence; but it was at best, as Dr. Hume Brown has said, a kind of religious melodrama, which never struck at the central errors of the papacy, and awoke no deep response in the national heart. With regard to *Spain*, it had no great Reformer, because in that unhappy country no Protestant was suffered to live. Like a mother who murders her new-born child, Spain, through her terrible reorganised Inquisition, strangled everywhere the new religious life on its earliest appearance; and so committed a kind of moral race-suicide from which she has been slowly dying ever since. As for *Ireland*, a fountain of light and life to the sister-isle in the early days of Christianity, political causes prevented her from sharing in the unspeakable blessings that had now come to England and Scotland. Aversion to England naturally inspired a special aversion to the Protestant faith. And as nothing was done to conciliate Irish feeling, as the Bible was not translated into the vernacular, and the choice of the people in the matter of worship lay between the familiar services of the Roman Church and a service in the unwelcome language of the conqueror, Protestantism soon became a hateful thing in the eyes of the Celtic population. Ireland gave birth to no Reformer, because, unfortunately, England and Scotland sent no evangelists to Ireland to preach the gospel to the poor. Had Ireland received another Patrick, she might have produced another Columba. And had she become a Protestant country in the sixteenth century, how different her history would have been during the last three hundred years. [J. C. L.]

REFORMERS: THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Dean Stanley, when speaking at Cheshunt College to a gathering composed mainly of Nonconformists, referred to the benefits which even Nonconformity had derived from the National Church in these words: "Whether you return or not, I ask you, would you willingly have dispensed with the Authorised Version of the English Bible, entirely made by prelates and scholars of the Established Church?" The error into which the Dean fell on this occasion is widespread. He had forgotten the noble preface written on behalf of the revisers of 1611 by Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and prefixed to all the early editions, folio, quarto, and octavo, of the Authorised Version. In that preface we read: "Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our work.' This account of the Authorised Version, that crowning glory of English literature, is the fact. Dean Stanley's words express what is even now a very widespread delusion, viz. that the A.V. was a new *translation*. Archbishop Cranmer, writing to Thomas Cromwell in the year 1537, urging him to obtain the king's licence for the circulation of the edition of the Scriptures known as Matthew's Bible, requested him to do this so that the book might serve, in the archbishop's words, "until such time as we bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday." And, indeed, had this great task been left in the first instance to prelates and scholars, there is good reason to fear that Cranmer's words would have remained strictly true for a much longer period than they did. Since, while it is the fact that most of those who were at the first intimately concerned with the making of the great English Version of the Scriptures were connected with the Established Church, it is also true that to most of them that great Church gave in the way of reward only persecution, suffering, exile, and martyrdom.

Fortunate indeed has it been for the English nation that this was the case. The English version is in all its essentials the work of one heroic spirit, of one man raised up by God, and splendidly endowed with the intellectual and spiritual gifts requisite for his great task. William Tindale towers, lofty and lonely, high above all his peers in this great field of service. It was because his own study of the Scriptures had set him free from the spiritual bondage of his time, and because the grace of God had enabled him to penetrate in his own experience into the very heart of the Evangel, that he was enabled to make once and for all the English version a book free from ecclesiastical bias, that a book sets forth the word of God in all its simplicity and sweetness and power, free on the one hand from the pedantry of the bookman, and on the other, from the conventionality and prejudice of the ecclesiastic. It was thus more than an accident that to Reformers in the main, for more than two generations, the translation and revision of the English Version was left. The nation has never yet fairly or fully recognised the debt it owes to William Tindale supremely, and then in a less degree, to such fellow-workers as Coverdale and the scholars who produced the Geneva Bible.

It ought to be ever borne in mind that the early English versions, which still compose more than three-fourths of both the Authorised and Revised Versions, came into existence not only without the countenance and aid of king and prelates and Church sanction, but in defiance of these potent authorities, all of whom exerted themselves to the utmost to stay the work and to punish those who took part in it. This origin, and the persecution involved in its execution, made the English Bible an abiding force in the struggle for both religious and civil liberty. It was intended to be, and it has always pre-eminently been, the book for those who were seeking truth. To this standard it brought alike the claims of king, and priest and Church, and placed the humble reader no less than the scholar in the position of being able to form a sound and wise judgment upon these far-reaching claims.

Tindale, in the Preface to his version of the Pentateuch, strikes the true keynote. He affirms that he was moved to translate the New Testament "because," to use his own words, "I had perceived *by experience* how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in *any truth* except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue." And the spirit in which he did his great task appears in the words he prefixed to his book, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, published at Marburg in 1528. "Some men will ask, peradventure, why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the Gospel? I answer, in burning the New Testament they did no other thing than that I looked for; no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so be." These words give us the true genesis of our English version. It was not the achievement of a company of prelates and scholars. It was accomplished by one simple-minded, heroic soul, resolved that all his countrymen who could read should be able to exercise their own judgment and common sense upon the claims and assumptions and tyrannies of the Romish Church. To enable them to do this, Tindale willingly and knowingly risked his life. It is seldom that companies of prelates and scholars can labour in this spirit. Had this duty been left to the recognised Church authorities, in all probability it would have been done, in Cranmer's words, "a day after doomsday." But the work was done by William Tindale, Miles Coverdale, and John Rogers. Cardinal, bishops, king, and nobles first burnt the book, and then, only a few years later, for reasons widely different from those which had actuated Tindale, furthered its circulation. But it was not until 1568, forty-three years after Tindale's Testament had appeared, that a version prepared by prelates and scholars was published. And when this edition, known as the Bishops' Bible, did at last appear, it was, like the Authorised Version, forty-three years later still, only a careful revision of the work of Tindale and his fellow-labourers.

Tindale, Coverdale, and Rogers were all within the pale of the English Church. But they were in strenuous opposition to what they held Scripture proved to be its false doctrine and false practice. Two of them sealed their witness with their lives, and Coverdale himself was in deadly peril for a time, and even when in later life he became a bishop, he had little or nothing in common with Matthew Parker and the bishops of Queen Elizabeth. The English Version came from a man who was convinced that the most energetic opposition ought to be given to the claims and errors of the Church of Rome by placing over against them the clear teaching of Scripture. Even to this day there are no books better calculated to aid thoughtful readers in testing Sacramentarian and Roman Catholic claims by the words of Scripture than Tindale's *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon; The Obedience of a Christian Man; The Practice of Prelates;* and the *Answer to Sir Thomas More.* They have lost little of their freshness and power, because they subject papal and sacramentarian claims to the one infallible test, What saith Scripture? Yet it should be borne in mind that Tindale's first work was translating the Scriptures. He thought that if he placed the pure Word of God in the hands of all his countrymen who could read, they would gladly receive and use it, and derive from it the benefit and freedom which had come into his own soul. It was only after Wolsey and Tunstall had denounced and burnt the Word of God, and were hunting him for his life, and only after it became evident that the Church authorities cared far more about their claims and prerogatives than they did about the Word of God, that Tindale turned to controversy. The New Testament was issued in 1525; it was not until 1528 that his first controversial book appeared. During that interval his Testament had been burnt at the north door of St. Paul's, and the intellect and character of Sir Thomas More enlisted in the defence of the corrupt Church doctrine and practice of the age. It is often urged now that it was the glosses added to the text that were condemned, and not the Testament itself. But facts are against this view. No candid reader of to-day who takes the trouble to study Tindale's glosses can fail to see that they were bitterly condemned because they brought in the clearest possible way Roman claims and Roman customs as urged by the

hierarchy of the day, into sharp contrast with Scripture teaching.

This absolute devotion to the clear meaning of Scripture, this desire to test all things by the one great touchstone of truth, this willingness on the part of Tindale, if need be, to die in liberating his brethren from their bondage to Rome, was overruled and guided by the Divine Spirit to impart to the English version a quality both spiritual and literary which it could never have possessed had it been the work of a company of prelates and scholars. But the quality having been thus ineffaceably imparted to the version, gradually in the long course of years, the best scholarship of three generations united in the task—*not* of making a new version, but, to use Dr. Miles Smith's words, of making "a good one better." The work of Tindale, Coverdale, and Rogers, lasted through the stormy close of Henry VIII.'s reign, the Reform period of Edward VI., the violent reaction under Mary Tudor, the growing power and splendour of Elizabeth's reign, and culminated in the Authorised Version of 1611, and the Revised Version of 1881 and 1884. These could not have been what they became and are but for the indelible influence of the martyrs who laid so nobly the foundations, and built so great a part of the abiding edifice.

To set forth the process by which the New Testament of 1525 and 1534, and the Pentateuch of 1530, and the Old Testament of 1535 and 1537 gradually ripened into the A.V. and R.V. would be both attractive and instructive had we the space to do it here. The materials for the study are in the various editions, and no competent student can compare the A.V. or the R.V. with Tindale's Testaments of 1525 and 1534, and his Pentateuch of 1530, without seeing that they are in all essential respects the same book. The true *editio princeps* of the English Bible is the Matthew's folio of 1537. This was the joint production first and foremost of Tindale, and then, as supplementing what the martyr had had to leave unfinished, in a secondary degree, the work of Coverdale, John Rogers in Antwerp acting as editor of the composite volume. Coverdale had been for years in close touch with Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer, and by the patronage of the first and the countenance of the second, the editions known as the Great Bible, and, less correctly, as Cranmer's Bible, came into being and obtained a wide circulation. It is not possible here to trace the action and reaction in the national life from 1525 to 1541 which so powerfully influenced the attitude of king and political authorities towards the circulation of the English version of the Bible. It steadily grew in power and influence as the dominating formative influence in national life, in the face of, rather than by the aid of, royal and episcopal authority.

When Tindale had long passed away, and the Romanist reaction burst upon England under Mary Tudor, the centre of English Bible revision activity shifted to Geneva, and there the work was carried forward by men who were in sympathy with Calvin and the transformation he had wrought in Geneva. In this way a new influence was brought to bear upon our version, and enshrined in the Geneva Testament of 1557 and the Geneva Bible of 1560. An instructive measure of the distance travelled in thought and life between 1530 and 1560 is found in the contrast between the fulsome Dedication to Henry VIII. prefixed to Coverdale's 1535 folio, and the didactic address to Elizabeth prefixed to the Geneva Bible of 1560. This revised edition, a great improvement upon all that had preceded it, was mainly the work of three scholars then in exile at Geneva —Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, Gilbey, afterwards Rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Sampson, afterwards Dean of Christchurch. These did not scruple to remind Elizabeth that as she had been marvellously preserved and delivered by the Lord, even above strength she must now show herself bold and strong in God's matters.

It was through the words and the notes of this version—the real popular and generally accepted English Bible for over seventy-five years—that the grandfathers and fathers of the men who broke the power of the Stuarts received their ideas of truth and life and responsibility. But Elizabeth, and in a less degree even Archbishop Parker, never relished the Geneva Bible. In consequence, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, 1569, and 1572—often reprinted in later years—was prepared by prelates and scholars. It never succeeded, save to a very limited extent, in competing with the Geneva, but it formed one more stage in the long development of revision.

When, in 1604, James I. sanctioned the movement from which came in due time the A.V. of 1611, the scholars he selected knew that the work had been in many respects and over a large area so well done that they could do little to improve it. They were expressly instructed to consult carefully the earlier versions, though naturally the Bishops' Bible was chosen by the king as the standard text. It is generally admitted now that the text in the Bishops' folio of 1602 was in all probability the basis of the A.V. But the curious thing is, that two previous versions which exerted considerable influence upon the 1611 revisers are not mentioned at all in their instructions, viz. the Geneva, and the Rhemes Testament.

The latter was issued in 1582. This fact is only another illustration of the way in which the making of the English Version has been affected profoundly by other influences than those of kingly or Church authority. Under James I., and in a period of reaction in both civil and religious life, without the express sanction, even if not against the expressed wish of the sovereign, many abiding phrases, and turns of translation and expressions of thought came into the glorious A.V., largely from Geneva, and in a less degree from Rhemes. The latter version by Romanists, from the Latin original and under the controlling hand of the Church, fortunately did little but enrich the vocabulary of the version. Any one who desires to appreciate at its full value the A.V. should read, say the Epistle to the Romans, in the Rhemes Testament of 1582 and compare it with the A.V. text.

It is to the glory of God and the good of man that among the many forms which the English Bible assumed between 1525 and 1611, there was not one the reading of which was not able to make him who perused it carefully and prayerfully "wise unto salvation." But it is often overlooked that the nation is deeply indebted to Tindale and those who aided him for the fact that the Word has had free course in our national life. From the first the Word of God has been held up as the final court of appeal, as the one unerring standard to which all questions affecting the life of the soul must be brought. And if the field is to be held against the claims and tyranny of Sacramentarianism and Romanism on the one hand, and of Materialism and the life of the senses on the other, what better standard can be found than that of William Tindale, which he applies to one of his own books, "If God's Word bear record unto it, and thou also feelest in thine heart that it is so, be of good comfort, and give God thanks. If God's Word condemn it, then hold it accursed, and so do all other doctrines: as Paul counselleth his Galatians, believe not every spirit suddenly, but judge them by the Word of God, which is the trial of all doctrine, and lasteth for ever." [R. L.]

REGENERATION. — See BAPTISMAL REGENERATION, and notes pp. 65, 141.

REGULARS.—A term applied in the Church of Rome to persons of either sex who observe a common rule (Latin, *regula*) of life, being bound by the three vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience to an earthly superior.

RELICS.—Small pieces of the bones, skin, hair, or clothes of dead men or women, which Roman Catholics regard as objects of veneration.

It was most natural that when a martyr had been put to death, his friends and admirers should take his dead body, or gather up his remains, and reverently bury them with pious care. This was being done with the body of Polycarp, who was burnt in the amphitheatre at Smyrna in the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, as soon as he was dead, when the Jews interfered and persuaded the magistrate not to allow the Christians to take it away lest they should begin worshipping Polycarp instead of Christ. The magistrate therefore ordered that the corpse should be left to be consumed by the flames. After all was over, some bones remained, and these the Christian watchers gathered up and laid in a tomb. The Church of Smyrna wrote an account of the martyrdom, and the writers express their sorrowful surprise that the Jews, or any one else, could believe that Christians could substitute the worship of any other for that of Christ. "For we *worship* Christ, who is the Son of God, but we *love* the martyrs as the disciples and imitators of Christ, as indeed we ought for their unsurpassable loyalty to their King and Master, and we pray that we may be fellow-disciples with them." In the second century, therefore, we see that the sentiment of the Church was (1) that Christ should be worshipped, (2) that martyrs should be loved, (3) that martyrs' bodies should be honourably buried; and it had not occurred to the Church of Smyrna that any one could question that each of those religious acts was right, and would always be right, or that any Christian could even think otherwise.

Burial-places are always regarded as spots of solemnity and sanctity, and it was natural that when the Christians had as yet no churches, they should hold their meetings where the martyrs' remains had been buried, and that, when the law allowed it, they should build churches there. But by the beginning of the fifth century an idea had grown up that the sanctity of these quiet spots emanated in a mysterious way from the bodies of the holy dead there sleeping, whose presence served as a safeguard against the intrusion of evil spirits or wicked men.

In its growth the idea took two forms, both of them fantastic and gruesome. Every local church felt itself at a disadvantage if it had not a holy body to protect it. Records were ransacked to see if there was no one belonging to the church in the past, who could, through his martyrdom or holiness, be regarded as a saint, and if there were none, a church of any prominence thought it necessary in the Middle Ages to procure one by petition, or purchase, or robbery. When Gelmirez was appointed Bishop of Compostella in 1100, his first act, in order to make his see worthy to become an archbishopric, was to make an expedition into Portugal on the pretence of

visiting some outlying congregations, but really to carry away the bodies of Portuguese saints and deposit them in his cathedral at Compostella. His method was to get permission to say Mass in a church, and while he was devoutly saying it, his attendants dug up the body of the saint of the church and conveyed it to a vehicle waiting at the door. In this way he got possession, undiscovered, of the bodies of St. Cucufat, St. Susanna, and St. Silvester. Then he resolved on a great *coup*. St. Fructuosus was a saint of great name and fame, and his body was lying in a sepulchre in a church that he had himself built at Braga, of which he was considered the protector. Bishop Gelmirez got permission to say Mass in the church, and at its conclusion he went in his episcopal robes to the saint's tomb at the head of his followers, and "with tears and sighs" and in "great fear and silence" drew out the body "by a pious robbery" and hurried with it to a little town named Corneliana. There he heard that what he had done was becoming known, and that the people were rising up in indignation; so "being a man of the greatest prudence and extreme piety" he at once sent off by his archdeacon the bodies of all the saints that he had stolen, desiring him to take by-paths and get across the Minho, which was the boundary of Portugal, with all speed. Meantime he stayed behind himself to throw people off the scent. Then, as soon as he heard that they were safely across the river, he joined the archdeacon with all his party, and taking off their shoes, they conducted the holy bodies to Compostella, singing and dancing before them. "The people of Compostella," says the *Historia Compostellana*, a contemporary document, "rejoiced mightily, for they knew that by the merits and intercessions of the saints and the presence of the holy body of St. Iago, they would be delivered from all pestilence and sicknesses."

The other form did not go as far as body-snatching, but it aimed at getting little pieces of the sacred corpse or skeleton, and these were supposed to have an influence for good, not indeed equal to that of the entire body, but yet not to be despised. Thus smaller relics were sometimes given as precious presents, sometimes they were gathered from the next cemetery and passed off as genuine, sometimes they were stolen like the entire bodies. Maurice, Archbishop of Braga, a man remarkable enough to have been fixed on as a candidate for the papal chair, while on a visit to Jerusalem, heard that St. James' head was kept in a neighbouring church. Having in vain tried to bribe the custodian, he desired two of his clergy to feign sickness, and for its relief he got leave for them to spend the night in the church, burning wax candles. These men, having previously hidden spades in the church, dug up the head at midnight and brought it to the archbishop, who was waiting at the door, and they all three ran with their treasure to Jerusalem, and thence, setting off next morning, travelled with all speed to Spain, and presented it to Queen Urraca, who in turn, presented it to the Church of Compostella, to the overflowing joy of the bishop and people, which, however, was somewhat dashed when they found that according to the Spanish legend they had got St. James' head already, and therefore that the new relic must be the head of the other St. James.

The smaller relics were generally placed within, or under, or upon the various altars in any new church that was being built; sometimes they were kept in the sacristy. When Alonzo III. built the cathedral of Compostella, the following relics were placed under the altars. 1. Part of our Lord's tomb; 2. Our Lord's vestment at the time of His crucifixion; 3. The Saviour's tunic; 4. The earth on which the Lord stood; 5. The wood of the holy cross; 6. The bread of our Lord; 7. The milk of St. Mary; 8. The ashes and blood of St. James the Apostle; 9. Of St. Thomas the Apostle; 10. Of Bishop Martin; 11. Of St. Vincent; 12. Of St. Christopher; 13. Of St. Bandulus; 14. Of St. Julian; 15. Of St. Basilisi; 16. Of St. Leocadia; 17. Of St. Eulalia; 18. Of St. Marina; 19. Of St. Peter; 20. Of St. Paul; 21. Of St. Andrew; 22. Of St. Fructuosus; 23. Of St. Lucia; 24. Of St. Rufina; 25. Of St. Lucrea; 26. Of St. John; 27. Of St. Bartholomew; 28. Of St. Lawrence; 29. Of St. John Baptist; 30. Some of our Lord's blood; 31. Some of St. Mary's blood; besides a large box of the relics of other martyrs.

At the time of the Reformation, whenever a church was well supplied with such treasures, a Relic-Sunday was observed, on which such relics as could be got at were exhibited with great pomp, and dipped in water which was afterwards sold or given to those present "as very holy and effectual." Bands of music made the day attractive like a fair-day, and collections were made for the clergy of the church.

The relic-system is in full force now. In 1896 Pope Leo XIII. gave to an American lady named Throop, who had organised a pilgrimage to Rome and converted her husband, a reliquary containing the following relics: Veil of the Blessed Virgin; cloak of St. Joseph; bones of St. Peter and St. Paul; bones of St. John and St. Andrew; bone of St. Philip Neri; bone of St. Augustine; bone of St. Dominic; bone of St. Francis de Sales; bone of St.

Alphonsus; bone of St. Francis of Assisi. These were placed in Mrs. Throop's hands by Monsignor Marzolini, Pope Leo's secretary, with a paper vouching for their genuineness. At the same time Mrs. Throop received from other dignitaries the following relics: A piece of the true cross; a piece of thorn from the Crown of Thorns; a piece of the Saviour's winding-sheet; a bone of St. Francis of Assisi; a bone of St. Clair of Assisi; a piece of the habit of St. Cecilia. "Proper papers accompanied them all." [F. M.]

The Council of Trent, in its twenty-fifth session, in legislating for the invocation of saints distinctly affirmed the value of relics and their veneration, which are also taught in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. in its VIIth Article, as well as in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, part iii. chap. ii. quest. xv. (Donovan's translation).

The arguments in favour of "due reverence" being given to relics are deduced by Cardinal Bellarmine (partly following the Catechism of Council of Trent) from the following texts: (1) Exod. xiii. 19, where Moses is mentioned as having carried up from Egypt with the Children of Israel the bones of Joseph. That act, however, was performed in strict accordance with Joseph's wish that he should not be buried in the land of Egypt. There is not the slightest reference made there or elsewhere to any veneration being paid to those bones, nor is any miracle recorded as having been done by them. (2) In 2 Kings xiii. 21, there is mention made of an apparent miracle wrought by Elisha's bones. But though the facts of that history may be affirmed, the revival of the man who was thrown down into the sepulchre of Elisha might possibly have occurred through natural causes. There is no mention, even on that occasion, of Elisha's bones being taken up out of the sepulchre, and used as relics, or venerated, or of any other miracle being performed by them. (3) In 2 Kings xxiii. 16–18 mention is made of the defilement by Josiah of the high place at Bethel by dead men's bones being burned upon the altar which had been erected there, on which occasion the bones of two prophets were permitted to lie undisturbed in the sepulchres in which they had been formerly buried. No veneration whatever is said to have been paid to the bones of those prophets, except that they were left quietly to rest in their graves. (4) The Cardinal adduces Isa. xi. 10, where the Vulgate has wrongly translated the Hebrew by *sepulchrum ejus*, "his sepulchre," in place of "his resting-place," as our English versions (A.V. and R.V.) rightly translate. The argument of the Cardinal, of course, utterly fails when the mistake of translation is pointed out. (5) The burial of Moses, recorded in Deut. xxxiv., is strangely pressed into an argument in favour of relics, although even on the commonly received explanation that incident would tell against the veneration of relics. Chrysostom and others have imagined that Moses' body was buried for fear lest it might have been worshipped, although there is not a trace of any such worship having occurred among the Jews. It may be well to observe, though we do not press the matter, that it is open to serious question whether the Hebrew (Deut. xxxiv. 6) has been correctly understood of such a burial as Mrs. Alexander has described in her beautiful poem, "On Nebo's lonely mountain." For it is quite possible to translate the Hebrew as indefinite and render it "one buried him" (*i.e.* he was buried).[1]

[1] It has been too often taken for granted that the Epistle of Jude (at verse 9) contains a reference to a contest about the dead body of Moses. To support that view it has been maintained on the authority of Origen that the sacred writer referred to such a story in an apocryphal book, the *Assumption of Moses*. Three-fourths or more of that book is extant, and in none of its chapters is there a reference to any such story. Nor does the argument of that book justify the assertion that the missing portions contained such a narrative. There are, no doubt, Jewish traditions which speak about a contest concerning the death of Moses, whether he who had spoken with God face to face ought to die like other men. But of a contest about his body, and an endeavour on the part of Satan to keep it from being buried, in order that it might prove a snare to the Israelites, there is not one word. The Epistle of Jude contains several references to the Book of Zechariah chap. iii., where the exact words spoken by the Angel of the Lord to Satan are to be found in verse 2. The phrase "pulling them out of the fire" (in verse 23) is also a reference to the "brand plucked out of the fire" in Zech. iii. 2; while "the garment spotted by the flesh" in the same verse of Jude refers to the "filthy garments" of Zech. iii. 3. No old worn-out garments (as fabled by some critics) are there mentioned, but garments literally stained with human filth. Why should St. Jude, who thus had Zech. iii. 2, 3, vividly in his mind, go out of his way to refer to an apocryphal book when the very words he required actually occurred in the chapter of Zechariah to which he refers in the other passages of his short Epistle? The passage is discussed at length in our *Bampton Lectures on Zechariah*, where we have pointed out that "the body of Moses" was employed by Jude in contrast to "the body of Christ" as a designation of the Jewish Church.

The brazen serpent, that most venerable relic of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, and by which miracles were wrought on one great occasion (Num. xxi. 8, 9), though never again mentioned in sacred history, was broken in pieces by Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4) because the people used to "burn incense to it." The body of the proto-martyr St. Stephen was buried in the earth, and not preserved as a holy relic (Acts viii. 2). No mention is made in the holy Scriptures of the wood of the cross, of the nails, &c., or of the garments of our Lord having been preserved and venerated. But among the numerous relics exhibited in Rome are duplicated bodies of saints and arms, like those of St. Anthony, which have been proved to be the bones of a stag. The portion of the brain of St. Peter, exhibited as a holy relic, turns out to be nothing else than a piece of what is called brain-stone.

There are, however, several texts in the New Testament which require here to be noticed, such as those that speak of the woman touching the hem of the Redeemer's garment (Matt. ix. 20–22; Mark v. 28, 29; Luke viii. 43–47) and becoming whole of her plague. The healing, however, in that case was ascribed by Christ to faith in Himself, and not to any virtue resident in His garment. A similar miracle appears to have been repeated on several occasions afterwards (Mark vi. 56). The strong impression made upon the multitude after the terrible catastrophe of Ananias and Sapphira made many people imagine that even the shadow of Peter overshadowing the sick might benefit them. But no cases of healing are in the sacred text ascribed to any such cause (see Acts v. 15, 16). The cases recorded as having taken place in Ephesus in Acts xix. 11, 12, are more to the point. Those miracles were, however, of a very special character, and were wrought in a city noted for healing by magical arts (Acts xix. 19). They took place only on that one occasion, evidently being designed to prove to the Gentiles the vast superiority of the powers of the New Dispensation ("the powers of the world to come," Heb. vi. 5) over all the strange manifestations of "the powers of darkness." The passage in Acts xix. 11, 12, is the strongest argument which Roman Catholics can adduce. In the early days of Christianity similar events may have occasionally occurred; but the admission of that fact by no means justifies the *preservation* of relics (of which there is not one instance to be found till centuries later), and still less does it justify any veneration, or acts of kissing done unto them, which were so common in heathen days. Compare Hos. xiii. 2, where the "calves" set up by Jeroboam at Bethel are spoken of as "kissed" by their worshippers, and also 1 Kings xii. 32 and 1 Kings xix. 18, where the images of Baal were similarly treated.

[C. H. H. W.]

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—The term is frequently employed as a general designation of all the various communities that make up the "regular" clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, including also monks, friars, clerks regular, and the members of all those congregations that are bound by a rule. Roman Catholic writers, however, usually restrict the name to the four great monastic orders, certain communities, such as the Servites, which have been raised by papal decree to the rank of a monastic order, and some others, like the Benedictine family and its offshoots, which are under solemn vows.

In this strict sense of the title, the religious orders are composed chiefly of monks, friars, and clerks regular. Monks are those who have devoted themselves to the life of contemplation, and live apart from the world in monasteries. Friars are the members of the four great mendicant orders—the Dominicans, the Franciscans, including the Capuchins, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustine, or Austin Friars. Clerks regular are those members of the "regular" clergy who are under vows, but are less separated from the world, and less tied down to the observances of the cloister than monks and friars. The establishment of societies of clerks regular was approved by the Roman Catholic Church at the time of the counter-Reformation, when need was felt, in the face of advancing Protestantism, for new forms of effort. Among them special mention may be made of the Jesuits (Society of Jesus), and the Redemptorists or Liguorians, founded by St. Alphonsus Liguori. The dress of clerks regular resembles that of the secular clergy; their houses are generally called residences or colleges.

The more modern institutes, societies, brotherhoods, and other communities bound by a common rule are classed together as religious congregations. Their members may be under simple or temporary vows, or even under no vows at all; but are never under solemn vows. The Passionists, for example, do not constitute an order, but only a congregation, for, in spite of the severity of their rule, they are only under simple vows.

The action of various Continental powers in dissolving, for reasons of State, "unauthorised orders" living in their midst has led to a rapid multiplication of Roman Catholic communities in Britain and America, where their liberties are not restricted. In a recent volume, to which the present article is much indebted, on *Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland*, with a commen-

datory preface by the (Roman Catholic) Bishop of Clifton, a startling view is given of the increase in the number of religious houses in this country within late years. Mention should also be made of the establishment within the Church of England itself, through the influence of the Tractarian Movement, of various imitative Anglican brotherhoods and societies, such as the Cowley Fathers, the Community of the Resurrection, and the Society of the Holy Cross with its celibate "White Rule," full information regarding which is furnished by Mr. Walsh in his *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. See ASCETICISM; DOMINICANS; FRANCISCANS; MONASTICISM; MONKS; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; VOWS. [J. C. L.]

RELIQUARY.—A case in use in the Church of Rome for relics, which, when placed therein, must be securely sealed and authenticated by competent authority before being exposed for veneration. See RELICS.

REMEMBRANCE.—A recalling a person or thing absent to mind. The specified end and object of the Lord's Supper is to keep the Master's memory fresh in the mind of His disciples during the many centuries that were to elapse before He came again. In the precept given at the institution there is nothing said by the Lord about a divine presence, nothing about a sacrificial offering, nothing even about the spiritual effects of obeying it. "Do this," is His instruction, "in remembrance of Me." It does not follow from this that there is no other view to be entertained of the Lord's Supper except that of its being a memorial, but the preservation of the remembrance or memory is put before us as the paramount purpose of the rite, and no other aspect of it must obliterate or overshadow that purpose. In whatever way of observance the rite best secures the memory of the Lord's giving His body and blood to be sacrificed on the Cross for us, in that way it best fulfils the declared end for which it was instituted.

The way which the apostles, to whom the precept was given, took to carry it out was the establishment of a feast representing and re-enacting the whole of the Last Supper, so far as was possible in changed circumstances, held every Sunday evening, in the course of which the presiding presbyter called to the mind of those present the love of Christ in dying for man, and, like Him, distributed bread and wine, to be partaken of in remembrance of Him and of the blessings derived from the sacrifice of His death. This memorial feast was kept up in the same form to the beginning of the second century, when an Imperial law forbade its being observed any longer in the evening. It was therefore transferred to the forenoon, the memorial of the Master being now made to precede the rest of the feast or meal which took place in the church, not now before, or at the same time with, but after the sacred memory had been celebrated.

As time passed, the idea of remembrance was supplemented and then superseded by other ideas, some congenial to the original idea, some not. Thanksgiving, feeding on Christ, incorporation into His body, pledge of our acceptance in Christ—all these belong to the institution, and when dwelt upon did not derogate from its primary signification of remembrance. But in the Middle Ages the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice came to be lost in the supposed enactment of that sacrifice upon the altar, and thus the paramount purpose of the institution was frustrated.

At the Reformation, therefore, it was necessary to emphasize once more the idea of remembrance. This was done in the Church's formularies and in the writings of her doctors. In the Catechism she teaches that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained "for the continual *remembrance* of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby," and that "a thankful *remembrance* of Christ's death" is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper. In the first warning in the Communion Service she teaches that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is to be received by the religiously and devoutly disposed "in *remembrance* of His meritorious Cross and Passion." In the second warning, that "it is our duty to receive the Communion in *remembrance* of the sacrifice of His death, as He Himself has commanded." In the first exhortation at the time of the celebration of the Communion we find, "To the end that we should always *remember* the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath obtained to us; He hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of His love, and for a continual *remembrance* of His death, to our great and endless comfort." In the Prayer of Consecration, "Who did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual *memory* of that His precious death until His coming again . . . grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in *remembrance* of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood." In the form of reception, "Take and eat this in *remembrance* that Christ died for thee," "Drink this in *remembrance* that Christ's blood was shed for thee."

In like manner the divines of the Church

of England dwelt on the remembrance. Bishop Jewel says that "We offer a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ" (*Reply to Harding*). Bishop Bilson declares the Supper to be "a public memorial of that great and dreadful sacrifice, I mean, of the death and blood-shedding of our Saviour" (*On Subjection*). Bishop Buckeridge says that "the Church keeps the memory of Christ's offering in the sacrament, but she does not reiterate the action or take upon her to offer the body of Christ" (*Discourse*). Mason teaches that the sacrament "is only a commemoration and representation of the sovereign Sacrifice of the Cross" (*Vindication*). Archbishop Laud, that "Christ did institute and command a memory of the full and all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ in a sacrament until His coming again" (*Conference*). Bishop Hall, that "there is here a remembrance of a sacrifice, a memorial of Christ's Passion, celebrated in the Church" (*No Peace with Rome*). Bishop Cosin, that "we only make a commemoration or representation, *toties quoties*, as often as we celebrate this His sacrament and observe the precept which He gave us about it" (*Notes*). Hammond, that "the end of Christ's instituting this sacrament was on purpose that we might, at set times, frequently and constantly returning, remember and commemorate before God and men this sacrifice of the death of Christ" (*Catechism*).

The sense of the English Church is best expressed in the following short sentence of Bishop Andrewes: "That a memory is there made of the sacrifice, we grant willingly; that Jesus Christ, made of bread, is sacrificed there, we will never grant" (*Resp. ad Bellarm.*).

[F. M.]

REPENTANCE.—Two Greek words are used in the New Testament for "repentance," viz., μεταμέλεια (metameleia), signifying *after-concern*, *i.e.* regret for past errors, and μετάνοια (metanoia), meaning *after-thought*, after-knowledge, and hence change of mind. These two allied words express the double mental process in repentance. After-concern implies change of mind; change of mind from wrong to right implies after-concern or regret. Amendment of life must form part of any true repentance. The Romish idea of *penance* is something quite different. The central thought in that doctrine is the performance of something difficult or distasteful, or the enduring of something painful, as satisfaction for sin. See SATISFACTION; PENANCE.

RE-PRESENT.—This word has been lately invented to signify that in the Lord's Supper the "priest" "re-presents," or presents over again, Christ's "blood shed for the remission of sins."

REQUIEM (Latin, "rest").—A mass or service for the dead. The name is taken from the first word of the Introit in the Roman Office, which commences "Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine" ("Grant them eternal rest, O Lord").

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.—This simple wish, or prayer (abbreviated in the form R.I.P.), for the refreshment of souls, was for ages offered up for such only as were supposed to be "in peace" with Christ, and with the object of keeping their names in remembrance. See DIPTYCHS. It has, however, been abused, and turned into an argument for prayers for the dead in general, and as conveying the idea of a general salvation after death for professing Christians who have been unmindful of God during their life on earth. The phrase was, however, used both in the indicative (*requiescit*) as well as in the subjunctive or optative mood (*requiescat*) in heathen epitaphs, and used there with no reference to what we call the *soul*, but in reference to the *body*. Dr. Wright's remarks on Jewish inscriptions in the Catacombs and on pagan inscriptions over the dead (chap. iv. § 4 in the *Intermediate State and Prayers for the Dead*), although not exhaustive, may be profitably consulted on this subject. While the offering up of prayers on behalf of the soul cannot be proved to be a general instinct of man, the longing desire has been ever expressed in all ages that the dead body might be left "in peace," and not disturbed in its last earthly resting-place. See DEAD, PRAYERS FOR THE.

[C. H. H. W.]

REREDOS.—An ornamental screen of stone, wood, &c., erected behind the Communion Table. Sculptured figures on a reredos are allowable for the purpose of decoration only, *i.e.* if they have not been, or are not likely to be, treated with superstitious reverence.

RESERVATION.—A keeping back some of the consecrated bread and wine in the Lord's Supper for the purpose of (1) administering it to the absent, or (2) forming a supposed local presence of Christ in a church for adoration.

The two purposes specified above are essentially different; but since the introduction of the mediæval tenet of the Objective Presence of Christ in the bread and wine, no reservation for the first purpose can take place without the risk, and almost the certainty, of its being used for the second purpose.

1. In the first century, as the converts to Christianity ate their Sunday evening meal, in the course of which bread and wine were blessed in memory of Christ's body and blood by the presiding presbyter, and delivered to the guests by the deacon, it seemed hard

that if persecution or sickness kept a brother away, he should lose his share of the memorial food; so the deacon kept by him portions of the consecrated bread and wine, and carried them to any such sufferer immediately after the evening meal, as soon as opportunity offered. This showed the absent brother that he was not forgotten by his assembled brethren, and that he was acknowledged by them as a fellow Christian, taking part, as far as he could, in the memorial ordered by the Lord. Portions were also occasionally sent to the members of other congregations in token of communion. It might be thought that better ways of exhibiting mutual affection might have been found, but as long as the bread and wine were regarded as no more than types or symbols of Christ's body and blood given in His love for man, no harm followed. But when the imagination of the unlettered converts from among the barbarians, that the bread and wine actually became Christ's body and blood, succeeded in permeating the Church, grave evils arose. If these things were not what they seemed, bread and wine set apart for a sacred purpose, but the body and blood of Christ, nay, after the eleventh century, the person of Christ, how were they to be treated? In the ninth century, when Paschasius Radbert had first given expression in writing to the new idea, we first hear of a pyx being set upon the altar to hold the Lord's body during such time as had to intervene between the celebration of the Lord's Supper and its delivery to a sick person (Labbe, *Concil.*, viii. 34). Not even yet had the idea of worshipping it, while thus "stored," arisen. That would come. Why not, if it was Christ? And when it was moved from the pyx to be carried abroad, with what ceremonial should it be carried? Under the old system, when the old belief prevailed, no ceremony at all was used. A deacon took it (Justin), or a boy (Euseb., vi., 44), in a wicker basket and a glass (Jerome, *Epist.*, xv.). But not so now. Now Christ, in the form of the piece of bread, must be conveyed, or must proceed, sometimes with the sound of bells and singing, to visit the sick, sometimes in kingly state for His royal progresses, to receive the adoration of His subjects, and returning, He must be "exposed" on the altar for the worship of the congregation (first practised in 1627), and finally (still in the form of the piece of bread) give His blessing to the worshippers

The arguments by which some Ritualists have attempted to recover the practice of Reservation have been singularly disingenuous. They represent themselves as pleading the cause of the sick poor, which they know will appeal to a sentiment of compassion. In doing this, they first refer to a canon of the Council of Nicæa, to prove the necessity of a death-bed communion. They are not justified in doing so. It is only those who have been excommunicated for life, or for a long and unexhausted period, whom the Council orders to be thus received back to the peace of the Church before death; it says nothing of any others. Next, they profess that the sick will in large towns be deprived of this privilege through lack of time on the part of the minister, unless he has the elements already consecrated. But the prayer of consecration occupies one and a half minutes, and they cannot venture to profess themselves such advocates of the *ex opere operato* theory as to say that they would administer without a prayer of some kind before doing so, and the substituted prayer or prayers would take as long as the prayer of consecration. Then they deny that they can find a proper place. But no one can doubt that if they can find a place for reverent administration, they can find a place for the consecration.

In matter of fact, it is not in the interests of the sick poor, but of themselves, that these flimsy objections are urged by them For they hold that if they consecrate, they must themselves receive the body and blood of Christ, in order to consummate the sacrifice which is not otherwise completed; but if they receive they must be fasting. For they have taught their followers that this is a necessary qualification for receiving (though not one of the apostles or their contemporaries so received), and for very shame they must be therefore fasting themselves, and this they find very disagreeable if the communion takes place late in the day; and if they are unexpectedly asked to minister to a sick person after they have had their breakfast, they are in their own estimation disqualified, and have to defer the service to the next day. If the sick person thus loses the benefit of the rite, it is not the rule of the Church of England, but the superstitious imagination of the minister that is at fault. A further reason which weighs with the Ritualist is that Reservation is the Roman method of communicating the sick, and the other is the Anglican way, and therefore to be avoided. Probably, too, he agrees with the Roman rule that he ought not to "celebrate" except upon an altar; and to carry with him and set up a portable altar on each occasion would be troublesome and difficult, even if he could get his portable altar consecrated and prepared. The priest is saved all these disagreeables if he carries with him the re-

served elements and has not to consecrate afresh.

2. Beyond all this, the necessity of administering to the sick, we must fear, is sometimes but a plea put forward to get permission to keep the consecrated elements in the church, to form a localised presence of Christ and serve as an object of worship. And so, by this side-door, comes in the whole system of Adoration of the Sacrament, the *Quaranta Ore*, or Forty Hours' worship of it, the Perpetual Adoration of it, its Exposition, and the Benediction given by it.

Happily the prelates of the Church, in the Convocation of Canterbury, with greater firmness than they have always displayed, declared in 1885, "that the practice of Reservation is contrary to the wise and carefully revised order of the Church of England as expressed in the Book of Common Prayer," and that "no Reservation for any purpose is consistent with the rule of the Church of England" (*Journal of Convocation*, Feb. 3, 1885). And the two archbishops, speaking for the whole body of bishops, refused in 1900 to admit any tampering with that prohibition. [F. M.]

RESERVED CASES.—See MORAL THEOLOGY.

RESURRECTION BODY OF CHRIST.—Certain points are clear (*a*) *That Christ's body was really material.* It could be handled (Luke xxiv. 39, 40; John xx. 17, 20, 25; Matt. xxviii. 9). He Himself affirmed that He had flesh and bones (Luke xxiv. 39), and to set all doubts at rest, took a piece of a broiled fish and did eat before His disciples (Luke xxiv. 42, 43). (*b*) *Christ was recognisably the same* after His resurrection. He bore in His body, visibly present, the marks of crucifixion (John xx. 20, 25). So convinced were His followers of His identity that the one who knew Him best declares, "That which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands have handled . . . declare we" (1 John i. 1–3). (*c*) *Though the body was similar, it was greatly altered.* It displayed entire independence of the laws of matter to which men are subject. It suddenly appears, and as suddenly vanishes away. It recks nothing of bolts and bars, and presents itself to the disciples in the upper room where they were assembled with shut doors for fear of the Jews. It could wing its way, as on eagle's pinions, from place to place; it could render itself invisible or visible at will. Christ's resurrection body, therefore, though outwardly similar to the body that was laid in the grave, must have differed from it in fineness of texture, and, probably, also in essential qualities.

What is the Bible conception of the resurrection body? The classical passage upon this subject is in 1 Cor. xv. 35–44, 50–54. We are taught there the following truths: 1st. *That the buried body and the resurrection body are not particle for particle identical.* "Thou sowest *not that body that shall be*, but bare grain." 2nd. *Though not identical they are closely related.* "Every seed" has "its own body." Personal identity is preserved whatever the change that takes place in the body. We shall be recognisably the same persons, and no one shall be so altered that the eye of affection shall not be able to detect the personality of the beloved, however glorified the outward form. We shall know as we are known, no longer through the obscuring medium of these natural bodies, which hide almost as much as they reveal the inner man, but directly and unmistakably through the spiritual body, the express image and index of the spiritual being. 3rd. *God has unlimited power and can clothe the spirit in any form suitable to its environment.* He is not tied to one kind of flesh. Even within the range of our limited experience we see all sorts of flesh employed in the structure of God's creatures. "All flesh is not the same flesh; there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts," &c., &c. He can adapt the lowliest of His creatures to their habitat. Why should He not be able to give man a new body for the new and higher life into which death will usher him? Nay, more: look at the infinite variety in the heavens above us. "There are bodies celestial as well as bodies terrestrial," and as great diversity obtains among all the heavenly bodies as amongst the earthly. "There is one glory of the sun," &c. These show the endless resources of God. You cannot exhaust the forms in which nature may shape itself. Matter is capable of every variety of texture and pattern, of every degree of elevation, from the most lowly types to the highest organisms, and of every shade of splendour, from the humbler glory of the earthly to the greater glory of the shining heavens, from the twinkling of the stars to the sun, "centre and sire of light." Why may matter not rise higher still in the scale? What hinders God to turn the natural into the spiritual? 4th. *There is a natural body and there is a spiritual body.* The word "natural" is a word derived from ψυχή, which means "life," the life that man has in common with the animals. It is sometimes rendered "soul," but it means the principle of animal life, whether in man or in the inferior animals. On the other hand, the word "spiritual" is derived from πνεῦμα, which signifies the higher principle, the spiritual nature, distinguishing man from the lower orders of being. The apostle means, when he speaks of the present body as "natural" or "psychical," that it is appropriate as the organ of the animal life that man now possesses, the fit instrument

for performing the various functions that his earthly environment requires. When he speaks of a "spiritual body," he means one fitted to be the instrument of man's higher nature. Man's present body is but, at the best, an imperfect medium for expressing his noblest desires. It is an inadequate vehicle of his thought. It is not infrequently a check on his aspirations, and the too ready vehicle of ignoble feelings. It has to be carefully kept in hand, and the flesh with its affections and lusts has to be crucified. But there is a "spiritual body," exactly fitted to be the exponent of man's highest and best. This body will be wholly the servant of the spiritual nature. It will be its exact counterpart, "perfectly correspondent to the soul's majestic wants, and permanently allied with the soul's majestic capacity." This body will be "immortal"; it will be freed from the shackles of the flesh and blood which hamper us here. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." It will have no appetites to gratify except the hunger and thirst after righteousness, and no infirmities to overcome: it will be conformed unto Christ's body of glory (Philip. iii. 21).

Such appears to be the Bible doctrine of the resurrection body, and the Risen Christ Himself is the supreme illustration of mortality putting on immortality, of the "natural" becoming the "spiritual." "He is the *first-fruits* of them that sleep," the first of a long series of similar resurrections. We learn, therefore, (1) what the future life means for us; not a disembodied existence, nor yet the mere reunion, after a brief separation, of the old body, soul, and spirit; not the casting away of the body, but its quickening in newness of life and power; not the utter abandonment of our humanity, but its transfiguration and coronation. As Christ, the true Brother, remained, though Christ according to the flesh was lost, so the world to come will mean for us, not complete severance from the past, but the perpetuation and glorification of all that is best in this earthly present. Death will work a mighty change, and yet not so great as to destroy our personal identity or obliterate the sweet memories and fellowships of earth.

(2) Further, we see how impossible it is to hold the sacramentarian notion that "in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood . . . of our Lord Jesus Christ," as the Creed of Pope Pius IV. avers. You cannot speak of the "conversion of the whole substance of the wine into the blood" *now*, because Christ's body now is a "body of glory," and must be devoid of blood, inasmuch as "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."

(3) Lastly, we have many arguments for personal immortality, but we have only one proof:—Christ Himself—the actual Risen Lord—is the one absolute guarantee that we possess of life beyond. He became and ever will be "the Resurrection and the Life." In His own person He solved the problem of death, and "brought life and immortality to light." He grappled with death Himself, descended into the depths of the grave, laid Himself at the feet of the king of terrors, and, just when death seemed to have Him at its mercy, its pitiless heel upon His neck, in a moment death is swallowed up in victory. Now that Christ has died and risen again, personal immortality is no mere hope however alluring, or inference, however probable, or promise, however precious, but a demonstrated certainty, and Christ Himself is its proof, its pattern, and its pledge.

[G. H.]

It should, however, be borne in mind, although we are inclined to adopt the hypothesis of believers receiving at the Resurrection a bloodless body, that it is unsatisfactory to rest the proof of that point on the phraseology used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 50. It certainly looks that way, especially as followed by the words, "neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." But the use of "flesh and blood" in Matt. xvi. 17, and in Gal. i. 16, prevents us putting too great an emphasis on that expression, or contrasting it, as Dr. Candlish does in his *Fatherhood of God*, with "flesh and bones," as used in Luke xxiv. 39. After the Resurrection our Lord proved the reality of His Resurrection by showing the marks on His hands and feet and side, and by partaking of food. But the latter fact is also recorded, in cases like Gen. xviii. 8, of God and angels, which prevent stress being laid on Luke xxiv. 39, as to the exact nature of the Resurrection body. The Church of England is somewhat incautious in speaking positively of the blood being raised in Article IV. and in the Black Rubric. But we are in the dark as to such points, and must be content to remain so.

It is too often taken for granted that our Lord on the evening of His Resurrection actually passed through the doors of the place where the disciples were assembled, without those doors having been opened. But that is not stated by St. Luke (xxiv. 36–42) nor even by St. John (xx. 19). It should be remembered that an angel is said to have rolled back the stone in the morning which closed the sepulchre (Matt. xxviii. 2). Cannot John xx. 19 be explained in the same manner? The learned George Stanley Faber, in his *Many Mansions*, argued from those texts that Christ's Resurrection body was capable of changing by a pure act of volition from a state of "material

solidity to material tenuity," and even maintained that angelic bodies possessed similar powers, citing Acts xii. 6–11, which passage gives a very different impression. Such arguments are, like those mentioned before, far too fine-drawn.

The point is of importance in face of the old Lutheran doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which taught that the Resurrection body partook of some of the attributes of divinity, and that doctrine had an important bearing upon the doctrine of consubstantiation (see CONSUBSTANTIATION). We must avoid all subtleties unwarranted by Scripture which assist in supporting such "strange doctrines." The true doctrine of the Resurrection requires us to affirm that Christ's Resurrection body (*quoad* body) is contained in space, and has not the quality of ubiquity, that it was in such particulars a true human body, though glorified, and we must avoid entering into details concerning which no information has been imparted. [C. H. H. W.]

RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.—For the purposes of this article we shall take for granted the authenticity of the Gospel narratives—excepting the closing verses of St. Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9–20), which are wanting in some of the best manuscripts—of 1 Corinthians, and of 1 Peter; and we shall limit ourselves to an outline of the argument for the historic certainty of the Resurrection, to an examinaton of the alleged contradictions contained in the testimony of the Gospels, and to a brief statement of the Bible doctrine of the Resurrection body.

I. NOTICE, FIRST OF ALL, THE HISTORIC CERTAINTY OF THE RESURRECTION. It is not a mere dream, or sentiment, or hope, with some measure of justification; it is a historic occurrence, subject to the laws of evidence like any other historic occurrence, and demands the most merciless investigation. The witnesses to it, if they are not speaking truth, have either invented the story of the Resurrection, or been themselves deceived; they were either deliberate impostors, or mistaken, though honest men.

(1) *We have to examine the contention that the witnesses were conscious hypocrites.*

The first difficulty in the way of accepting this theory, which is now practically abandoned by unbelieving critics, though Renan to some extent revives it in *Les Apôtres*, is the difficulty of suggesting any adequate motive for such action on the part of the disciples. What could they hope to gain by their continued allegiance to a crucified Nazarene? As a matter of fact, what did they gain but worldly loss and relentless persecution? How shall we account for their boldness in standing before a Jerusalem mob and, at the imminent risk of their lives, telling the infuriated people of their inexcusable guilt in slaying the "Lord of glory"; or for their eagerness to preach a gospel of love and forgiveness, wherever they could secure a hearing; or for their readiness to die as martyrs for the cause that they held so sacred, except on the hypothesis of their entire honesty?

The second difficulty is this, that if the disciples concocted the story of the Resurrection, the enemies of Christ had the refutation of the falsehood in their own hands. They had taken care to hold Christ's body in the grave, and had appointed a guard of Roman soldiers to keep the sepulchre from being rifled. Why did they not, when the disciples proclaimed their Master's Resurrection, produce the bruised and battered corpse and end at once and for ever the conspiracy to impose upon the world? If the body was not forthcoming, what had become of it? Whither had it vanished? The enemies of Christ would not have removed it, and the friends of Christ could not. What had become of it?

The crude Jewish theory (Matt. xxviii. 11–15) was that the disciples had gone, while the soldiers who were guarding the tomb were sleeping, and had stolen the body. But it is self-condemned, because it is unlikely that *all* the soldiers would be sound asleep at one and the same time, or that some one or more would not be roused from slumber by the noise that would necessarily be made in the rolling away of the stone from the entrance to the grave, and the removal of the body; moreover, how could men who were, on their own admission, fast asleep when the alleged stealing of the corpse took place, tell who came or what was done? But the story circulated by the Jews bears witness to the fact that the grave was found empty, and that the authorities were at their wits' end to account for the mysterious disappearance of the body. Infidelity never has fairly faced the simple, incontestable fact of the empty grave. Schmiedel (*Encyclopædia Biblica*) dismisses as utterly inadequate the usual infidel explanations of the empty grave, viz. (1) "the removal of the body by persons whose action had no connection with the question of a Resurrection;" (2) the removal of the body by the enemies of the Christians "in order that it might not receive the veneration of His followers;" (3) the removal of the body by the disciples themselves; (4) the sudden disappearance of the body in a chasm opened by the earthquake mentioned by Matthew. The last theory he terms a "mere refuge of despair."

What is his own rationalistic explanation to get rid of the miracle of the Resurrection? He pronounces both the watch at the sepulchre and the empty grave unhistorical! This is cutting the Gordian knot with a vengeance, and a rather striking example of the method in which certain critics get rid of inconvenient facts. But why is the "watch" unhistorical according to Schmiedel? It is "absolutely excluded" by the women's question, "Who will roll us away the stone?" "they have no apprehensions about the watch, only about the stone." Above all, Roman soldiers could not have been induced to admit that they had fallen asleep by any bribe or promise of immunity. On such convincing (!) grounds Schmiedel asks us to reject the story of the guard at the sepulchre. And why is the empty sepulchre unhistorical? Because, forsooth, the Apostle Paul does not refer explicitly to it. That he knew of it, we are told, "can be maintained only in conjunction with the assumption that for particular reasons he kept silence regarding it." Such is the flimsy foundation on which this latest critic rests his denial of the historicity of those particular portions which happen not to fit in with his theory of "subjective visions." His own explanation is as much a "refuge of despair" as those which he condemns.

Thirdly, the transparent simplicity of their narrative is against the theory that the disciples were guilty of fraud. Their testimony is direct, unadorned. They never conceal the doubts that they themselves felt at first. They never attempt to trick out the narrative with any comments of their own. There is no pandering to human curiosity; no enlarging on matters which offered abundant scope for the exercise of the imagination, if the disciples had been intent only on telling a tale to deceive their readers or hearers. There are great gaps in the narrative which the witnesses leave between Christ's various appearances, without any attempt to explain where Jesus went in the intervals, or how He was employed. Yet, surely, if they were inventing the story of His appearances they had ample room just there for the free play of their fancy and the satisfaction of human curiosity. This self-restraint of the writers is inexplicable if the disciples were mere dreamers or story-tellers. On the morning of the day of Resurrection, Christ meets the women and makes Himself known to them; there is only the briefest account of the interview, though the imagination of a story-teller might well have lingered over its details. On the evening of the day He suddenly presents Himself to the eleven and shows them His hands and His feet. Then follows a week of unbroken silence; there is no attempt to fill in the interval with any suggestions as to Christ's whereabouts or doings. So it is right through to the end of the story. In the fewest possible words, without rhetoric or parade, the most transcendent facts are narrated. Yet, surely, if the story were a fiction, its authors would have tried to be more picturesque and detailed in their treatment. They missed a great opportunity of graphic writing. The naïve simplicity of the story is its best defence. If the story were an invention, then, surely, the imagination that was vivid enough to give us what we already possess would have been able and likely to furnish us with more.

Fourthly, the number of witnesses was very large (the apostle Paul speaks of 500), yet not one ever recanted or qualified his testimony. Surely some one of them would have been induced by bribe or threat to reveal the story of the plot to deceive mankind, and if such recantation or qualification could have been procured, it would most certainly have been widely placarded at the time, and carefully preserved in contemporary records. But you search in vain for any such disclosures. If there was any conspiracy to deceive, the secret has been well kept.

Finally, we ask what could have put it into the heads of these disciples of Jesus to play such a trick? How did it ever occur to them that they could overturn existing religions, and establish one of their own invention? They were not by nature either very brave or large-hearted. In the crisis of their Master's fortunes they "all forsook Him," leaving Him to His fate; they were so narrow in their sympathies that they refused to have any dealings whatever with their Samaritan kinsfolk, and looked on Gentiles as pariahs outside the pale of mercy. Such was their character during their Master's lifetime; and we should have thought that after He withdrew the inspiration of His bodily presence they would be quick to revert to their old life and obliterate the memory of their adhesion to a discredited and outcast Rabbi. But the very reverse is the fact. No sooner does Jesus vanish from earth than these narrow-minded bigots and cowards spring up in extraordinary eagerness to proclaim their undying confidence in Jesus Christ whom men had crucified, but whom they affirmed to be alive. They come to entertain the largest hopes for mankind, and believe that they have authority to "make disciples of all nations." How did this thought arise in their minds? What gave it permanence and vitality? How did it happen that these plain untutored provincials were able to compile a book of testimony to Christ which is itself a great literary, as well as moral and

spiritual phenomenon, indeed, *the* miracle of literature without rival or second as regards either the depth or the extent of its influence? How can we account for the sudden and remarkable change in these men's temper and capacity? They say that it was due to the Spirit of the living Christ. Is it not entirely likely? Something as great as the Resurrection of Christ must be postulated to explain the transformation effected in, and the power exhibited by, the disciples. They acted, wrote, laboured, suffered, precisely like men who had felt the thrill of some heavenly energy.

(2) *The suggestion that the witnesses were the victims of delusion, mere visionaries carried away by their exuberant fancy, is open to equally conclusive objections.*—Renan traces back belief in the Resurrection to Mary Magdalene, whom he regards as a highly emotional and susceptible creature, whose hysterical temperament gave form and substance to some creation of her fancy. Strauss and Pfleiderer lay the chief responsibility for the belief on St. Paul, who was, they say, subject to epileptic attacks, and in one of these seizures thought he saw the Jesus of the Christians coming in the clouds. He was a morbidly conscientious man, we are told, and had many misgivings as to the righteousness of the persecution of the Christians in which he was engaged. The appearance of Christ was nothing but the creation of his own accusing conscience, and a brain enfeebled by disease. Schmiedel concedes—and for so much we may be thankful—that the disciples were sincere believers in their own story, and says, "it is undeniable that the Church was founded . . . upon the belief in the Resurrection"; "the followers of Jesus really had the impression of having seen Him." But he contends that the impressions were purely subjective; that the visions were the product of the disciples' own enthusiasm. He gives what is called an analysis of the workings of the Apostle Paul's mind, ending in the vision on the way to Damascus. First of all, Paul was deeply impressed by the evident honesty, seriousness, and courage of the persecuted Christians, and by the blamelessness of their lives, and the doubt began to work in his soul, "what if they were right?" In the next place, he was far from satisfied with his own faith. He had been a great devotee of Judaism, but his piety had brought him no real consolation. He had kept the law rigidly, but his scrupulous obedience had brought him no peace. Could obedience to the law be the way of salvation? "What if the Christians were right in their assertion that the Crucified One was really the Messiah through whom it was God's will to bring salvation to the world without insisting on the fulfilment of the entire law?" "It will not be necessary to dwell upon the deeply agitating effect such doubts must have produced in Paul's inmost soul; the vividness with which the living figure so often described to him by Christians must, time and again, have stood before him, only to be banished as often by the opposition of intellect, until, finally, only too easily, there came a time when the image of fancy refused any longer to yield to the effort of thought." So Schmiedel (*Encyclopædia Biblica*) resolves the experience of the apostle into a subjective impression. The vision that he had of Christ was the result of the workings of his own mind, caused partly by his dissatisfaction with Judaism, and partly by the impressiveness of the persecuted Christians' demeanour and testimony. Such is the theory, but even supposing it did account for the apostle's conversion, it itself rests upon what equally requires explanation, the courageous bearing of the persecuted disciples, the integrity of their moral character, and the evident honesty of their faith. How are we to explain *them*? How did *they* become what this theory requires, such earnest and devoted men, that their sincerity and dauntlessness profoundly impressed such a bigot as Paul? Were they also the victims of some delusion?

The objections to all such theories of hallucination are many and conclusive.

The number of witnesses was very large. One excitable disciple might take up the notion that he had had a vision of the risen Christ, and by the very persistency of his belief in the reality of the apparition might communicate his faith to others as ill-balanced as himself. But the case is altered when we find not only one or two, but hundreds, bearing witness to the Resurrection. Is it likely that whole companies of men, of different temperaments, capacity of mind and powers of vision, should all be victimised at one and the same time by a phantom or fancy?

These witnesses had every opportunity of verifying their conclusions. Every sense that they possessed was brought into play in identifying their Master. They saw the Lord, they talked with Him, they ate with Him, they were even asked to put their fingers into the print of the nails and their hand into the open wound in His side. Sight, hearing, touch combined to testify to His reality. Now, when the eye helps the ear, and the ear the eye, and the hand helps both, in arriving at conclusions as to the existence of external objects, there is little risk of mistake. If the disciples' testimony rested on the evidence of only one sense, it would be more open to suspicion; but based as it is on the evidence of several senses, it cannot be fairly challenged

except by those who think all men knaves or fools but themselves.

So far from the witnesses being credulous and gullible people, they were exceedingly difficult to persuade. They had no expectation of seeing their Master again. The two disciples who were found walking to Emmaus were in the deepest dejection, as though all was lost when their Master was taken. The women brought spices, not to anoint the living, but to embalm the dead Christ, and were amazed to find the grave empty; and when they returned, declaring that they had "seen a vision of angels," the men laughed at them and their "idle tales." Mary was quite surprised to find herself addressed by the man whom she mistook for the gardener—who else could be there at that early hour?—in the old familiar tones. Thomas refused to take any evidence at second hand, and declared that nothing would satisfy him but a close personal inspection of the very body of Jesus. So far from the disciples being moved by their feelings to expect the Resurrection, they were totally unprepared for it, and required the fullest demonstration of it.

Many of the witnesses were exceedingly intimate with the Lord; some were His relations and knew Him from childhood; some lived for two or three years in close intercourse with Him. They knew His every look, tone, gesture. It would have been exceedingly difficult for any one to personate Him, even if any one had any particular ambition to personate a despised and crucified Nazarene Rabbi. Certainly no one could easily have simulated the piercing of the nails and the open gash in the side.

Only a brief interval lay between the crucifixion and the alleged resurrection. If years, or even months, had intervened between the disciples' parting from their Master and His return, there might have been risk of their forgetting what He was like; but only two or three days elapsed between His death and rising again; their recollection of their Master was fresh, clear, and unmistakable; confusion was impossible.

Now, if the disciples were neither deceivers nor deceived, neither liars nor simpletons, what follows? "The Lord is risen indeed." The Christ, who was crucified between two thieves as though He were the chief criminal of the three; the Christ in whose side, in its most vital part, a Roman pilum with a broad four-inch head was plunged, making a wound so deep and wide that a man's hand could be thrust therein; the Christ, whose body, swathed in the raiment of the grave, was laid in a tomb, carefully guarded by a picket of soldiers, has burst the bonds of death and opened the gates of heaven to all believers. The physical fact of death remains, but its terror is gone. "Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!"[1]

II. ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO DISCREDIT THE EVIDENCE OF THE GOSPELS BY EMPHASIZING THE DISCREPANCIES THAT APPEAR TO EXIST IN THE TESTIMONY BORNE BY THE WRITERS. Schmiedel, in his article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, says: "These (*i.e.* the Gospels) exhibit contradictions of the most glaring kind," and proceeds to give instances. Before examining his examples of "glaring contradiction," it is well to bear in mind the fact that sometimes in ordinary history two accounts of the same occurrence may appear to be in contradiction, and yet a little fuller knowledge of the facts may supply the link needful to bring them into harmony. A few years ago there appeared in the daily papers the announcement, somewhat brief, of the death of the Duke of ——. In one paper that we saw it was stated that he committed suicide, in another that he had died of fever. These two statements seemed irreconcilable. The explanation came later. It appeared that his Grace was suffering from fever, and that during the temporary absence of his attendant he had in his delirium got hold of a pistol and shot himself. Fuller knowledge explained the discrepancy. Therefore, before alleging contradiction between witnesses, especially witnesses who are admitted to be absolutely sincere men, as Schmiedel allows the disciples to be, we are to ask ourselves, is there no possible explanation of the apparent differences? If there be even a possible explanation, justice to men admittedly honourable requires us to accept a provisional solution of the difficulty; and even where we can see no possibility of disentanglement, it may be, as in the case just cited, that some single fact unknown to us would completely solve the puzzle. But in any case the *bona fides* of the witnesses is a presumption in their favour, and should move us to seek for agreement rather than disagreement in their testimony. Let us deal now with the alleged contradictions.

We are told that the account in Matt. (xxvii. 62–66; xxviii. 4, 11–13) of the watch and seal set upon the sepulchre and of the bribing of the soldiers of the watch, is opposed to the narrative in Mark and Luke; these stories, it is stated, are "excluded by the representation of the women as intending to

[1] See Dr. Wm. Milligan's article on the Resurrection of Christ in Fairbairn's *Bib. Dictionary*.

anoint the body, and (in Mark at least) as foreseeing difficulty only in the weight of the stone, not in the presence of a military guard."

Now, in answer, we have to say: (1) That, if the women make no mention, in their anticipation of difficulty, of the guard of soldiers, why should we assume that they knew anything at all about the setting of the watch? They had gone away to their own homes before the watch was sent, late on Friday evening, and started preparing spices for the proper embalming of the Lord's body after the Sabbath was over. They rested, as pious Jewesses, all the Sabbath. We have no reason to suppose that after leaving the tomb on Friday night they visited it again until Sunday morning early, and in consequence, they may have been quite ignorant of the arrangements made by the authorities for the guarding of the grave. This is a perfectly possible, almost probable, explanation of their silence about the military guard. (2) Even if they had heard of the guard placed over the sepulchre, their very simplicity might have led them to think that somehow or other they could obtain the consent of the soldiers to discharge this last office to the dead. Love does not always reason well, and a little allowance must be made for the excitement and intensity of feeling under which these women were labouring. They were not phlegmatic critics looking at affairs from the outside, but humble women, stricken with grief, whose spiritual hopes were buried in the grave of Jesus.

Luke and Mark are said to be in contradiction because the former (xxiii. 54, 56) says that the women got ready their spices before sunset on Friday, and the latter (xvi. 1) that they bought them after sunset on Saturday. But may there not have been *two* purchases, either by the same women at different times or by two groups of women, the one set making the purchase on Friday, the other on Saturday? Is it incredible that the supply first procured was found insufficient and had to be supplemented? Is it impossible that two sets of women may have gone on the same errand at different times? We have simply no right to assume contradiction until we have exhausted every conceivable explanation; and if we can suggest even a fairly reasonable solution the allegation of contradiction is ruled out of court.

John speaks of the body of Jesus as already embalmed (xix. 38–40). Why then should the women prepare spices? Had they not seen Joseph and Nicodemus making ready the corpse for burial in the usual way, and laying it, wrapped in a fine linen cloth, in the grave? So runs the objection. We reply, there is no necessary contradiction. (1) Because, first of all, it is quite doubtful whether or not the women were witnesses of the actual embalming of the body by the hands of Joseph and Nicodemus, for it is highly improbable that the operation was carried out in the public gaze; and we are told that "the women from Galilee stood *afar off*, seeing these things" (Luke xxiii. 49). They may not have been aware that the body was embalmed, even though they may have been able to make out that it was wrapped in linen; nor could they have easily surmised that Joseph and Nicodemus, whose discipleship hitherto had been a carefully kept secret, would be at pains to pay much respect to a crucified Nazarene. (2) In the second place, it is quite clear that whatever embalming was attempted must have been hurriedly done, as there was but a short space of time between the taking down of the corpse from the cross and the commencement of the Jewish Sabbath. John (xix. 42) refers to the haste with which the body had to be interred in the nearest available spot. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the women wished to supplement the (presumably) rough-and-ready work of Joseph and Nicodemus, and reverently re-embalm the form that they loved so well? It is a perfectly natural explanation.

John speaks of Nicodemus as well as Joseph caring for the body (xix. 39, &c.); the Synoptists (Matt. xxvii. 59; Mark xv. 45, 46; and Luke xxiii. 53) only refer to Joseph. But the mere fact that only one is mentioned does not exclude the possibility of two being present. There is certainly no contradiction between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptists; the fourth Gospel may be supplementary.

(*c*) Stress is laid on the fact that the accounts vary in their statements regarding the persons who went to visit the grave on the morning of the resurrection. Mark mentions Mary Magdalene, Mary (the mother) of James and Salome; Matthew, the two Marys; Luke, the two Marys, Joanna, and "the other women with them"; John, Mary Magdalene. It is to be observed that the list of names in each instance does not profess to be exhaustive. Schmiedel reads into the text what is not there when he declares that "according to Matthew, *only* the two Marys," and "according to John, *only* Mary Magdalene" came. To mention only those who were the leaders does not exclude the presence of others. Thus, though in John xx. 1, Mary Magdalene is the only person mentioned by name, yet, in John xx. 2, Mary, speaking apparently as the representative of others, says, "*We* know not where they have laid Him." On the other hand, in the same chapter later (xx. 13, 15), she speaks as one who was alone: "They have taken away

my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him. . . . Tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away." The "*we* know" of verse 2 suggests that Mary Magdalene was not alone when she *first* came to the sepulchre; the "*I* know not" of verse 13 and the "*I* will take Him away" suggest that later she was standing alone by the grave weeping when Christ appeared to her. The change from the *we* to the *I* is significant. How shall we combine these accounts in a consistent whole? Dr. John Morrison suggests a method of reconciliation: "We must suppose—what is perfectly natural—that there was a variety of runnings to and fro. We may conceive the case in some such way as the following—without, however, imagining that it embodies the absolute historic truth. When the group of women saw the open tomb and the angels, Mary may instantly, in a kind of ecstatic bewilderment, have turned on her heels to run and carry word of the fact to the apostles. By-and-by the other women would follow. Ere long Peter and John would come running, and then return. Mary, for a little season, was alone near the sepulchre, and Jesus revealed Himself to her. By-and-by the other women rejoined her, and Jesus appeared to them all as they were on their way to the apostles. There would be in all their bosoms not only interest strung to the highest pitch, but ecstasy and trepidation, and an impossibility of resting anywhere longer than a few moments at a time."

The variations as to the time of the visit of the women to the sepulchre are alleged to be irreconcilable. Luke says it was at "early dawn"; Mark says it was "very early, when the sun was risen"; John says it was "early, when it was yet dark." Matthew says it was "late on the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week." Schmiedel insists that "late on the Sabbath" (*ὀψὲ σαββάτων*) *must* mean the time about sunset, and that, therefore, Matthew places the visit half a day earlier than the others. It is quite clear, however, that "late on the Sabbath" and "as it began to dawn," &c., refer to the same time (see Bruce, *Expositor's Bible, in loco*). *Ὀψὲ σαββάτων* may be interpreted in three ways: (1) *Ὀψὲ* may be taken as = "after." (2) *Σαββάτων* may be translated "week" and taken as referring to the Passover week, and with *ὀψὲ* rendered "late in the week." (3) We may assume that we have, in Matthew, not the Jewish, but the civil mode of reckoning, and that the day was viewed as beginning and ending with sunrise. But however we interpret the phrase, we have the sure note of time in the words "as it began to dawn," &c.

There is some little diversity in the accounts which requires a word or two; all agree that it was very early on the first day of the week but John says it was "while it was yet dark"; and Mark states that it was "very early," but adds "when the sun had risen." Those who have been in the East know how quickly the day passes into night and night into day in the tropics. It would not be easy, unless we were taking most careful observations, to determine exactly whether an event took place the moment before or the moment after the dawn, while "it was yet dark" or "when the sun had risen," the transition is so rapid. Besides, it may have been quite dark when the women started, and the sun may have risen just as they were reaching the sepulchre. But to argue, as Schmiedel does, that the narratives are in glaring contradiction of one another because of the slight differences, is simple querulousness; it is to demand a precision of observation that might be right in an astronomer, but would be wholly out of place in plain untutored women, and, indeed, would be not a note of genuineness, but of the reverse. All that could be fairly expected of such witnesses, under such conditions of excitement, would be simply agreement as to the main fact, that the visit was paid very early in the morning. Such agreement we have, in spite of Schmiedel's insistence that Matthew's "as it began to dawn towards the first day" must mean sunset and not sunrise.

"According to three of the Gospels, those who went to the sepulchre found the stone already rolled away, but, according to Matthew, it was rolled back in the presence of the women." Such is the objection. But Matthew does not say that it was rolled back in the presence of the women, though he does introduce the story of the angel's descent, the rolling back of the stone, and the scare of the keepers, after he has stated that the women went to see the sepulchre. It may be introduced at this point to emphasize the contrast between the terror of the military guard and the unutterable joy of the women, or to explain how it was that the tomb was found empty when the women arrived. Furthermore, the aorist (*σεισμὸς ἐγένετο*) may be quite well rendered "had taken place." *Cf.* Matt. xiv. 3, where the aorist (*κρατήσας ἔδησεν*) is given in the R.V. "had laid hold on and bound."

There is alleged to be a discrepancy in the *number* of the angels: Matthew (xxviii. 2–7) and Mark (xvi. 5–7) speak of only one angel; whereas Luke (xxiv. 4–7) and John (xx. 12) speak of two. Again, the *positions* assigned to the angels are said to be at variance. In Matthew (xxviii. 5) the angel seems to be outside, but in Mark (xvi. 5) inside. In Luke the two angels appear after the women have en-

tered the sepulchre; in John, Mary Magdalene finds them already there. Further, a discrepancy is found in the *instructions* given to the women by the angels. Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree in reporting the angels as saying, "He is not here: He is risen"; but whereas Matthew and Mark represent the angel as bidding the women to summon the disciples to meet Jesus in Galilee, Luke entirely omits to record this command and appointment, and inserts what Matthew and Mark fail to recall, the allusion to Christ's prediction ("Remember how He spake unto you," &c.) of His death and resurrection.

Still further, there is alleged to be discrepancy in the accounts of the women's *fulfilment of their instructions*. According to Matthew (xxviii. 8), they "ran to bring the disciples word"; according to Luke (xxiv. 9–11), they "told all these things unto the eleven"; but according to Mark (xvi. 8), they "fled from the tomb . . . and said nothing to any one, for they were afraid." Once more, the accounts of the *effect on the disciples* of the women's story are declared to be at variance. In Matthew (xxviii. 16) we find the disciples assembling in Galilee in obedience to the angel's message; in Luke (xxiv. 11) we are told that the disciples received the women's story with absolute incredulity; whereas, in John (xx. 3–10) we find John and Peter running, as soon as they heard of what had happened, to see the empty sepulchre for themselves.

Now, with regard to these alleged discrepancies, we have to say they rest on quite gratuitous assumptions. (1) With regard to the various appearances of the angels, why should it be assumed that the narratives all deal with the same precise point of the history? May there not have been more than one visit paid within a brief period by these excited women? May there not have been one angelic appearance at one stage and another angelic appearance at another stage? There must have been many runnings to and fro, and it would be impossible to say to which in this brief narrative the writers refer. (2) Why should it be assumed that we have a *complete* narrative of all that was said and done by the angels, or women, or men? Allowance must be made for the evident condensation of the narrative. Why should it be argued that Luke contradicts Matthew and Mark because he omits to mention the command, "Go quickly and tell the disciples," &c.? Omission is not contradiction; and, moreover, if Luke omits to mention the command, he records the fact that the women did tell the disciples (Luke xxiv. 9, 11). Again, why should Luke's addition ("Remember how He spake," &c.), which you do not find in Matthew or Mark, be regarded as a contradiction? Addition is not contradiction. Again, with regard to the way in which the women are said to have carried out their instructions (Matt. xxviii. 8; Mark xvi. 8), may not both statements be true? May not Mark be describing the *first* effect made upon the women, and Matthew the *final* result? Matthew alludes to the "fear" as well as to the "great joy" of the women. Or may not Mark be speaking of the attitude of the women to the general mass of the people? They did not begin publishing their discovery the moment they left the sepulchre to all and sundry; they were too amazed, almost terrified, to speak of what they had seen, and only found vent for their feelings when they reached the sympathetic circle of the disciples. Narratives may be complementary without being contradictory.

Schmiedel declares that Luke represents all the appearances that he records as occurring on one and the same day. But he forgets that this same Luke distinctly states in the Acts of the Apostles (i. 3) that "Jesus showed Himself alive by many infallible proofs, *being seen of them* (*i.e.* the disciples) *forty days*." We are not *required* to believe that the sayings ascribed to Christ in Luke xxiv. 44–49 were all spoken on one occasion.

Schmiedel also tells us that Matthew knows only of appearances in Galilee, while Luke and John know only of appearances in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. But silence about an occurrence does not argue its non-existence or the narrator's ignorance of it. None of the narratives professes to be exhaustive. One of them, indeed, declares the imperfection of his account, and even the impossibility of recording all that Jesus did (John xx. 30; xxi. 25). Besides, John does refer to an appearance in Galilee (xxi. 1–14), though Schmiedel affirms that the last chapter of the fourth Gospel is "by another hand," a convenient method of getting rid of an awkward passage when one has a theory to support which requires its elimination. As to the authenticity of the chapter, Westcott says: "It is clear that xxi. 1–23 was written by the author of the Gospel. The style and the general character of the language alike lead to this conclusion; and there is no evidence to show that the Gospel was published before the appendix was added to it."

Schmiedel finds serious divergence between Luke xxiv. 33–43 and John xx. 19–24. First, he argues that as Luke speaks of "the eleven" being present while John says "Thomas was not with them," one or other must be wrong. If John was right, there were only ten apostles present, not *eleven*. But it is to be noted in answer that John only says,

"Thomas was not with them *when Jesus came.*" What hinders the supposition that he was with the others at the beginning of their private gathering, and that, being in no mood to accept the stories that were rehearsed to the company, he may have left the room before Jesus appeared? When the other disciples met him afterwards they were able to add to the evidence, that he had previously had, the positive testimony, "*We* have *seen* the Lord." Next, Schmiedel insists that the special gift of the Spirit and authority to absolve or condemn (John xx. 21–23) was conferred only on "the eleven," and that, therefore, Luke's statement that there were others beside "the eleven" present (Luke xxiv. 33) cannot be reconciled with John's account. But what right have we to assume that this great gift was the exclusive privilege of "the eleven"? and even if it were confined to them, why should Christ have been unable to take "the eleven" apart from the rest and make it clear that they, and they alone, were the recipients of this exceptional grace? Lastly, we are informed that because John does not, as Luke does (xxiv. 39), represent Christ as formally inviting His followers to "handle Him," but only records that "He showed unto them His hands and His side," we are, therefore, to understand that, according to John, "He does not suffer Himself to be touched," and "*first* suffers Himself to be touched eight days afterwards." To say that the phrase "He showed unto them His hands and His side" means "He did not suffer Himself to be touched," and to allege, on that ground, that "He first suffered Himself to be touched eight days afterwards," may be regarded in some quarters as acute criticism; but to us it looks like the gratuitous manufacture of difficulties.

Difficulty has been raised as to the *time* that Christ spent in the grave. Mark says (viii. 31; ix. 31; x. 34) that He rose "after three days." The parallel passages have "on the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 23; xx. 19; Luke ix. 22; xviii. 33; xxiv. 7, 46). John says "in three days" (ii. 19–21). Matthew gives "three days and three nights" (xii. 40). Here, for a novelty, Schmiedel defends the consistency of the writers. He says that, in Jewish usage, the phrases quoted were not very definite in meaning. "We must not imagine that the two phrases were for the evangelists really incompatible." "According to the Gospels, Jesus remained under the power of death not for about seventy-two hours, but only for somewhere between twenty-six and thirty-six hours. These, however, in fact, according to Jewish reckoning, are distributed between Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. In two of the Old Testament passages referred to above—2 Kings xx. 5, and Hos. vi. 2—we read, not 'after three days,' but 'on the third day.' Thus the Gospel tradition literally satisfies the expression."

We may then fairly conclude that, whatever differences or gaps occur in the narratives, however difficult it may be to piece the testimony of the witnesses into a whole, there is no contradiction that does not admit of a reasonable solution. On the other hand, the very variations in the several accounts, the diversity between narratives of the same episode, make it plain that the witnesses were absolutely independent of one another. No charge of collusion can be brought against them.

[G. H.]

RE-TABLE.—A shelf or shelves erected in Ritualistic churches above the Communion Table. It is illegal to burn lights on these shelves except when actually required for the purpose of giving light. See ALTAR.

RETREAT.—An occasional retirement from ordinary life practised in the Roman Church, for silence and spiritual exercises. A retreat lasts usually for from three to ten days. In imitation of the Roman practice "retreats" have long since been introduced by the Ritualists into the Church of England. Dr. Pusey and the "Society of the Holy Cross" were responsible for the first retreat, held in Dr. Pusey's house at Oxford in 1856. At that retreat the Romish offices of Prime, Terce, and Sext were used, and at conferences held by the members, amongst other subjects, the confessional was discussed. All "retreats" have been utilised for binding the yoke of confessors on those who submit to their sway. An occasional "quiet day," when the services are conducted on true Church of England lines, may be beneficial. But when "retreats" tend to put those who attend them under the temporary guidance of some spiritual "director," they are not unattended with danger. They have the show of a "voluntary humility," but lead on to spiritual bondage.

REUNION.—The restoration to unity of the parts of a body which have been separated. The Church was designed by its Founder to live in unity with itself. It is no longer in unity, but in schism; that is, there are a number of different bodies which together make up the Church Catholic and yet are not in communion with each other. It is idle to say that one part is schismatical, and another not; the whole Church is in schism, or division within itself. Is it possible that the various communities which constitute the Church Catholic should coalesce together, and if it be possible, is it desirable? To this question we must answer, If it be possible without the sacrifice of truth, it is highly desirable; if that

cannot be done, the lesser good of unity must be forfeited for the sake of the promotion of the greater good—truth.

The divisions of Christendom, as at present existing, may be reckoned as follows:—

1. The Oriental Church numbers about eighty million souls. Its tenets are those of the six Œcumenical Councils, and of a local Council of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, held at Nicæa in the year 787, called the Second Council of Nicæa, and regarded by it as Œcumenical. This local Council sanctioned by its authority the worship of saints and pictures, which has thence become a practice of the Oriental Church, and there has also filtered into it from the Latin Church a doctrine almost identical with transubstantiation.

2. The Latin Church, which accepts the papal monarchy with all its consequences, numbering, on a liberal computation, about a hundred million souls (it claims two hundred million by counting as its adherents all the inhabitants of France, Italy, Spain, South America, and many more that do not belong to it). Its particular tenets are those that are summed up in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., and the supplement to it by Pius IX., namely, (1) Transubstantiation, (2) the Mass, (3) One Kind, (4) Seven Sacraments, (5) Purgatory, (6) Indulgences, (7) Saint-worship, (8) Relics, (9) Image-worship, (10) Tradition, (11) Justification, (12) Supremacy, (13) Immaculate Conception, (14) Infallibility, (15) Universal Episcopate of the Pope.

3. The Teutonic and Protestant Churches of the Anglican, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Nonconformist types, numbering about one hundred million souls. The tenets of the Anglican communion profess to be those of the Primitive Church, summed up in the Apostles' Creed, defended in the XXXIX. Articles, and underlying the various offices of the Prayer Book. The particular tenet of Lutheranism is Consubstantiation; of Calvinism, an extreme Predestination; and each Nonconformist community has its special tenet.

Is it possible that these divisions of Christendom can unite in such fashion as to be fused together? It is not possible while each retains its faith. For the additions made to the Catholic Faith by Rome are not in such a way supplementary to it that they could be dropped by the Latin Church, or ignored by others; they are become the essential doctrines of that community. Nor could Greece give up the Second Council of Nicæa and the doctrines sanctioned by that Council and therefore adopted by the Oriental Church. Nor could the Teutonic and Protestant Churches accept the peculiar doctrines of Rome or Greece without committing an act of suicide. Nor could the various Protestant Churches admit each the peculiar dogmas and discipline of the others. If, then, by reunion we mean a fusion together on the basis of unity of faith, the expectation of it must be, humanly speaking, abandoned.

What then? Are we not to strive and pray for the unity of Christendom? Certainly we are. No one can doubt it who enters into the prayer of the Lord Jesus recorded in John xvii. But we must so strive and pray for unity as not to forget the claims of truth. When God's truth, such as we apprehend it, although our conception of it may be inadequate, stands in the path and waves us back, we must not pass. We must be contented to leave the breaches of unity, made by the sins and superstitions of men, to remain till God points out a way of remedy, remembering that we must not do evil by a betrayal of truth, that good may come in the form of peace. Peace so earned would not be a godly peace, but a conspiracy in evil, which could not but again fall asunder.

In the interests of unity itself, they are but short-sighted who seek it blindly and as their primary object. Suppose that we followed the counsel of those that aim at a corporate union with Rome, we should be so much the more alienated from the Oriental Church, which has declared the Roman communion the apostacy of the latter days, and from the Protestant Churches, and also from that Primitive Church, with which we are now in doctrinal agreement. Suppose that we united ourselves with any one of the Protestant communities, we should by that act be the more separating ourselves not only from the as yet unreformed Churches, but from the other Protestant communities. Each section of the divided Church must acquiesce in simply and firmly bearing testimony to the truth as it conceives it, and we may well believe that the Church, as a whole, thus testifies to the whole truth, although that truth, in large sections of the Church, is encumbered or overgrown by hay, straw, stubble, whose fate is to be burnt. In a sense, all who hold the foundation are at one. All are Christians who cling to Christ. That is an unity more spiritual than uniformity, and in lack of a closer bond, it binds together in a very real manner the children of God in Christ, however much they may be outwardly separated. With that unity we must at present be satisfied, while striving ever so to make the pure truth of God prevail as to enable the whole Christian body to reunite on the only basis which makes an external union and communion possible and desirable—the basis of truth. [F. M.]

REVELATIONS, MODERN.—In the Roman Catholic controversy sufficient attention has not been given to the place which modern revelations have now taken as part of the foundation of their system. No one can take up modern popular books of Roman Catholic devotion without seeing that their teaching differs as much from that of the Council of Trent, as the teaching of that Council differs from that of the Church of England.

Although popular Romanism is certainly not the same as the Romanism of the Schools, it is popular Romanism which has the best right to be accounted the faith of the Church. Let popular belief come first, and scholastic definition and apology will come in its own good time afterwards.

What actually happens in a number of cases is, that additions to the structure of Christian doctrine find a shorter road to recognition. Both within and without the Church of Rome it has constantly happened that persons of an excitable and enthusiastic frame of mind, whose thoughts have been much occupied about religion, have supposed themselves to be favoured with miraculous communications from God. Such persons, for instance, were Johanna Southcote among Protestants; St. Gertrude, Marie Alacoque, among Roman Catholics. Among Protestants, persons of this kind do not find it easy to get any one to listen to their pretensions; they are joined by no sober-minded persons; they collect a few foolish people for a while, form them into a small sect, and in a few years come to an end. But in the Church of Rome pretenders of this kind not only gather a larger band of followers, but they meet with no opposition—not even from those of their own communion who do not believe in them. Few Roman Catholics would grudge any honour, not even excepting the title of saint, to a pious woman of this kind, even though they do not believe in her asserted revelations. "She will at least promote the cause of piety; and for their part they do not choose to give scandal to pious minds and triumph to unbelievers by exposing the weaknesses and excesses of faith to an infidel world." But meanwhile the utterances of these supposed recipients of a revelation are caught up and accepted with implicit faith by others. This will happen when the utterances express only the seer's private speculations. But more usually they are the opinions already favourably thought of in her own little circle, which is therefore prepared to welcome an authoritative enunciation of them; and then, with this backing of inspired attestation, belief in them grows so strong and spreads so widely, that Church authorities are no longer free to choose whether or not they will approve of them.

There is in the Roman Church an amazing amount of literature recording such revelations; but whether those revelations are genuine or not the Pope will not tell, and it is at any one's choice to accept or reject them. Some of the Oxford converts made it a point of honour to show how much they were able to believe, and with what ease they could swallow down what old-fashioned Roman Catholics were straining at. Among these there was none more influential than the late Father Faber (far more so, indeed, than Dr. Newman), whose devotional and theological works had a rapid and extensive sale. One can hardly read half-a-dozen pages of these without meeting as proof of his assertions, "Our Lord said to St. Gertrude;" "It was revealed to St. Teresa;" "Let us listen to the testimony of God Himself: He made known to a holy nun," &c.[1] These quotations are made as much a matter of course as we might cite texts of Scripture. A number of new things about Purgatory are stated on such authority, and being incorporated into widely circulated devotional works, pass rapidly into popular belief; for instance, that the Virgin Mary is Queen of Purgatory, that the Archangel Michael is her prime minister, that the souls there are quite unable to help themselves, and that our Lord has so tied up His own hands that He is unable to help them, except as "satisfactions" are made for them by living Christians; with a number of other details as to the causes for which souls are sent there, the length of time for which they are punished, and the manner in which they are relieved. According to the revelations of St. Francesca, bishops seem on the whole to remain longest

[1] "Our Lord said to St. Gertrude, that as often as any one says to God: 'My love, my sweetest, my best beloved,' and the like, with a devout intention, he receives a pledge of his salvation, in virtue of which, if he perseveres, he shall receive in heaven a special privilege of the same sort as the special grace which St. John, the beloved disciple, had on earth" (Faber's *All for Jesus*, p. 60).

"Our Lord said to St. Teresa, that one soul, not a saint, but seeking perfection, was more precious to Him than thousands living common lives," p. 117. "St. Gertrude was divinely instructed, that as often as the Angelic Salutation is devoutly recited by the faithful on earth, three efficacious streamlets proceed from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, most sweetly penetrating the Virgin's heart," p. 104. "Once more let us listen to the testimony of God Himself: a holy nun pressed God in prayer to reveal to her what it was in which His Divine Majesty took so much pleasure in His beloved Gertrude," &c., p. 323.

in Purgatory, and to be visited with the greatest rigour. One holy bishop, for some negligence in his high office, had been fifty-nine years in Purgatory at the date of her information; another, so generous of his revenues that he was named the Almsgiver, had been there five years because, before his election, he had wished for the dignity.[1]

More recently a French admirer of Father Faber has made a systematic treatise on Purgatory, based on modern revelations. The book is called *Purgatory, According to the Revelations of the Saints*, by the Abbé Louvet.[2] Both the piety of the Abbé and his literary honesty are unquestionable; the latter quality is commonly lightly regarded in Roman Catholic works, of which edification is the main object. Thus, for instance, any one must be mad who would trust St. Liguori for a reference. If the saint finds anything ascribed to St. Bernard (or thinks he remembers that he does), which is what, in his opinion, St. Bernard ought to have said, he puts it without scruple into his *Glories of Mary;* and would probably have thought any one very unreasonable who should have suggested that he ought to give himself the trouble of looking into St. Bernard's works to try whether the passage was there at all, and whether among the genuine, or the spurious works. And similarly with the anecdotes which he relates in such numbers. If a story is good and edifying he does not waste his time in trifling investigations whether there is a particle of historical evidence for the truth of the story. Louvet, on the other hand, inspires one with confidence that his quotations have been correctly given, and that he has taken all the pains he says he has to put aside every apocryphal or doubtful revelation, and to state nothing that is not attested by canonised saints. On Purgatory, more than on any other subject, the evidence of revelations deserves to be listened to, for the whole faith of the Church of Rome on this subject has been built upon revelations, or, as we should call it in plain English, on ghost stories. For hundreds of years the Church seems to have known little or nothing on the subject. Even still the East has lagged sadly behind the West in her knowledge, and the reason is, that the chief source of Western information is a Latin book, the *Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, a work of which the genuineness has been denied by some, merely because it seemed to them incredible that so sensible a man should have written so silly a book. But no one acquainted with the eccentricities of the human intellect can rely on such an argument, in the face of positive evidence the other way. Gregory, believing twelve or thirteen centuries ago that the end of the world was then near at hand, and that the men of his age, by reason of their nearness to the next world, could see things in it which had been invisible to their predecessors, collected a number of tales of apparitions, which, being received on his authority, have been the real foundation of Western belief in Purgatory. Thus Father Faber quotes a namesake of his as saying, "that although Gregory was a saint who should be loved and honoured on many accounts, yet on none more than this, because he had so lucidly and transparently handed down to us the doctrine of the purgatorial fire; for he thought that if Gregory had not told us so many things of the holy souls, the devotions of subsequent ages would have been much colder in their behalf."[3] Why, then, should not our knowledge of Purgatory be enlarged from the same source from which it was first communicated, and why should not Louvet be regarded as doing a good work in collecting all the information that had been received from ghosts who have appeared since Pope Gregory's time; for it is not reasonable to believe that means of communication with the other world which existed in the seventh century have been since completely stopped. It appears that it is not only that many ghosts have returned to tell of their sufferings, but more saints than one have been permitted to descend to visit the purgatorial regions, and have given us, as Louvet assures us, a complete map of the place. It appears that Purgatory is but one division of the subterranean regions. At the centre of the earth is the place of the damned; above it lies Purgatory, divided into three regions, for the special torments of each of which we must refer to Louvet. Above Purgatory is the *Limbus infantium*, inhabited by unbaptized infants; above that the *Limbus patrum*, now empty, but formerly dwelt in by the souls of the patriarchs until the descent of our Lord to release them.

The lowest division is largely tenanted by the souls of priests and bishops, monks and nuns; the bishops with mitres of fire on their heads, a burning cross in their hands, and clad in a chasuble of flames. In that region are the souls of many Popes who, with all the treasure of the Church at their command, were either so thoughtless or so unselfish as to make no provision for their own needs. For example, the venerable Pius VI., in this life, had an unusual share of suffering. He had been dragged from

[1] Faber's *All for Jesus*, p. 367.

[2] *Le Purgatoire d'après les Révélations des Saints*, par M. l'Abbé Louvet, Missionaire Apostolique: Paris, 1880.

[3] *All for Jesus*, p. 385.

his home by the impious hands of the French Revolution; outraged ignominously in his two-fold dignity of pontiff and king; dragged from city to city as a criminal, and he died the death of a confessor of the faith in 1799. He had done great things as an administrator, struggling with apostolic intrepidity against Gallicanism and Josephism, the two precursors of the Revolution, and in short his long pontificate of twenty-four years was one of the greatest in Church history; yet in 1816, seventeen years after his death, Marie Taigi saw his soul come to the door of Purgatory, and be sent back again into the abyss, his expiation not being yet finished. How long is it still to last? That is the secret of God. We know from the same source that Pius VII., who suffered so much at the hands of the first Napoleon, and who was so worthy and holy a pontiff that he won the respect even of unbelievers, remained in Purgatory nearly five years. Leo XII. escaped after a few months, on account of his eminent piety and the short time he had held the awful responsibility of the pontificate. We will not delay to speak of Benedict VIII., but will go on to tell what, as Louvet says, is really frightful, and what one would not dare to believe if we had not as guarantees St. Lutgarde, whose prudence and discretion are known, and Cardinal Bellarmine, who, having studied as a theologian all the details of this revelation, declares that he cannot doubt of it, and that it makes him tremble for himself. That great pontiff, Innocent III., who held the Lateran Council, who passed for a saint in the eyes of men, and did so much for the reform of the Church, appeared to St. Lutgarde, all surrounded by flames, and on her expressing her astonishment, informed her that he had narrowly escaped hell, and that he had been condemned to suffer in Purgatory till the end of the world. He earnestly entreated her prayers, whereupon St. Lutgarde, with all her nuns, set themselves with all their might to make intercession for his deliverance; but no sign came that their prayers were answered, and, for all we know, after five centuries the poor wretch may be still plunged in those horrible pains from which he begged so earnestly to be delivered. "This example," says Bellarmine, "fills me with real terror every time I think of it."[1]

Louvet makes a calculation, by the help of his revelations, how long an ordinary Christian may expect to have to stay in Purgatory. His result is, that a Christian of more than usual sanctity, who has never committed a mortal sin, who has carefully avoided all the graver venial sins, and has satisfied by penance for three-fourths of the lighter sins into which frailty has led him, must expect to spend in Purgatory 123 years, 3 months, and 15 days. "A truly terrifying result," says Louvet; "for if it is so with righteous souls, what will become of poor sinners like me?"[2]

But these 123 years are only years of earthly measurement; they would be more than centuries if measured by the sensations of the suffering souls. This Louvet proves by several authentic histories. One is of two priests who loved each other like brethren. It was revealed to one on his death-bed that he should be released from Purgatory the first Mass that was offered for him. He sent for his friend, and made him promise that he would lose no time after his death in fulfilling the conditions of his release. The friend promised, and the moment the sick man expired, flew to the altar, and celebrated the Mass with all the devotion he was capable of. Immediately afterwards his friend appeared to him radiant with glory, but with an air of reproach on his countenance. "O faithless friend," he cried, "you would deserve to be treated with the same cruelty you have exercised towards me! Here I have been years in the avenging flames, and to think that neither you nor one of my brethren should have had the charity to offer a single Mass for me!" "Nay," returned his friend, "you had no sooner closed your eyes than I fulfilled my promise; and you may satisfy yourself by examining your body, which you will find is not yet cold." "Is that so?" returned the deceased. "How frightful are the torments of Purgatory when one hour seems more than a year!" Another case was that of an abbot who, on returning from a journey, found that the most promising of his young monks had just died. As the abbot was praying in the choir after matins he saw a phantom enveloped in flames. "O charitable Father," said the novice, with deep groans, "give me your blessing. I had committed a small breach of rule, not a sin in itself. As this is the only cause of my detention in Purgatory, I have been allowed by special favour to address myself to you. You are to impose my penance, and I shall then be released." The abbot replied: "As far as it depends on me, my son, I absolve you, and give you my blessing; and for penance, I appoint you to stay in Purgatory till the hour of prime;" that was the next service, usually held at eight o'clock in the morning. At these words the novice, filled with despair, ran shrieking through the church, crying: "O merciless father! O heart pitiless towards your unhappy son! What! for a fault for which in my lifetime you would have thought

[1] Louvet, p. 124.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 178.

the lightest penance enough, to impose on me so fearful a penalty. Little do you know the atrocity of the sufferings of Purgatory;" and shrieking out, "O uncharitable penance!" he disappeared. The abbot's hair stood on end with horror; gladly would he have recalled his severe sentence. But the word had been spoken. At last a happy thought struck him. He rang the bell; called up his monks; told them of the facts, and celebrated the office of prime immediately. But all his life he retained the impression of this horrible scene, and often said that till then he had had no idea of the punishments of the other world, and could not have imagined that a few hours in Purgatory could form so fearful an expiation.

But we shall be less disposed to pity the souls in Purgatory when we learn what exceptional good fortune it is to get there. To the question, "Are there few that be saved?" Louvet would return a most gloomy answer. His arguments and calculations are very interesting, but would take me too long to repeat. But (p. 26) he clinches his opinion by a revelation. St. Bernard, it appears, was privileged on two successive days to stand by the judgment-seat of God, and hear the sentences pronounced on all the souls that died on these two days. He was horrified to find that of 80,000 souls only three souls of adults were saved the first day, and only two on the second; and that of these five not one went direct to heaven; all must visit Purgatory.

Louvet builds his speculations solely on the evidence of canonised saints. If he had been content with authentic history, he might have used the following, to which we, at least, ought to take no exception, since the credit of our own country is pledged to its truth.[1] The Roman Breviary of 1522 relates that St. Patrick having fasted, like Elias, forty days and forty nights, on the top of a mountain, asked two things of God: first, that at the day of judgment there should not remain a single Irishman on the earth; the other, that God would show him the state of souls after death. Then the Lord led him to a desert place, and showed him a certain dark and deep pit, and said, "Whosoever shall remain in this cave a day and a night shall be delivered from all his sins." This passage of the Roman Breviary was afterwards suppressed, then restored, then finally suppressed again, on account of the evil comments of Protestants and Rationalists. "But," says Louvet, "the old Parisian and other local Breviaries accept the story; so do the historians of the Church of Ireland, and, above all, the Bollandists with their grave authority. And, besides, there remain so many histories of actual descents into this Purgatory, that unless we accuse a great and illustrious Church of knavery and imbecility, we must admit that the story has a foundation of historic fact."

These extracts, long as they have been, give a very faint idea of the mass of information about Purgatory made known by revelations which respected priests, writing with all the air of grave historians, relate for the edification of their flocks, in books bought up by thousands. A companion volume to that on Purgatory might easily be made on the revelations about the Virgin Mary, in which the modest doctrine of the Council of Trent, that it is useful to invoke her intercession, is rapidly being improved into the doctrine, that no one who does invoke it can be lost, and no one who does not can be saved. One would think we had a right to know from the infallible authority whether these revelations and the doctrine which they contain ought to be received or not; but he remains silent. Those who, like Father Faber and Louvet, receive these revelations as Scripture, obtain commendation for their piety; but one who treats these stories with complete disregard is visited with no official censure, whatever suspicions private individuals may entertain of the coldness of his faith. But all the time, on the strength of stories which the supreme authority will neither affirm nor deny, beliefs are being silently built up in the Church on which he is likely hereafter to be asked to put his seal.

In the Roman Church the idea seems to be now abandoned of handing down the Faith "once for all (ἅπαξ) delivered to the saints." That Church is a vast manufactory of beliefs, to which addition is being yearly made. When one goes into some great manufactory he is shown the article in all its stages—the finished product, with the manufacturer's stamp upon it; the article near completion, and wanting hardly anything but the stamp; the half-finished work; the raw materials out of which the article is made. So in the Roman Church. There you have the finished article: dogmas pronounced by Pope and Council to be *de fide*, which none may deny on pain of damnation. But there are, besides, articles *fere de fide*, not yet actually proclaimed by infallible authority to be necessary to salvation to be believed in, yet wanting nothing else but official promulgation—so generally received, and acknowledged by such high authorities, that to contradict them would be pronounced temerarious, and their formal adoption by the Church seems to be only a question of time. Somewhat below these in authority, but still very high, are other doctrines supported by such grave doctors

[1] Louvet, p. 42.

that it would be a breach of modesty to contradict them. Below these again, other things owned to be still matters of private opinion, but which seem to be working their way to general belief, and which, if they should in time gain universal acceptance, will deserve to be proclaimed to be the faith of the Church. It is needless to say what help is given towards such general recognition of a doctrine, if a canonised saint, whom it is impossible to suspect of deceit, and disrespectful to suspect of delusion, declares that he has been taught the truth of the doctrine by revelation from heaven. It is inevitable that a doctrinal statement so commended, if no disapprobation of it is expressed by higher authority, comes to the Church with such a weight of recommendation that it cannot help becoming the prevalent opinion; and then, in process of time, how can the head of the Church refuse to declare that to be the faith of the Church which the great majority of its members, including perhaps himself, believe to be true? If the supreme authority puts off its interference to the last stage, that interference comes altogether too late. It is useless to teach the Church when the Church has already made up its mind.

And surely if Christ has left a vicar upon earth, what more appropriate function can he have than that of informing the world how to distinguish the voice of Christ from that of false pretenders who venture to speak in His name? Any one who claims to have received a revelation from God must be either as much deluded as Johanna Southcote, or as much inspired as St. Paul. If there be any in the the later Church to whom God has made real revelations, we are bound to receive the truths so disclosed with the same reverence and assent which we give to what was taught by the Apostles. It is important for us to know whether the book of God's revelation has closed with the Apocalypse of St. John, or whether we are to add to the inspired volume the revelations of St. Francesca, St. Gertrude, and St. Catherine. If these last are real revelations, they who reject them are doing their souls the same injury as if they rejected the books of Scripture. We look to the infallible authority for guidance, but he owns himself to be as helpless as ourselves to distinguish the true prophet from the false pretender, and gives us leave to believe or reject as we like. Nay, he gives a kind of ambiguous approval. He honours the recipients of the alleged revelations, canonises them as saints, encourages his children to ask their intercession, now that they are dead; but if questioned, Did these persons, when they were alive, deceive the people by teaching them their own fancies as if they were divine revelations? he declares this a question outside his commission to answer. It is clear that he does not really believe in his own infallibility.

The first occasion when an attempt was made to impose such private revelations as a rule of faith on the Church was in the Montanist heresy. The Montanists were perfectly orthodox. They had not the least desire to alter the ancient faith of the Church. They only aimed at a development of Christian doctrine, according as prophets, to whom the Paraclete revealed the divine will, cleared up anything that had been obscure in the apostolic teaching, or guarded the purity of the Church by supplemental commands which the Church, on its first formation, had not had strength to bear. But the Montanists held that the recipient of a divine revelation was not justified in looking on it as given only for his own private edification. It was both his privilege and his duty to make known to the Church what God had taught him; and any who refused to hear rejected a message from God. So the Montanist prophecies came to be written down and circulated as demanding to be owned as God's word. This was what more than anything else led the heads of the Church to oppose people whose aims and doctrines were all such as religious and orthodox men could sympathise with. But it was felt, and truly felt, that their prophecies were encroaching on the supreme authority of Scripture, and that they were presuming to add to what had been written. From the time of the breaking out of Montanism, greater care was taken than had been used before, to prevent any unauthorised, uninspired composition from seeming to be placed on a level with Scripture. And so the Epistle of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, and one or two writings more, which had been admitted into Church reading, were then excluded, and fell rapidly into such neglect, that copies have scarcely survived to our day. And it is the real truth that those who accept these modern revelations, and draw proofs of doctrines from them, have really a different Bible, not only from us, but from the Council of Trent. The Church of Rome is but dissembling a schism when she allows differences to remain unsettled, affecting the very foundations of faith; when what is accepted by one as the voice of God Himself is set down as a dream of silly women by another.

There have been miracles of still higher pretensions which serve well to illustrate the practical working of the Roman system—revelations not hidden away in biographies of saints, whence they can be drawn forth by

enthusiastic preachers, but coming forth into the world, forcing their way into the newspapers, and challenging even the investigation of the law courts.

The miracle of La Salette took place Sept. 19, 1846. Two children minding cows on a lonely mountain in the diocese of Grenoble were surprised by the apparition of a fine lady robed in a splendid yellow dress, wearing varnished shoes, and with a head-dress of ribbons and flowers. She told them that she was the Virgin Mary; discoursed to them on the sins of France, and gave them messages in the name of her Son. The children told the story, the matter was noised abroad, pilgrimages were made to the scene of the occurrence, the place soon became crowded with visitors chapels arose, inns were opened, medals were struck, the sale of the water of La Salette soon came to be a gainful traffic, for it had not only virtue in curing diseases, but a few drops even operated the conversion of an obstinate sinner, in whose liquor it had been mixed without his knowledge. Among the pilgrims was Cardinal Newman's friend and diocesan, Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham. He published an account of his visit, professing full belief in the reality of the miracle. He opened at Stratford-on-Avon a chapel to our Lady of La Salette, and introduced the Confraternity of La Salette into his diocese. His pamphlet claims papal sanction for the new devotion. By a Brief, dated August 26, 1852, the Pope, as we are told, made the altar of La Salette a privileged altar, gave a plenary indulgence to visitors to the shrine, besides other privileges too tedious to enumerate. A priest of Bishop Ullathorne's, a Mr. Wyse, published under the bishop's sanction a Manual of the Confraternity of La Salette. Mr. Wyse remonstrates indignantly with those of his co-religionists who still withhold faith from the story. "The truth of the apparition of La Salette," he says, "is incontestable; the proofs are such that it is worthy of the fullest belief. Yet because it is not of faith, that is to say, because a man will not be damned for not believing it, the faith of some who call themselves Catholics is so ungenerous and thrifty, that they refuse their assent." "In matters of faith," he tells us, "God loves a cheerful giver; He is not pleased with those who seek what is the very minimum of belief which will secure their salvation. In these days of infidelity, supernatural faith, cultivated for safety's sake to the very utmost, is the only security against the vilest errors."

This language expresses a state of feeling I believe to be very common among Roman Catholics; but surely it is very absurd. It is accounted faith not only to believe all that God says but also to believe any one who says that God has said a thing. Should I account it a compliment if any one told me that he had such faith in me that he would not only believe anything I said, but anything that any one said I said? The result certainly would be, that although no one has any particular motive to misrepresent me, he would believe a good deal I never said, and some things I should be sorry to be thought to have said. It is really not faith in the divine Word, but want of faith, if the belief which is due to a divine revelation is thoughtlessly given to any one who claims it. A man could not think much of his dog's attachment to him if he was a dog that would follow anybody.

In the present case the result proved that a certain suspension of judgment might be pardonable. Some of the clergy of the neighbouring dioceses declared the whole apparition to be an imposture, and denied (whether with truth or not) that the Pope had given the alleged approbation. The Salettites declared that this was envy and jealousy on the part of men whose own shrines had suffered a decrease of pilgrims in consequence of the superior attractions of the new shrine. Then their adversaries proceeded to particulars. It was asserted that the Virgin who appeared to the children was a certain Constance Lamerlière, a nun, half knave, half crazy, who could be proved to have purchased the dress in which the Virgin appeared, and whose connection with the apparition could in other ways be proved. This was stated so persistently that Constance Lamerlière was forced to accept the challenge, and bring an action for defamation of character; but the Court decided against her, and the decision was confirmed on appeal. We shall not pretend that the decision was conclusive, for we believe that there are still Roman Catholics who believe in La Salette; but the apparition must be pronounced a failure, as having caused more scandal to unbelievers than edification to the faithful, unless the large pecuniary gains it brought to the parties interested may redeem it from the charge of being altogether a failure.

Scarcely had the excitement provoked by the events of La Salette begun to subside, when the supernaturalist party dealt a heavier blow against their opponents by what was called the miracle of Lourdes. In this spot, in Gascony, Bernadotte Soubirous, a poor girl of fourteen, on Feb. 11, 1858, while picking up dry wood, saw a beautiful lady robed in white, with a blue sash; and the vision was afterwards several times repeated. On being asked who she was, the lady answered, "I am the Immaculate Conception." She invited the girl to drink at a fountain. The child, seeing

no fountain, scraped away some earth with her hands. A little water filtered through the orifice; it increased gradually in volume, became perfectly clear, and now supplies to the faithful many millions of bottles, which are in large demand for the purpose of effecting supernatural cures. The local bishop gave his sanction to the miracle; pilgrimages to the shrine were organised, and pilgrimages are now made easy. It is not, as in former days, when a devout pilgrim had to walk over half Europe with or without peas in his shoes. It is said that the miracles worked by the intercession of Our Lady of Lourdes ought to banish all incredulity. But when there is an infallible guide, why will he not interfere to clear our doubts? Why should he leave us in danger of mistaking the utterances of a crazy nun or the ravings of a hysteric child for miraculous communications from the Blessed Virgin; or, conversely, of rejecting a message from heaven?

Perhaps one reason why we must despair of getting a solution of our doubts from this quarter is, that infallibility is said to be subject to an unfortunate limitation. The Pope, though infallible on questions of doctrine, is liable to be deceived by human testimony about a matter of fact. The reader may remember the use made of this distinction in the Jansenist controversy. The adversaries of the Jansenists had obtained a papal condemnation of certain propositions from the work of Jansenius. As devout Catholics, the Jansenists were forced to confess that the doctrines condemned by the Pope were false, but they saved the credit of their master by saying that these propositions had not been asserted by him, at least not in the erroneous sense. Their adversaries, determined not to permit themselves to be thus baulked of their triumph, obtained from the Pope a supplemental decree, declaring that the propositions in question were not only erroneous, but that they had been taught by Jansenius. To this the Jansenists replied, "We acknowledge the Pope to be infallible in questions of doctrine, but the question whether Jansenius taught such and such doctrines is one of fact, and we say that on this the Holy Father has been deceived."

Shortly after the pilgrimages to Lourdes others were organised to Paray-le-Monial. This had been the scene of the revelation of the blessed Marguerite Marie Alacoque, the foundress of the now popular devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This is not, like the two mentioned above, a revelation of our own time, though a great impetus was given to that devotion by the beatification of this nun by Pius IX. She lived at the end of the seventeenth century, the time when the strife between the Jesuits and the Jansenists was the hottest. Her revelations were patronised by the Jesuits and condemned by the Jansenists. With the late Pope the Jesuits were all-powerful. This poor nun was subject to what we heretics would call hysteric delusions, in the course of which she saw many visions in which, as always happens, the ideas of her waking hours were reproduced. All that has been said metaphorically about our Lord's human heart was materialised by her, and referred to that physical portion of our Lord's human frame. In one of the most celebrated of her visions, she saw our Lord's heart in His bosom burning as in a furnace, and her own heart placed as a small atom of fire in that furnace. One cannot pass by a Roman Catholic picture-shop without observing what vogue the adoration of the material heart of our Lord has now gained. It was much opposed by the Jansenists, so that it was not till after a century and a half that Margaret Mary obtained, under Pius IX., the dignity of beatification, which is next below canonisation. It has been objected that this worship of a portion of our Lord's body is downright Nestorianism. In the course of the Nestorian controversy it was distinctly condemned to make a separation between our Lord's Godhead and His manhood, so as to offer worship to the one not addressed to the other. And here the worship is not even offered to our Lord's entire humanity, but to a part of it. However, the lawfulness of this worship is not what we are discussing now. Our object is to show that every one of these alleged revelations has a distinct bearing upon doctrine. Of course, however objectionable this superstitious worship may appear to us, if our Lord has revealed His approval of it, our objections must be dismissed; and so an infallibility which owns itself incompetent to pronounce on the reality of alleged revelations really owns itself incompetent to pronounce on questions of doctrine which these revelations would seriously affect. [G. S.]

REVIVAL, THE EVANGELICAL.—There have been three great *Protestant* Revivals—the Reformation, the Puritan, and the Evangelical, this last starting about the middle of the eighteenth century, all whose first apostles were ministers of the Church of England, but by means of which all the Reformed Churches everywhere were visited from on high by a marvellous time of refreshing. Nor was its influence limited to those Churches then; whilst to-day, perhaps, throughout the world that influence is stronger and more widely felt than ever before.

Evangelical (=of, or belonging to, good news)

is an older word in the history of the Reformation than *Protestant*, nor are they identical in meaning. For at least a decade before the second Diet of Spires (1529), from which the latter title took its rise, the German Reformers and their adherents were known as *Evangelici*, men of the *Evangelium*, or Gospel, which they alone knew and alone upheld—without any admixture of Church or other traditions—as sole ultimate appeal in matters of faith and doctrine; using, as they still use, the untranslated word (Gr. and Lat.) *Evangelium*, as we use the word "Gospel." On the other hand, in the history of the eighteenth century Revival, "Methodist" is the older title. It was long before the name "Evangelical" was given to the new movement by friend or foe, or that the title "Methodist" came to be limited to the followers of Wesley; nor at any time did the two words coincide in meaning or application (see WESLEYAN METHODISM). It is important to note this historic distinction between the two words, neither of which was invented or claimed by the leaders or adherents of the movement itself.

Precursors.—As there were Protestants before the Reformation, so the Evangelical witness had never failed before the Evangelical Revival. Not the least important agencies in preparing the way for its advent were certain Societies, the first of which was started in London about 1667 by a few young men forming themselves into an association for religious conversation and prayer. It was at a meeting of one of these societies that John Wesley himself found deliverance so late as 1738, after his return from America, as recorded by himself: "In the evening I went, very unwillingly, to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I began to pray, with all my might, for those who had, in an especial manner, despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart." See WESLEY, JOHN.

As far as John Wesley is concerned this Revival can thus trace its succession through Martin Luther; whilst in this simple story of his own conversion you have the whole business and aim of Evangelicalism proclaimed and illustrated: To bring the sinner to Christ alone for salvation, by faith only, and Christ alone to the sinner. Then come good works as "the fruits of faith and following after justification." He at once falls to prayer for his persecutors, and to win others by his testimony to share the blessing he has found.

State of Society, &c.—During the reigns of the first two Georges, England had sunk lower in ignorance, immorality, and irreligion than at any previous period since the Reformation. It was the time when in one year fifty-two men were hanged at Tyburn—the time of highwaymen and burglars, bear-baiting, bull-baiting, cock-fighting; when literature, written as well as read unblushingly by women, reeked with moral abominations; no Sunday schools, few day schools, the Sabbath universally profaned, Church and Nonconformity alike dead: it was the time when Gray painted himself (1760) as "no great wit: he believed in a God"; when Voltaire predicted, "It took twelve men to set up Christianity; it would only take one (himself) to overthrow it." Church and Nonconformity alike dead! Yes; about 1750 Blackstone went the round of the London churches, and heard there "no more Gospel than he could get from Cicero"; whilst Ivimey, in his history of the Baptists, thus indicts the various bodies of Nonconformity: "The anti-evangelical and moral discourses of the Presbyterian ministers, the stiff regard to precision of discipline among the Independents, and the cold, dry, uninteresting doctrinal statement of the leading Baptists," &c. Dr. Cuyse, a leading Independent, is found exclaiming: "How many sermons may one hear that leave out Christ, both name and thing, and that pay no more regard to Him than if we had nothing to do with Him!" No marvel if the situation is truly summed up in Bishop Butler's startling words (1736): "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is now at length discovered to be fictitious."

It was in the midst of such evils that the Evangelical Revival, wrought by the Spirit of God, started on its marvellous course. In its earlier stages, rightly or wrongly, for good or ill, the movement branched off from the Establishment, but continued to be favoured by men who remained in strict and loyal connection with the Church of England; for within the Church a great revival commenced almost at the same time as the Methodist Societies began, a revival which, though not so rapid in its progress, has been no less productive of permanent and widespread beneficent results. Its clerical leaders for the most part adopted Calvinistic tenets, yet always inculcating the necessity of habitual piety, preaching always the doctrine of justification by faith only; yet not by a faith that is alone. The distinctive principles common to both movements, as at the first to Whitfield and Wesley, to Calvinist

and Arminian, and to-day to all the Evangelical bodies, touch the fundamental doctrines of (1) the Rule of Faith, (2) Justification, (3) Sanctification. They are: (1) The Word of God only; (2) the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ only; (3) the work of the Holy Spirit only. In each case the word *only* defines the unique evangelical position.

Who and what manner of men were the first agents in this great movement? We shall go outside their school altogether for witnesses, "two or three" of a countless number, simply premising that in point of time the first great name seems to be that of George Whitfield, who, for five years before John Wesley started, had been preaching in the open air at Kingswood, near Bristol, with great power and blessing. So in after time he writes to Wesley: "As God was pleased to send me out first and enlighten me first, so, I think, He still continues to do it; my business seems to be chiefly in planting. If God send you to water, I praise His name." Then come the great names of Charles Wesley, the Revival's sweetest singer, a notable preacher too; Daniel Rowlands of Wales; later, the Venns—John Venn, and Henry and John, his sons; Henry, the founder or first man of the New School, and the first clergyman to adopt the practice of *extempore* preaching; W. Grimshaw of Haworth, but whose parish was in fact the whole West Riding; W. Romaine, whose writings, especially his *Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith*, were such a power in his day; Fletcher, Berridge, Newton, Walker of Truro, Conyers of Deptford, and a host of others raised up here and there by the power of the Holy Ghost; but most notable of all, the man, as Macaulay wrote to his sister, whose influence was greater than a Primate's, whose character, under God, was chiefly due to the conversations and instructions of Henry Venn, as (one among many mighty) Henry Martyn's was due to him—we mean Charles Simeon himself.

Sir J. Stephen, in his *Evangelical Succession*, writes: "The first generation of the clergy designated as 'Evangelical,' were the second founders of the Church of England . . . the doctrines of the New Testament were to them a reality, and the English Liturgy a truth—their public ministrations and their real meaning were in exact coincidence—they rose as much above the Hoadleian formality as above the Marian superstition, and they revived among us the spirit of Paul and Peter, of Augustine and Boniface, of Wickliff and Ridley, of Baxter and Howe . . . their personal sanctity rose to the same elevation as their theological opinions," &c., &c. They were "Holy Ghost men," and working in the power of the Holy Ghost, these first Revivalists, and so we have the High Church Dean Goulburn writing thus (the reader will remember the original application of the title "Methodist" as explained above): "It was just this doctrine of the Holy Spirit's agency among men nowadays which produced such a marvellous revival in our own Church in the early days of Methodism, and such a reaction from the supineness and dreary moral preaching which had characterised the Church life of the previous century." "The Evangelicals," said Alexander Knox, an opponent of their ideas, "have been the chief instruments of maintaining experimental religion in the Reformed Churches" (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 501).

But what are this Revival's results in the Visible Church and world at large? Mr. John Morley tells us: "Both the onslaught upon the slave trade, and the other remarkable philanthropic efforts towards the last quarter of the last century (eighteenth), arose in, and owed their importance to, the great Evangelical movement" (*Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1892). Mr. J. R. Green, *Short History*, &c., chap. x. sect. iii., and, indeed, all historians of the period, had said as much already. Mr. Lecky, *Hist. Eng. Eighteenth Century*, ii. 634, bears like testimony, adding: "Before the close of the century the Evangelical movement had become dominant in England, and it continued the almost undisputed centre of religion till the rise of the Tractarian movement in 1830." All which goes to show that the "Catholic Revival" did not find the English Church the barren and dry land of which we so often hear. This last movement has had seventy years of history now, and what is its record? Abundant fruit, no doubt, but "fruit unto himself: according to the multitude of his fruit he hath, increased the altars; according to the goodness of his land they have made goodly images. Their heart is divided [between Rome and the Reformation]; now shall they be found faulty," &c. (Hos. x. 1, 2). Yes; altars, images, reredoses, candles, crucifixes, &c., in abundance, but where are the signs of great spiritual force refusing to be pent in, and pulsing the billows of some mighty movement of blessing for mankind to the outmost shores of the world? Before the Evangelical movement was seventy years old, historian after historian tells (some above quoted) of various great *philanthropic* movements, including that for the abolition of slavery (the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century), owing their existence to it. The Church Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, London Missionary Society, Missions to Jews—above all, the Bible Societies, are its offspring—in fact, almost all the great religious organisations for home and foreign work, Episcopalian and

Non-conformist, in America as here, are its offspring and mainly supported to-day by its adherents. From Niger's banks to Mississippi's springs, "from China to Peru," before long it was felt by troubled hearts in human breasts everywhere, that some new angel of mercy had stepped upon the earth; whilst to this hour the one Missionary Society which the "Catholic Revival" patronises (it, too, started under Protestant auspices), not only lags far behind in funds, &c., even one of the many sustained by the Evangelical movement, but even in good part the said Society owes its support to aid from congregations which, in whole or good part, have no sympathy whatsoever with "Catholic Revivalism" in its modern dress. Nay, even in the department in which "Catholic Revivalists" specially pride themselves—the "decking of churches"—Evangelicals do not lag behind; for it is only with the "superfluous decking" (as the Homily) they find fault. In Ireland, the Cathedrals of St. Patrick and Christ Church, Dublin; of Tuam, Cork, and others, do not owe their erection or renovation to Ritualists. So in England, Lord Grimthorpe (a supporter of the late John Kensit) rebuilt St. Alban's, and Dr. Lefroy, Perowne, Howson, Farrar, Close, Straton, and other Protestant deans, are among the honoured names to whose labours and self-denial the restoration of cathedral after cathedral is due.

So as regards distinctive plans of Church work, the Evangelical School has been more fruitful than any other, and not only sees its plans adopted by the "Catholic Revivalists" (to which no one can object), but even claimed as theirs originally. It first introduced hearty and congregational singing, Mission-week services, short services and prayer-meetings in unconsecrated places. It introduced laymen to Church work amid opposition so strong that the Additional Curates Society was formed because the Church Pastoral Aid had begun to employ laymen. So also with the ministry of women (though it did not put them in uniform), its joyful acceptance of which dates from the origin of the movement itself. Lady Huntingdon, Susannah Wesley, and the stonemason evangelist's (John Nelson's) wife, representing the three different grades in the social scale, have never wanted numerous and worthy successors to this hour—the first rejoicing in the letter "M" in the phrase "not *m*any noble are called," and with her last breath saying, "Thy will be done. I have nothing to do but go home to my Father." The second caring not only for her husband's household, but his parish, for Heaven, her parting utterance being, "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God." The third, no less brave and true, found at four o'clock in the morning outside her husband's dungeon door, bidding her husband, "Fear not, John; the cause is God's for which you are here, and He will plead it Himself; therefore be not concerned for me and the children, for He that feeds the young ravens will be mindful of us." See Bishop J. C. Ryle's *Facts and Men* and *Christian Leaders of the Last Century;* Bishop Moule's *The Evangelical School in the Church of England;* and E. Stock's *History of the C.M.S.*

[T. C. O'C.]

RIDLEY'S THEOLOGY.—The doctrine of the Church of England for which Ridley died a martyr. Ridley was probably the most learned prelate that has ever occupied the See of London. While still resident at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, he committed to memory almost all of the Epistles in Greek, a task which bore fruit and did him good service in his after life. During the year of his proctorship, the question of the papal authority was submitted to the University, and the resolution "that the Bishop of Rome hath no more authority and jurisdiction, derived to him by God, in this kingdom of England, than any other bishop" was signed by Ridley as Senior Proctor.

Down to the year 1545 Ridley had unsuspectingly acquiesced in the received opinion on the holy Eucharist, but in that year he was led to examine into the question by the dispute between Luther and Zwingle, and in so doing he referred to the treatise written by Bertram or Ratram in the ninth century in opposition to the doctrine of the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements, which was in that century first promulgated in writing by Paschasius Radbert. This treatise of Ratram won him to the belief that Paschasius' doctrine, which was afterwards expressed by the word Transubstantiation, was in the ninth century a novelty, and on re-examining the passages in the Fathers which dealt with the subject, he found that it was the case. "This Bertram," he says himself, "was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that brought me from the common error of the Romish Church and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of old ecclesiastical Fathers in these matters."

Having found his pearl of great price, he took it at once to his dear friend and bishop, Cranmer, and together the two learned men pored over all the passages of Holy Scripture and the Fathers that dealt with the subject. After long study their minds were made up. Transubstantiation and the Mass were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, and they would not shrink from declaring them to be so, though their witness to the truth brought to them the

crown of martyrdom. Cranmer bore his testimony in his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ;* Ridley in his *Brief Declaration on the Lord's Supper*, written during his imprisonment in Oxford.

He begins this treatise by the inquiry "Whether there be any Transubstantiation, or no; any corporal or carnal presence of Christ's substance, or no; whether adoration (due only unto God) is to be done unto the sacrament, or no; whether Christ's body be there offered indeed unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or no; and whether the evil man receiveth the natural body of Christ, or no?" The answer to these inquiries, he says, depends on "whether it is the natural substance of bread or the natural substance of Christ's own body that is the matter of the sacrament." If the latter alternative be true, "then, they must needs grant Transubstantiation, that is, a change of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body; then, also, they must grant the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body; then must the sacrament be adored with the honour due to Christ Himself, then, if the priest do offer the sacrament, he doth offer indeed Christ Himself; and finally, the murderer, the adulterer, or wicked man, receiving the sacrament, must needs then receive also the natural substance of Christ's own blessed body, both body and flesh." But in the other alternative, "then, there is no such thing indeed and in truth as they call Transubstantiation; for the substance of bread remains still in the sacrament of the body; then also, the natural substance of Christ's human nature, which He took of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven where it reigneth now in glory, and not here inclosed under the form of bread; then, that godly honour which is due only unto God the Creator, and may not be done unto the creature without idolatry and sacrilege, is not to be done unto the holy sacrament; then also, the wicked, I mean the impenitent murderer, adulterer, or such like, do not receive the natural substance of the blessed body and blood of Christ; finally, then does it follow that Christ's blessed body and blood, which was once only offered and shed upon the cross, being available for the sins of the whole world, is offered up no more in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest nor any other thing" (p. 109).

Having stated the two alternatives, he continues, "I do plainly affirm the second answer, that is, that the natural substance of bread and wine is the true material substance of the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ" (p. 114).

The above he is "persuaded to be the very true meaning and sense of Holy Scripture," and he proceeds to confirm his opinion by the testimony of Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Tertullian, Augustine, and Gelasius.

With these words before him the Rev. T. A. Lacey, Vicar of Madingley, did not shrink from telling his friends of the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* that Ridley did not deny Transubstantiation, and therefore that the Church of England does not deny it. Bishop Moule has done a service to the Church by reprinting Ridley's *Brief Declaration* with notes and appendices. [F. M.]

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD.—This phrase, as it contains an ambiguous genitive case ("of God"), may mean two very different things. If the genitive be taken as the possessive genitive it signifies the righteousness of God Himself. But if regarded as the genitive of origin, it refers to the righteousness which comes from God, *i.e.* a state or standing which He requires, provides, and bestows. In the one instance it is a *quality* of the divine nature; in the other it is a *gift* from God to man. Consequently, when the phrase occurs in the New Testament, the context must be our guide as to which of these two meanings should be the correct interpretation of the phrase.

Before dealing with the expression as a whole a few remarks may be useful respecting the origin of the idea of righteousness, and also the nature of righteousness as regarded in the Old Testament, and the preparation made for the use of the term in the New Testament.

First, the leading idea inherent in righteousness is that of conformity to a standard of conduct felt or recognised to be authoritative. The origin and growth of the principle of righteousness in man have been traced to the laws of the home, society, and the State. But beyond all human laws there is the moral perfection of God, which is the standard for mankind. This standard was engraved on man's heart when made in the image of God, and though conscience has been perverted and the moral sense weakened, there is still the witness within of the existence of such a standard, by which we shall be judged. The idea of righteousness, then, when traced to its source, rests upon the disclosure of God's mind and will to man, a disclosure effected both by the light of nature and also by special revelation.

Secondly, in the Old Testament the ideas of right and wrong are *forensic* ideas; that is to say, the inspired writers always think of the right and the wrong as if they were to be adjudicated upon. "Righteousness is not so much a moral quality as a legal status. The word 'righteous' (*tsaddîq*) simply means 'in the right,' and the word 'wicked' (*rāshā*) means 'in the wrong,'" (W. R. Smith, *Prophet of Israel*, pp. 71 *f.*). Thus

the righteousness of the judge, or the king in his judicial capacity, is "to declare in the right him who is in the right, and to condemn him who is in the wrong" (*cf.* Deut. xvi. 18; 2 Sam. xv. 4; Isa. xi. 4, 5); while that of the private citizen is such a course of conduct as will stand the scrutiny of the impartial judge (Gen. xxxviii. 26; 1 Sam. xxiv. 17; Prov. xviii. 17). The word "righteousness" next came to be used of the legal status which results from a judicial sentence in one's favour (Isa. v. 23; Ezek. xviii. 20). Even when, by a natural extension of meaning, righteousness came to denote right moral conduct in general, yet the implied reference is to the judgment of God (Job iv. 17; Ezek. xviii. 5; Ps. xv. 2; Prov. xvi. 8). See Skinner's *Isaiah* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, Appendix ii. pp. 238–39.

Thirdly, the double combination of righteousness and salvation is common: "I bring near my righteousness, it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry; and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory" (Isa. xlvi. 13); "My righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth. . . . My salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished" (Isa. li. 5, 6; *cf.* Ps. xxiv. 5; Isa. xlv. 21–25). In one passage there is a triple combination of "righteousness, salvation, and revelation." "My salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed" (Isa. lvi. 1; *cf.* Isa. xlvi. 13). The Old Testament thus represents "Salvation as the outward act of deliverance, and the state of things ushered in by it, while righteousness is the divine quality which is illustrated and embodied by it."[1]

Having thus cleared the way by obtaining some general idea respecting the use of the word "righteousness," we can now proceed with our main subject.

We shall, in the first place, consider the righteousness of God viewed as an absolute quality of the divine character. When so regarded, it is that principle which we conceive as leading God to act according to the purity and perfection of His nature, so that there is a perfect correspondence between His nature and His acts. The righteousness of God demands that His moral creatures conform to His own moral perfections, and necessitates the punishment of those who fail so to act. God is essentially a Righteous Being. He has a perfect regard to what is right. He knows what is due from each to the rest, from all to Himself, and He also knows and acknowledges what is due from Him to them. Thus in the Old Testament the "righteousness of God" is spoken of as truthfulness in personal relations (Isa. xlv. 19), steadfastness and consistency of purpose (Isa. xli. 10), and judicial uprightness (Isa. lix. 16). In the New Testament the "righteousness of God" is used in a similar sense to that which is employed in the Old Testament in the following passages: Acts xvii. 31; Rom. iii. 5; ix. 28; 2 Cor. iii. 9. In one passage we read of "the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," where this attribute refers to the faithfulness of God, His acting according to His promises (2 Pet. i. 1). St. Paul sees the righteousness of God as manifested in the fidelity with which God fulfils His promises (Rom. iii. 3–5), and the punishment which He metes out to sin (Rom. ii. 5). "The righteousness of God" is also referred to in the Epistle to the Romans as exhibited in His seeking the recovery of sinners, in such a way as not to violate but to establish His own righteousness (Rom. iii. 25, 26).

We next have to deal with the more special and difficult significance of the expression "the righteousness" of God when it refers to a state of righteousness which God has provided for men who lack a righteousness of their own. In regard to the righteousness of God as a gift to man, the point of difference between Romanists and Protestants is whether this righteousness is *imputed*, that is, attributed, or *imparted*, that is, infused. The main issue in this controversy turns upon the meaning and use of the word δικαιόω[2] (*dikaioō*), rendered "to justify." Romanists say that this Greek verb means to "make righteous," and Protestants affirm that it is used in a judicial, or forensic, not an efficient, or moral, sense, and that it is to be rendered to "account righteous," to "prove as righteous," &c. But in stating the Protestant view it is most important to remember exactly how the matter stands. The word δικαιόω, when considered as meaning "to account righteous," does not fix what sort of a forum or court (human or divine) a person (so to speak) stands before, by which judgment is to be pronounced upon him. Nor does it assert anything respecting the grounds upon

[1] Indeed, by the synonymous parallelism of Hebrew poetry, in the above passages "righteousness" is actually used as a synonym for "salvation," and that because the righteousness of God is pledged for the salvation of His people (*cf.* Isa. xlvi. 13).

[2] Of the family group of words to which δικαιόω belongs, two words require to be carefully noted. Δικαίωμα (*dikaiōma*) is the declaration of a thing which, or a person who, is righteous. Hence it means (1) "ordinance" and "statute," as in Luke i. 6; Rom. i. 32; ii. 26; viii. 4; (2) justification, Rom. v. 16, 18. Δικαίωσις (*dikaiōsis*) occurs only in Rom. iv. 25; v. 18. It denotes "the process or act of pronouncing righteous; in the case of sinners, the act of acquittal."

which a person will be considered righteous if the verdict is favourable. It may be, as far as the word itself is concerned, because he is righteous, or because he is proved to be in the right, or because he has acted up to the required standard. Or it may be because he is regarded as righteous by an act of clemency, forgiven through favour freely extended to him, or because of some satisfaction being made for his wrong-doing. It is to the context that we must have recourse in order to determine in which sense the person is accounted righteous. In the case of man being accounted righteous before God, there can be, to an impartial mind, no doubt whatever, of the sense in which the phrase is used, if the context be studied where δικαιόω occurs, and account be taken of the general teaching of Scripture elsewhere on the subject. Man is accounted righteous because God acquits him and gratuitously provides for him a state or standing of righteousness. Of the above general statements we will now offer some proofs. The Romanists support their contention that "to justify" (δικαιόω) means *to make holy*, on the ground that the verb ends in ow (oō). It is true that verbs thus ending from adjectives of *physical* meaning may have this use; *e.g.* τυφλοῦν (*tuphloun*), to "make blind." But when such words are derived from adjectives of *moral* meaning, as, ἀξιοῦν (*axioun*), ὁσιοῦν (*hosioun*), δικαιοῦν (*dikaioun*), they do by usage, and must from the nature of things, signify to *deem*, to *account*, or to *treat* as worthy, holy, righteous. In support of this statement it may be remarked that there is no known example in the whole of classical literature where the word means to "*make* righteous"; that in the LXX. forty-five times [Old Testament and Apocrypha], (2 Sam. xv. 4; Ps. lxxxii. 3; Deut. xxv. 1; 1 Kings viii. 32; 2 Chron. vi. 23; Prov. xvii. 15, &c.), and in the Pseudepigraphic Books (Sol. ii. 16; iii. 5; iv. 9; viii. 7, 27, 31; ix. 3; 4 Ezr. iv. 18; x. 16; xii. 7; 5 Ezr. ii. 20; Apoc. Baruch. (in Ceriani's translation from the Syriac) xxi. 9, 11; xxiv. 1) it always, or almost always, occurs with the forensic and judicial sense[1] (see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 30, 31, and *Libb. Apocr.*, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, p. 643.)

The following grouping of the passages in the New Testament where the word occurs, will show upon what a solid foundation rests the Protestant view of justification by faith. We have only to cite the passages where "to justify" occurs with no particular reference to the doctrine of "justification by faith" to convince ourselves that the word is connected with the ideas of acquittal, pardon, acceptance, or approbation. In every one of these cases it is obviously used in a forensic and judicial, and distinctly not in an ethical and therapeutic sense: "Wisdom (of God's arrangements) is *justified* (*i.e.* acknowledged to be right) of all her children" (Luke vii. 35; *cf.* Matt. xi. 19, where the true reading is "wisdom is justified by her works"). "By thy words (as the index of thy state and character) thou shalt be *justified* (*i.e.* declared to be righteous and acceptable), and by thy words thou shalt be condemned" (*i.e.* in the day of judgment, ver. 36) (Matt. xii. 37). "All the people when they heard, and the publicans, *justified* God (*i.e. judged* that God had acted rightly in the mission of John the Baptist, and declared their approval), being baptized with the baptism of John" (Luke vii. 29). "But he, desiring to *justify* himself (*i.e.* to make himself out to be righteous, free from the implied charge or reproach of not loving his neighbour, contained in verses 27, 28), said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?" (Luke x. 29). "Ye are they that *justify* yourselves (*i.e.* make out yourselves to be righteous—proclaimed and paraded their righteousness) in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts" (Luke xvi. 15). "I say unto you, This man went down to his house *justified* (*i.e.* judged by God to be a right-minded worshipper, or approved by his conscience) rather than the other" (Luke xviii. 14). "Not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers of a law shall be *justified* (*i.e.* made out to be righteous in the day of judgment) (Rom. ii. 13). "That thou mightest be *justified* (*i.e.* judged to be righteous) in thy words, and mightest prevail when thou comest unto judgment" (Rom. iii. 4). "For he that hath died (*i.e.* who dissolved relationship and ceased life-union with sin) is *justified* (*i.e.* released, as by a decree of acquittal) from (the vassalage and power of) sin" (Rom. vi. 7). "For I know nothing against myself; yet am I not thereby *justified* (proved to be in the right); but he that judgeth me is the Lord" (1 Cor. iv. 4). "He who was manifested in the flesh, *justified* (judged or proved as righteous) in the spirit" (*i.e.* in the inner man, the higher principle of spiritual life) (1 Tim. iii. 16). There is, however, a passage in Rev. xxii. 11, "He that is righteous (δίκαιος, *dikaios*) let him be *righteous* (δικαιωθήτω *dikaiōthētō*) still," which has been triumphantly cited as proving that to "*justify*" (δικαιόω, *dikaioō*) means to "make righteous." It may be observed that the verb is used in the passive, and might signify here the possession

[1] The nearest approach to an exception is Ps. lxxiii. 13 (in LXX., Ps. lxxii. 13), where the word seems to be "pronounced righteous," in other words, "I called my conscience clear."

of that righteousness so infused. But there can be little doubt that the correct reading is that adopted by the revisers, of the last clause of the verse, viz. *ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω* (*rhuparos rhupanthētō*), and the whole verse should be rendered, "He that is righteous, let him do righteousness still."

If we examine and compare the passages where "to justify" is used theologically (*i.e.* when directly and specially treating of justification by faith), we shall find that the forensic import of the term is equally obvious. "By him every one that believeth is *justified* from all things (made out to be righteous in Christ; cleared from all those penal liabilities), from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses" (Acts xiii. 39). "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be *justified* (relieved from the charge of sin, accounted righteous, and so entitled to the honour and glory of the heavenly kingdom) in his sight" (Rom. iii. 20). "Being *justified* freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii. 24). In Rom. iii. 26, 28, 30; iv. 2, 5; v. 1, 9; vi. 7; viii. 30, 33; and in Gal. ii. 16, 17; iii. 8, 11, 24; v. 4, as in the three foregoing passages, the usage of "to justify" must be forensic, and there is no need to cite or examine them. If we compare the words "being now justified by his blood" in Rom. v. 9, with those of "the forgiveness of our trespasses," Eph. i. 7, and verses 24, 25, 26 of Rom. iii. with each other, we cannot fail to conclude that "justification" is a synonym for "forgiveness of sins." In the following few passages the reference to forensic justification is not so manifestly clear as in those above named, or, at least, it may be questioned, and some Protestant critics have been not indisposed to surrender them to the Roman Catholic interpretation. Rom. viii. 30 is the first of such passages which claims a passing notice: "And whom he foreordained, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified." It has been asked why, if sanctification is not part of justification, do we find the word "sanctified" wanting between "justified" and "glorified"? Some have suggested that "sanctified" is included in "glorified." But the simple and natural explanation of the absence of reference here to sanctification is that the Apostle is not detailing our experience, but the acts of God which secure our salvation. The successive steps are designedly omitted, by which believers are led to their final and complete glorification, and the certainty of its accomplishment gives the triumphant note which follows.

Another passage to be specially considered is 1 Cor. vi. 11: "And such were some of you but ye *were* washed, but ye *were* sanctified, but ye *were justified* (*i.e.* accounted righteous, entitled to the privileges of the kingdom of God) in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God." It might be expected that "justified" would have come before, not after, "sanctified," for we are not "made holy" before we are "accounted righteous," but "accounted righteous" and then "made holy." But the climax in the expression is not based on the relation of succession in time, but on the relation of superiority of degree, namely, to the legal title to moral meetness. It is probable that the double expression "in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God," attaches itself to the two preceding clauses on the well-known Hebrew principle of introversion or inverse parallelism, that is, in the case of a stanza consisting of four lines or members of a verse, the first is related or is parallel to the fourth, the second to the third. "In the name of the Lord Jesus" applies to the clause "but ye were justified," while "and by the Spirit of our God" applies to the clause "but ye were sanctified" (*cf.* Rom. ii. 7–10). If we were to suppose that the expression "ye were justified" had reference to inherent righteousness, there would be meaningless tautology, and also a strange omission in this appeal by the great teacher of justification by faith to the chief foundation of the Corinthian believers' progressive, redemptive blessings. (See note on p. 141, col. 1.)

The next passage to be noticed is in Titus iii. 5, 6: "Not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to his mercy he saved us (*i.e.* brought us into the way of salvation), through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being (previously) *justified* (*i.e.* accounted righteous, and entitled to everlasting glory) by his grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." In these verses, as in 1 Cor. vi. 11, the order of time is again reversed. The making us morally meet for everlasting glory is mentioned before the acceptance of our persons in Christ, and receiving our title to that glory. Of course, if this passage stood alone, and the usage of the word "to justify" permitted it, it might be rendered on the Roman Catholic hypothesis, "being made holy by his grace." But even then this clause would weaken rather than strengthen the foregoing context. It would be needless repetition. It is far more natural, as it is consistent with the ascertained meaning of "to justify," to regard the clause where it occurs, in a forensic, not a moral, sense. It may look back either to the initial

forensic justification that preceded the sanctification named in the foregoing clauses; or, it may look forward to that final forensic justification which precedes glorification (see Heb. vi. 12).

The last of these passages requiring examination is in James ii. 21, 24, 25: "Was not Abraham our father *justified* by works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar? . . . Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith. And in like manner was not also Rahab the harlot *justified* by works, in that she received the messengers, and sent them out another way?" Whatever may be the right interpretation of this passage, one thing is clear, that the word "justified" cannot refer to inherent righteousness. For it is incorrect to say that a man or woman is made righteous by works. It must be the other way about, one works because he is righteous. Righteousness develops itself from within outward, and not from without inward. Works are the fruit, not the root, equally whether the root is regarded as inherent righteousness or faith. Whether St. James refers to a person being "counted righteous" as to his standing, or made out to be evangelically righteous in character, whether to his having a legal title, or having a moral meetness for the privileges of the kingdom, there is no need for our present purpose to decide. In both cases, the justification is judicial or forensic.

Having thus seen that the word "to justify" has invariably in the New Testament a forensic sense, we may proceed to consider certain details respecting the righteousness of God.

In the R.V. the rendering of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is not "*the* righteousness of God," but "*a* righteousness of God" (Rom. i. 17). Had more attention been given to the fact of the absence of the definite article in the original, mistakes respecting this phrase would have been avoided. "A righteousness" provided for us is not "the righteousness" which God Himself possesses, whether it be viewed as inhabiting or encircling us, or infused into us. "A righteousness" imparted to us is not "the righteousness" of Christ, for this would be to mistake the cause for the result. "A righteousness of God" is not the right relationship into which God puts the believer with respect to the law and Himself, for this is to put the consequence for the cause. "A righteousness of God" is not the method by which God pardons, and accounts righteous, and entitles to eternal glory those who believe, for this is to substitute an idea for the reality, a theory for an act. "A righteousness of God" is a righteousness founded on the entire work of Christ in the flesh, which He bestows upon the believer. Man, possessed of this gift of righteousness, is pronounced righteous, and is in a state and standing in which he has acquittal of sin and acceptance with God.

"Righteousness of God" is a free gift, not secured by works of the law, whether viewed as the Mosaic Law, or the natural law of God written on the soul as in the case of the heathen. For by way of merit the attainment of righteousness is impossible. The law demands perfect obedience to all its precepts, and threatens condemnation to those who do not render such obedience (Gal. iii. 10, 12). Obedience of this kind, perfect and perfectly uninterrupted, no one has rendered, whether Jew or Gentile (Rom. ii. 1; iii. 9–18).

"Righteousness of God" is received in union with Christ (Rom. iii. 22). Without Christ there is no righteousness; He is alike the medium through which we receive it (1 Cor. i. 30), and He is its meritorious cause (Rom. iii. 24).

Baptism is that which places us in formal covenant with God, and so it is, in St. Paul's words, that whereby we "put on Christ," and are esteemed "sons of God, through faith in Christ" (Gal. iii. 26, 27). Viewed as a covenant seal, and when rightly handled, baptism is spoken of in connection with remission of sins and reception into divine favour (1 Cor. vi. 11; Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5, 7; Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; 1 Pet. iii. 21). But in speaking of the essential subjective condition of receiving righteousness, this is faith in Christ—a faith produced by the operation of God—placing us in the attitude of recipients of God's bounty, and enabling us to rely upon the merits of Christ, and so to accept the righteousness which God has provided for man who lacks a righteousness of his own. Thus righteousness of God is described as "founded upon faith" (Phil. iii. 9; ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, *epi tēi pistei*); "which is of faith" (Rom. ix. 30); "which is through faith in Christ" (Phil. iii. 9).

The faith which justifies is not an unproductive and dead faith, but one which purifies the heart and works by love. Only such a faith can unite us to Christ and appropriate the righteousness provided for us. This truth is strikingly brought out in the Epistle of St. James (ii. 14–26). The passage when carefully considered, naturally interpreted, with full weight being given to the point of view of the writer, in no way conflicts with, but on the contrary confirms and supplements the teaching of St. Paul upon the subject of justification. St. James, when writing this passage, was evidently acquainted (how could he be otherwise?) with the teaching of St. Paul upon the subject, and also with the Antinomian perversion of that teaching (*cf.* Rom. vi. 1, 15; iii. 8). It was not with a view of challenging or modifying the Pauline doctrine, but to prevent

its abuse[1] that St. James wrote as he did. It is dangerous and incorrect to assert that St. James and St. Paul moved in such different spheres of religious thought that they could neither have penned nor endorsed what the other wrote upon Justification. No doubt, under similar circumstances, both would have written in the same strain, though in the style natural to each. If St. Paul had read the Epistle of St. James (ii. 14–26), he would have taken no exception to it, bearing in mind the purpose for which these verses were penned, namely, to disclose to the Pharisaical Antinomian the worthlessness of his dead faith which was no true faith at all. On the other hand, if St. James had before him such statements of St. Paul as those which are made in Rom. iii. 19–31; Gal. iii.; Phil. iii. 8, 9, &c., he would have admired the clearness and boldness of them, taking into account that St. Paul was disclosing to the Pharisaical legalist the worthlessness of his works. The point upon which St. James insists is that a mere formal assent of the mind to religious truth, shown to be nothing more than this by its failing to lead to active godliness, is not the faith that justifies. When St. James asks, "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar?" (Jas. ii. 21), he means that Abraham's faith came to maturity in the act of offering up Isaac. He was "justified by works" only in the sense that he had a faith which worked, and, in working, proved its existence and came to its maturity. So, in the case of Rahab the harlot, who, he says, was "justified by works"; for her faith proved its existence by bringing forth fruit, "in that she received the messengers, and sent them out another way" (ver. 25). It is worthy of notice that in quoting the words "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness," St. James adds, "and he was called the friend of God" (ver. 23). No doubt the addition was made to show that Abraham's faith did not remain idle, inoperative, undeveloped, really non-existent, but was productive in its nature, so that he received the title of the "friend of God" (*cf.* 2 Chron. xx. 7).

Placing, then, the teaching of St. Paul and St. James side by side, although there is a remarkable difference in their terminology and the angle at which they are looking at the same subject, yet we see no real discrepancy in the opinions of these Apostles. As so often in Scripture, they present two complementary sets of truths which, when rightly understood, prevent narrowness and stagnation of religious thought and the perversions of extremists on either side. St. Paul writes for the deep thinker and professed theologian; St. James frames his teaching "on a more everyday level" and appeals to a believer of the ordinary type of mind. Thus viewing the statements of St. Paul and St. James, the matter may be briefly summed up in regard to the doctrine of Justification. A man is justified not on account of his own righteousness, but on account of the merits of Christ received by faith; but this faith must be active, a faith which works by love, and leads a man to act according to his belief. St. Paul laid stress on the former part of this doctrine; St. James on the latter.[2]

Several objections have been urged, especially by Roman Catholic divines, against the doctrine of justification by faith only. It has often, for instance, been alleged that this doctrine is a brand-new one, unknown by the Fathers, and invented in the sixteenth century. To this we observe that the early controversies did not turn upon this subject, and no need was felt for accurate definitions upon it. The statements are, therefore, general, rather practical than formal, and the distinction between justification and sanctification did not receive that thorough consideration which it afterwards received in the time of the Schoolmen, and, still more, of the

[1] "It seems more natural to suppose that a misuse or misunderstanding of St. Paul's teaching on the part of others gave rise to St. James's carefully guarded language" (Dr. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 140).

[2] It may be useful to add the following from Dr. C. H. H. Wright's *Primer of Roman Catholicism* (R.T.S.), p. 112, as giving another view, which some may consider simpler:—

"One passage in St. James ii. 24 is apparently contradictory to the teaching of St. Paul, while St. Paul in Romans iv. affirms that Abraham was justified by faith only. St. James, alluding to Abraham's offering up of Isaac (referred to also in Heb. xi. 17–19), and to the case of Rahab (mentioned also in Heb. xi. 31), affirms: 'Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.' James refers to justification before men, and does not speak of justification before God. We read in Luke vii. 29, that the people and the publicans that heard Jesus 'justified God'—*i.e.* declared God to be just—'being (or, having been, marg. R.V.) baptized with the baptism of John.' Even so those persons who, having a living faith, show mercy to others, are justified (or counted righteous) by their works in the sight of men, while those who 'say they have faith, and have not works' exhibit no proof of saving faith, and are therefore justly judged by those 'that are without,' as 'dead in trespasses and sins.' This exposition will be found to agree with the argument contained in the passage, James ii. 14–26."

Reformers. The earliest Christian writers, however, dwell much on the Atonement and the meritorious cause of pardon. Still, it cannot be denied that the forensic nature of justification seems to have been, to a very great extent, lost sight of in post-apostolic times, and down through the ages of mediæval divines and expositors, till the dawn of the Reformation. "The fact," as Dr. James Morrison remarks, "is one of a multitude, which demonstrates the early and long-continued misconception and corruption of the Christian doctrine. Darkness succeeded the first marvellous light. Night came after day." Yet there were some happy exceptions. Thus, Clement of Rome, the earliest of all the Fathers, speaking of faithful men of old, writes, "They were all therefore greatly glorified, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness that they themselves wrought; but through His will. And we also, being called by the same will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or any works which we did in holiness of heart, but by that faith by which God Almighty has justified all men from the beginning."[1] Again, the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, published in the works of Justin Martyr, says, "God gave up His own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the unholy, the innocent for the wicked, the righteous for the unrighteous, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else could cover our sins, but His righteousness? In whom was it possible for us, the unholy and ungodly, to be justified, but in the Son of God alone. Oh, unlooked for blessings! that the transgression of many should be hidden in a righteous One, and that the righteousness of One should justify many transgressors![2]

Although abundant passages might be quoted in which Scripture declarations are echoed and re-echoed, which assert that men are not "justified by works," still, there are not many "star-like" testimonies in the Fathers like the above two which we have cited. It would appear that the Fathers were deficient in definitely settled and self-consistent views of the meaning of the word which we render "justify." But the essential question is not, whether or no the Fathers clearly understood the doctrine of justification by faith, and drew the proper distinctions between it and sanctification. We content ourselves with the fact that the Protestant doctrines about justification can be most certainly proved by Holy Writ. It seems to be the will of God that different ages should bring into prominence, and render clearer, certain aspects of inspired truth. In that sense, there is the continual exemplification, although with some breaks, of the law of a true evolution in the sphere of divine Revelation.

Objection, too, has been taken to the doctrine of justification by faith on the ground that it is a transaction of the nature of a fiction, and one unworthy of the character of God. It has been asked, is there not something unreal and unsatisfactory on the part of God, in the accepting of a sinner whose remaining sinfulness seems to necessitate the vindicative reaction of God's holiness against him, while he is yet free from such vindicative reaction of holiness as is expressed in the penalties of the law. Or, put more briefly, how can God account a person righteous who is not really or perfectly so? On carefully looking at the subject all round, the supposed difficulty is relieved, if not removed. *First*, it is well to recollect that the entrance of sin through Adam has brought about an abnormal state of things, and consequently, in reducing things to a normal state, there would be much that would appear strange and open to the attacks of criticism, unless all the factors of the case were duly taken into account. An abnormal remedy, so to speak, is necessary in dealing with an abnormal disease. If the way of justifying the ungodly, as declared in Scripture, be not accepted because it is opposed to ordinary human conception, then there can be no deliverance of man from the effects of the Fall. *Secondly*, Christ, the Second Head of redeemed humanity, has endured the penalties of the law in the sinner's stead: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us" (Gal. iii. 13). This is not to declare them innocent. That would be a judgment contrary to truth. It declares that the demands of the law have been satisfied with regard to them, and that they are free from condemnation (Rom. iv. 5–7; viii. 1). Justification refers to the doing away with the *guilt* of sin, rather than with the removal of its power, pollution, and dominion. It is the acceptance of our persons for the merits of Christ. We are not declared to be wholly or perfectly sanctified, but to be forgiven and approved in Christ, and this on account of His meritorious cross and passion. *Thirdly*, when God declares the sinner righteous, it is with the design of making him gradually righteous, until at last the process is completed, when he

[1] Clem. Rom., *Epist.* i. cap. 32. Quoted by Bishop Harold Browne, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 275–76.

[2] Quoted by Dr. James Morrison, *Critical Exposition of Romans Third*, p. 173.

shall be set "before the presence of His glory without blemish in exceeding joy" (Jude 24). Truth of fact and ideal truth are not opposed to each other. As soon as the raw recruit is enlisted he is called a soldier, because the intention is that he shall be properly trained until he is what his name implies. Somewhat in the same manner, only on an infinitely higher plane of thought, God calls the sinner righteous in advance. He regards the sinner as that which he will surely become, as that which at the very moment he is in process of becoming. With God, who views the beginning from the end, and the end from the beginning, there is no time limit. When God pronounces the sinner righteous, the light of eternity rests upon the transaction. *Fourthly*, faith being the instrumental cause of justification unites the sinner to the Saviour. In such a blessed relationship what possibilities and potentialities, no less than necessities, of personal righteousness belong to the believer, no matter what his sinful past, his present weakness! *Fifthly*, the reality of the transaction of justification becomes evident, if, for clearness of thought and convenience of thinking, we view this marvellous transaction in the following order: (1) God bestows on the sinner a real gift, namely, a righteousness which He has provided for him in Christ. (2) God accounts the sinner righteous in a forensic sense. (3) God views the sinner in relation to his certain future condition of perfect personal righteousness, which, if he continued faithful, will be realised when he is glorified.

Again, objection has been taken to evangelical works which arise from faith being excluded from the office of justification. Stress has been laid upon the fact that St. Paul does not exclude personal righteousness which is the result of union with Christ, produced by the work of the Holy Spirit, and inspired by right motives, from the office of justifying. We are told that he excludes only the deeds of the law, legal works, works prompted by the idea of meriting heaven, works done before faith and regeneration. But those who thus reason forget that the same arguments used in regard to legal righteousness apply to evangelical righteousness. "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. iii. 20). Why? because no one can perfectly act up to the standard required, and even if he could so act from a given point of time, how would such future perfection (if it could be attained) atone for the past? When we have done all, we are unprofitable servants. We have merely performed our duty, and can lay no claim to merit, certainly not to a surplus of merit to make up for past demerit. Those who imagine that the claims of the divine holiness can be satisfied by the personal righteousness of saints as a ground of their acceptance, must take a wrong view altogether both of divine holiness, and also of the nature of sin and its remains, even in the holiest. The Church of Rome endeavours to get over the difficulty of the imperfect nature of the believer's personal holiness. It asserts that lust or concupiscence which exists in the regenerate, and that tends to actual sin, yet is not sin in itself. Strange doctrine, indeed, that the lusts of the natural man should be opposed to the Spirit of God and yet be sinless! It is only by such shifts and false views respecting original sin, condemned in Article IX. of the Church of England, that a justification on the ground of personal, evangelical righteousness can be defended. Besides, such a line of defence refers only to the present and future, leaving untouched the outstanding claims of righteousness for past offences in the case of those not baptized in infancy.

A difficulty has been felt about the doctrine of justification by faith on account of its supposed conflict with that of judgment according to works, which is so clearly taught in such passages as Job. xxxiv. 11; Ps. lxii. 12; Prov. xxiv. 12; Jer. xvii. 10; xxxii. 19; Matt. xvi. 27; xxv. 31–46; John v. 29; Rom. ii. 6; 2 Cor. v. 10; Col. iii. 24, 25; Rev. xx. 12; xxii. 12. But there is thorough consistency in saying that persons shall be judged by their works, and according to their works, and yet saying that they shall not be saved by the merits of the works. Divine grace is the primary source of our salvation; the atonement of Christ is the meritorious cause; faith the means by which we appropriate its blessings; but the criterion by which the final awards will be determined is works. The just shall be rewarded not on account of, but according to, their works. Good works are in some sense, and to some extent, the measure of the heavenly reward. In accordance with moral and spiritual law, the more we abound in those things by which man is blessed and God glorified, the more we grow in sympathy with the divine character, the purer is the joy, and the more, indeed, we become capable of receiving divine favour, and meet for the employments and pleasures of a spiritual and eternal world. Viewing things from even a higher range of thought, the good works of the justified are those "which God afore prepared" that His people "should walk in them" (Eph. ii. 8–10). All the purposes of God in redemption are marvellously knit together, and there is perfect harmony in the whole process.

The importance of having clear and definite views upon the righteousness of God cannot be too strongly insisted upon. To possess, maintain, spread, and defend such views is

our bounden duty and high privilege. Since it pleased God to raise up the Reformers to state the doctrine of justification by faith in all its Scriptural purity, and with telling force, it has become the test of a standing or a falling Church. A neutral position is really impossible. All attempts to minimise the differences between Rome and the Reformed Churches, or to refuse to see them, or to endeavour to reconcile them, are to be deplored as unworthy of those who have received a sacred heritage of truth to be handed down unimpaired to posterity. It is hardly loyal to the principles of the Reformation to keep on insisting "that the divines of Trent have not denied that fallen man cannot of himself become worthy of eternal salvation; that he stands in need both of pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace; that this mercy and this grace have been procured for him by the all-prevailing merits of the Redeemer, and that these blessings offered to all, may be appropriated to the individual believer by that faith which the Holy Spirit will implant" (Bishop Harold Browne, *Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 295, 296). We are not quite prepared to admit that such pure streams of the water of life descend from the Vatican, and everywhere flow throughout the Romish Church. But, even if we were, still, such pure streams have passed in that communion through murky and poisonous channels, and have become deleterious, if not in some cases, deadly. Protestants who indulge in a false liberality in regard to God's truth should recollect that Romanists, and those who sympathise with them, never follow the ridiculous course of pretending that the difference of opinion upon the question of justification between the Council of Trent and the views of the Reformers are slight, or capable of mutual reconciliation.

It is our interest as well as our duty to uphold the doctrine of justification by faith. This doctrine is rightly termed in Article XI. "a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort." If justification were by works even by works performed after we had become the subjects of divine grace, upon what an uncertain, impossible basis would justification (as we have already shown) rest! As the righteousness of the most faithful of God's children is so defective, how could any feel sure that they had done enough for their sins to be forgiven, their persons accepted, and their title to heaven pronounced to be complete? In fact, when "to justify" is regarded as "to make just," instead of "to declare just," there is really no such thing as justification at all. It is a will-o'-the-wisp. People holding that false doctrine respecting justification are condemned to a state of cruel suspense, slavish fears, and robbed of the sweet comfort of a well-founded assurance of salvation. No wonder the Church of Rome pronounces anathema against the glorious doctrine of a well-founded assurance; no wonder that throughout her whole system there is, can be, no certainty—that certainty which is in Scripture the distinguishing mark of the Faith of Christ (Rom. viii. 30–39; 2 Tim. ii. 12; iv. 7, 8; *cf.* Col. ii. 2; Heb. vi. 11; x. 22).

After much discussion at Trent, the Council finally drew up sixteen heads and thirty canons or anathemas on the subject of justification, but none of the greatest Romish divines can be certain of the precise bearing of these Canons and Articles. Owing to their obscurity, it was necessary to make a decree against all notes, glosses, and commentaries; the Pope reserving to himself the right of solving difficulties and settling controversies on the subject. Romish uncertainty respecting both the fact of justification and the nature of the doctrine, has paved the way for penances, pardons, indulgences, and purgatory with all its horrors. In fine, what loss of peace and what spiritual mischief have been occasioned through a justification taught to be by works, or even by faith and works combined.

Deeply it is to be regretted that, owing to the strong distaste of the age for definite religious teaching, the doctrine of justification by faith or (as it is sometimes termed) free salvation by grace,[1] is being allowed to drop out of its proper place. The consequence is that incalculable harm is being done to the cause of truth. Hazy, misty views of truth are prevalent; and the ill-instructed are carried away by a dreamy mysticism and a morbid sentimentalism. They end in becoming a ready prey to those who, in one form or another, substitute the doctrine of law for grace, works for faith, and seek "to establish" their own righteousness, not having "subjected themselves to the righteousness of God." [C. N].

[1] It is not unfrequently remarked by learned divines that justification by faith and free salvation by God's grace are synonymous terms. But, as the idea of salvation really covers a wider field of thought than that of justification, and includes its accompaniments, such as regeneration, union with Christ, and sanctification, it is more correct to say that justification by faith is the leading principle of salvation by God's grace. One cannot be too precise in the terms used, nor too careful in drawing proper distinctions and avoiding ambiguous expressions, when discussing fundamental doctrinal subjects which have become the battle-field of keen, and frequently of unscrupulous, controversy.

RING, EPISCOPAL.—This is a ring given in the Romish Church "to a bishop at his consecration, as a mark of dignity and also as a seal and token of fidelity to the Church, which is the spouse of God. Bishops generally wear a ring with an amethyst, cardinals with a sapphire, the Pope with a ruby." Some of the bishops of the Church of England have adopted this practice of wearing a large, heavy ring.

RITES and CEREMONIES.—A rite includes, if it does not consist of, the text of the prayers and the Scriptures read. It is a service expressed in words. A ceremony is a symbolical act. In worship it is an act or action in which natural objects may or may not be used, as making of the sign in baptism, or putting on a ring in marriage (Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln, 1891, P.D. 9 at p. 79). Sir Robert Phillimore, in Martin *v.* Mackonochie (L.R. 2 Ad. and Eccl. 116), defines a ceremony to consist of "gestures or acts preceding, accompanying, or following, the utterance of words in a service, and including lights, incense, and vestments." Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln case held the cremation of a candle not to be an "act," and therefore not a ceremony; but the Privy Council on appeal did not approve of this view.

The following rule was laid down by the Privy Council as to ceremonies: "In the performance of the services, rites, ceremonies, ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed. No omission and no addition can be permitted" (Westerton *v.* Liddell, Moore's Sp. Report); and this rule was adopted and acted upon in the subsequent case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie (1868, 2 P.C. 365), with this remark, "It is not open to a minister to draw a distinction between acts which are important and those which appear trivial." As a consequence of this rule, the act of making a cross, except in baptism, was held illegal (Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln), also lighting candles in services as part of a ceremony, mixing wine and water as a ceremony, ceremonial rinsing, carrying banners, ringing bells, bowing to a crucifix, kissing Gospel, ceremonially admitting acolytes, announcing mortuary celebration for the dead, carrying crucifix, elevating the elements, kneeling before the elements in the Communion Service, burning incense. See Hebbert *v.* Purchas (L.R. 3 P.C. 649), Sumner *v.* Wix (L.R. 3 Ad. and Eccl. 58). Processions are specially forbidden by the Injunctions of 1559, which have been held to be law.

Power of bishops to alter (*Jus Liturgicum*).—Except where a statute or a rubric has given a bishop authority to alter or modify the service or "rite," a bishop has no more authority than any other clergyman or minister to do so. There is no authority of any kind for altering the ceremonial, and, as it will be seen at the end of this article, their power to modify the service is very carefully limited, since any new parts, except hymns, must be taken from the Prayer Book or the Bible. In Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 2 P.C. 365, the Privy Council said the only power a bishop had in matters relating to ritual, was to decide as to "things neither ordered nor prohibited expressly or by implication, but the doing or use of which must be governed by the living discretion of some person in authority." As to cases not in this category, they were not matters as to which, according to the Preface to the Prayer Book, "the parties that doubt, or diversely take anything, should always resort to the bishop of the diocese." The Privy Council held that where any question "involves what is expressly ordered and prohibited by the rubrics," it was "a matter in which the bishop could have no jurisdiction to modify or dispense with the rubrical provisions." In another part of their judgment they held that it was "not open to a minister" (and a bishop was held to come under this term in the Lincoln case) "of the Church, or even to their lordships in advising her Majesty as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal of appeal, to draw a distinction in acts which are a departure from, or violation of, the rubric, between those which are important and those which appear trivial. The object of a statute of uniformity is, as its preamble expresses, to produce 'an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God,' an object which would be wholly frustrated if each minister, on his own view of the relative importance of the details of the service, were to be at liberty to add to or to alter any of these details." In Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln, 14 P.D. 148, it was contended that a bishop had a discretion in the services he used, provided he did not employ ritual which connoted heretical doctrines, and it was argued that if it were not so, then such services as opening of churches and admission of deaconesses were illegal (which probably is true). The late Archbishop of Canterbury (Benson), without expressing any opinion on this subject, held that "when a bishop ministers in any office prescribed in the Prayer Book, he is a minister bound to observe the directions given to the minister in the rubrics of such office." The present Bishop of Salisbury dissented; but the subsequent proceedings were conducted on that basis, and eventually the court held, as pointed out above, for example, that the Bishop of Lincoln had committed an illegal act in making the sign of the cross in the absolution, as that was not a ceremony prescribed by the Prayer Book (1891, P.D. 9).

This is only in accordance with the view expressed above by the Privy Council. In the Bidding Prayer, which will be found in the 55th Canon, archbishops and bishops are described as "ministers," as also in the 24th Canon and the preface to the Ordinal for consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, and in the rubric at the head of the Confirmation service. It seems almost superfluous to point out that if a bishop has no power to modify the rubrical directions in his own case, he has none authorising others to do so. It is thus clear that the bishops have no "general powers" of modifying the services or adopting others, since they are also bound by the Act of Uniformity. It becomes interesting to see what special powers have been given them as to the services. As Ordinary a bishop may, under the rubric, determine in what part of the church Morning and Evening Prayer shall be "used." By the rubric before the Litany he can command, as "Ordinary," the Litany to be sung or said "at other times" than Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. He can direct a place in the church for churchings.

Though a bishop has no general powers, he has been given certain definite authority by statute. The second part of the schedule to the Prayer Book (Table of Lessons), Act 1871 [34 & 35 Vict. c. 37] contains the following directions: "Upon occasions, to be approved by the Ordinary, other lessons may, with his consent, be substituted for those which are appointed in the Calendar. . . . Note also that upon occasions to be appointed by the Ordinary, other Psalms may, with his consent, be substituted for those appointed in the the Psalter." And to this section 2 adds the following proviso: "Provided that the occasions whereon power to alter the appointed Psalms and Lessons is by the schedule to this Act committed to the Ordinary, shall be all occasions whereon the Ordinary shall judge that such alteration will conduce to edification."

The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, 1872 (35 & 36 Vict. c. 35), which was passed to allow of shortened services and using the services separately, instead of giving the bishops general power or discretion to permit shortened services, directs in what way the service may be shortened and on what days.

Special Services.—By section 3, upon SPECIAL occasions to be approved of by the Ordinary, there may be used in any cathedral or church a special form of service approved of by the Ordinary. Such service must *not* have introduced into it anything except anthems or hymns which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures or of the Prayer Book. It will be noted that there is no power to authorise the introduction of prayers from old rituals, or drawn up by the bishop himself; so that the bishop, even if he wished to, has no power to authorise services only colourably different from masses.

Additional Services.—When both the ordinary morning and evening services are held the bishop may approve of an *additional service.* At this *additional service* the bishop's powers are further limited, for he is not allowed to permit "any portion of the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion Service to be used in such additional service; nor can he permit anything else, unless it forms part of the Holy Scriptures or Book of Common Prayer," to be introduced into such additional service. The bishop is, however, made responsible for approving of the "mode in which it (the additional service) is used," whatever these words may mean. The Lambeth Conference of 1897, in their forty-fifth resolution, said: "They recognise the exclusive right of each bishop to put forth or sanction additional services for use within his jurisdiction, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by provincial or other lawful authority." Bishop Temple, when Bishop of London, before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, pretended to believe that the above Act only forbade any service which expressed any doctrine which you cannot find the substance of in either the Bible or Prayer Book. It is obvious to any one who knows the history of the English Church since the Reformation, and who compares the Uniformity Acts of Elizabeth, Charles, and the last one of Victoria just quoted, that neither the pretensions of the Lambeth Conference nor those of the late archbishop have any legal validity whatsoever when the bishops are English bishops, bound by the Act of Uniformity. Colonial bishops are, however, not so strictly bound. It is worth noticing that the Lambeth Conference only used the word "recognise," and did not "assert" this alleged right. See also SERVICES, OCCASIONAL. [E. B. W.]

RITUALISTIC MANUALS.—The old High Church party considered the Book of Common Prayer fully sufficient as a manual both of doctrine and worship, and in any "aids to devotion" or instructional treatises they issued they professed to adhere to the teaching and formulas of that book. In marked contrast to their teaching the present-day Ritualists consider the Prayer Book to be deficient in many particulars for such purposes. Hence they have issued a large number of small books, tracts, and booklets to supply what, in their judgment, the Prayer Book lacks. The main purpose of those manuals is to endeavour to bring back what the Church of England

rejected at the Reformation, and to systematically teach nearly all the distinctive doctrines and practices of the Roman Church.

The *number and variety* of such manuals is large. Although principally written for children, there are several written for adults, for clergy as well as the laity, and for special classes, such as altar-servers and confirmation candidates. Some of them, as, for instance, *The Catholic Religion*, *The Practical Religion*, *The Natural Religion*, *The Congregation in the Church*, *The Ritual Reason Why*, *A Book for the Children of God*, *A Longer Catechism for Members of the English Church*, *A Little Catechism for Little Catholics*, are comprehensive in scope, and cover more or less fully a complete system of teaching. Others, again, are confined to special subjects. Thus, *Pardon for the Penitent Pardon through the Precious Blood*, *In Preparation for Penance*, *The Benefit of Absolution*, *The First Confession*, are all on the doctrine and practice of "Sacramental" Confession. *Hosanna*, *The People's Eucharist*, *The First Communion*, inculcate the Mass both in theory and performance. *The Chaplet of Our Lady* is the Romish devotion of the Rosary adapted to the use of members of the Church of England. *The Compassion* deals largely with Prayers and Masses for the Dead. *An Office for the Way of the Cross* gives directions for "Devotions for the Fourteen Stations of the Cross."

These manuals are highly dogmatic. The following, taken from p. 33 of the 4th ed. of *A Catechism for Catholics in England*, is a good example of the style employed.

"Q. 'When do the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ?' A. 'The bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ by the power of God when the priest says the words of Consecration ordained by our Lord Jesus Christ.' Q. 'How many Sacraments are there?' A. 'There are seven Sacraments: Holy Baptism, Penance, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist Holy Orders, Holy Matrimony, and Extreme Unction.'"

They are popular in style. Technical theological terms are rarely used, and, when employed at all, are carefully explained. In the smaller works no references or authorities are given. The simplest language is generally employed, and the reader is assumed to know little or nothing of the subjects treated.

Their exterior appearance is not calculated to arouse the suspicion or attention of ordinary Protestants. In many of them texts of Scripture, verses of familiar hymns, and pious sayings are found. These are, however, often intermixed with Romish hymns and statements, and it is not until the book is carefully read that the real character of the teaching it contains is seen. The Scriptures and Prayer Book are frequently unfairly quoted and their sense distorted and obscured.

It also is a peculiar characteristic of these manuals that they are cheap.

The names of the writers of these manuals indicate their bias and intention. The Rev. Vernon Staley, Rev. H. E. Hall, M.A., Rev. F. W. Puller, M.A., of the Cowley Fathers, and others, are some of the writers who attach their names, but of a considerable proportion of the smaller works the authorship is not stated. Some are issued by "A Committee of Clergy," which Mr. Walter Walsh has shown[1] to consist of clergymen belonging to the Holy Cross Society. See RITUALISTIC SECRET SOCIETIES. Others, again, are by anonymous authors, but contain commendatory prefaces written by the clergy of St. Peter's, London Docks, London, E., St. Alban's, Holborn, London, and other churches of an extreme character.

The circulation of these manuals is large. It is sometimes alleged that few copies have been sold, and that their use is exceptional, but the following figures disprove these assertions. *Before the Altar* has reached a sale of nearly 200,000 copies; *A Catechism for Catholics in England* is in its "seventeenth thousand" and its 4th edition; *The People's Eucharist* had reached a 4th edition in 1897; *A Book for the Children of God*, printed in 1899, is marked 3rd edition; *A Longer Catechism*, issued only on Oct. 2, 1902, had reached its third thousand in June 1903. Special means have been adopted in some cases to increase the sale of such manuals. "Church Shops" under the control of the parochial clergy, and sometimes in charge of "Sisters," have been opened, at which crucifixes, holy water stoups, pictures of a Romish character may also be obtained. The displacement of the Sunday School by "catechising" in the church has also largely aided their circulation. These "catechisms," as they are technically termed, are one special means of securing the careful instruction of the young in Sacerdotalism by clergymen and other trained persons.

The Teaching of the manuals has already been generally indicated above, but it is desirable that it should be more specifically stated. The doctrines inculcated will best be shown by a series of extracts taken from the manuals themselves, upon some of the most important points of difference between Romanists and Protestants. For instance, these manuals affirm *the superiority of the Church to the Holy Scripture as a teacher and referee in matters of faith*. "The Bible is the Book which God has

[1] *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, 1st ed., p. 49.

given to His Church, and it belongs to the Church alone, and not to any dissenting sect. No one but a Catholic can safely read the Bible, and no Catholic can read it safely who does not read it in the Church's way. The Church knows what the Bible means, because the Holy Ghost teaches her its meaning; and directly any one tries to put a meaning of his own upon any part of the Bible, or to get any doctrine out of it which is not Church doctrine, that person begins to go wrong. Remember this, and if ever it should happen when you are reading the Bible that a thought comes into your mind which seems to go against the Catholic faith, put that thought away at once. Don't stop to argue about it. Don't say, 'It is in the Bible.' The Bible is the Book of the Church. The Church is the keeper of the Bible, and the Holy Ghost is the teacher of the Church. The Church and the Bible never contradict each other. If they seem to any one to do so, it is because he does not understand" (*A Book for the Children of God*, 3rd ed., pp. 100, 101).

These manuals teach *a doctrine scarcely distinguishable from Transubstantiation, sometimes identical with it.* "When the priest begins the prayer, that which is on the altar is bread and wine. When the priest ends the prayer, that which is on the altar is Christ's body and blood; it is Jesus; it is God" (*A Book for the Children of God*, 3rd ed., p. 121). "We go to the altar and kneel down, and the priest comes to us with the Blessed Sacrament. We receive That which looks like bread, and which tastes like bread; we receive That which looks like wine, and which tastes like wine; but That which we receive is the body and blood of Christ; IT IS JESUS HIMSELF, IT IS ALMIGHTY GOD" (*ibid.* p. 129).

They distinctly advocate *an illegal ritual which approximates closely to that of the Roman Mass.* In a volume entitled *Aids to Reverently Celebrating the Holy Eucharist*, 3rd ed., Knott, minute directions are given for the celebration of "Low Mass," "contested points between Roman and Sarum Ceremonial" being thus "happily avoided." The directions given include those for "vesting" with amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole, chasuble. Other directions given are, "The position of the hands," "The Lavabo," "The acts at 'The Canon,'" "Communicating the Sick," "Manner of carrying the Reserved Sacrament," "Ablutions."

They further teach *the use of devotions taken from the Roman "Ordinary of the Mass,"* and of *Secret Prayers* from the Roman *Canon of the Mass*, including devotions for the use of children at "Mass." In the last quoted manual, at p. 46, there is a section entitled "The Preparation said with the Server at the Altar," in which the secret form of Confession used at the commencement of Mass in the Roman Church is given *in extenso*. On p. 49 the "Secret Prayers at the Canon," are taken almost without alteration from the Roman Missal. Children are taught Romish devotions in the following manner:—

"*Act of Adoration.* Hail! true body of Jesus, offered for me upon the Cross. Save me [now and] at the hour of my death. Hail! precious blood of Jesus, shed upon the Cross; wash me, and make me pure.

"*Act of Faith.* O most loving Jesus, I believe that Thou art really present in this most holy Sacrament.

"*Act of Worship.* I worship and adore Thee, O Lord Jesus; I adore Thy Body, Thy Soul, and Thy Divinity, Thy Flesh, and Thy Blood, truly present in this Sacrament.

"O most gracious Father, accept this Pure, this Holy Sacrifice at the hands of Thy priest, in union with that all-Holy Sacrifice which Thy Beloved Son, throughout His whole Life, at the Last Supper, and upon the Cross, offered unto Thee for me (for . . .), and for all for whom He vouchsafed to die" (*Children at the Altar*, 30th thousand, Mowbray, pp. 25, 26).

They teach *the adoration of the Reserved Sacrament.* In *Ritual Notes on the Order of Divine Service*, 4th ed., Mowbray, pp. lxxxi. *ff.*, elaborate rules are given for "Communicating the Sick with the Reserved Sacrament." At p. ciii. directions are given for the "Benediction of a Tabernacle or of a vessel for Reserving the Blessed Sacrament." In *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*, by Rev. A. H. Stanton, 5th ed., 16th thousand, on p. 99, is a section on "Visits to the Blessed Sacrament." The latter work contains a series of "Acts of Adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament," also on pp. 107, 108, "A Litany of the Blessed Sacrament," and on p. 112 the Service for "Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament," where the following direction is given: "Then the Benediction is given with the Blessed Sacrament. Bow down in profound adoration before your Saviour there present, and beseech His blessing on yourself and on the whole Church. You can say in your heart when the bell rings—

'Blessed and praised every moment
Be the most holy and divine Sacrament.'"

These manuals teach *the Doctrine of Purgatory*, and advocate *Requiem Masses* and *the Absolution of the Dead.* "With the holy souls in Purgatory we on earth are in communion by helping them with our prayers and by having the Holy Sacrifice offered for them" (*The Casket and People's Mass Book*, 3rd ed., p. 6). "The Church in the middle state is the suffer-

ing Church. It is Purgatory, the place where holy souls are made perfect" (*A Book for the Children of God*, p. 83). "On All Souls' Day we bring before God the needs of those who still have some purifying to undergo before they can be admitted into the fuller joy of their Lord" (*The Christian's Manual*, p. 287, by Rev. H. H. Jervois, M.A., 2nd ed., 1898). In *The English Catholic's Vade Mecum*, new ed., Longmans, 1898, a whole section (pp. 59–63) is devoted to a "method of assisting" at masses "on behalf of the Faithful Departed." Similar instructions and devotions may be found in almost all the manuals quoted above.

The manuals teach further *the Invocation of saints*, and advocate *the* Roman *Invocation of the Virgin, Litanies and Hymns to the Virgin*, and *the use of the Rosary*. They inculcate *the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception* and the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary*. "The Saints," including a large number of "the Fathers" of the early Church, and even mediæval personages, such as Anthony, Benedict, Bernard, Dominic, and Francis, "all holy priests, Levites, monks, and hermits," are implored to "pray for us" in "A Litany of the Saints," given on p. 181 of *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People*, 5th ed., 16th thousand, 1901, by Rev. A. H. Stanton. The same manual gives at p. 13 the "Hail Mary"; at p. 164, "The Litany of the Blessed Virgin" in Latin, and an English metrical version of the same, p. 167. This is followed by "The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," p. 170, and throughout this book the Romish doctrines of the Invocation of Saints and the cultus of the Virgin are plainly taught. As indicating the extent to which the latter teaching is carried, it may be mentioned that not only in *Catholic Prayers*, but in several other manuals, some of them devoted exclusively to this subject, the "Assumption" and "Coronation" of the Blessed Virgin Mary are included among the subjects of devotion.

These manuals strongly insist upon *habitual confession to a priest, and approve the application of the grossest spiritual torture to obtain detailed and minute confessions*. "When you were younger you may have confessed your faults to your parents. Now you are old enough to know that many of these faults are also sins against God; and it is to the priest that, by God's appointment, you ought now to confess your sins. Do you know why? It is because CHRIST, when He was on earth, gave to His priests the power of forgiving men their sins. You must tell the priest *all* the sins that you remember to have committed; God absolutely requires this. If through pride or shame you were so unhappy as to hide a sin *on purpose*, you would commit a very grave fault; you would make a bad confession; not only your sins would not be forgiven you, but you would be far more guilty than before. You had better not confess at all than make such a bad and sacrilegious confession. There have been persons who have wilfully concealed their sins in confession for years. They were very unhappy, were tormented with remorse, and if they had died in that state their souls would certainly have been in the greatest danger of everlasting death" (from *Confession*, pp. 3–5. Edited by a Committee of Clergy. Revised ed., 14th thousand, 1897. Published by Knott). "And now a few words of warning, and of encouragement. Be honest in your confession. Keep nothing back that you feel you ought to confess. Don't hurry over the worst things, in hopes that the priest won't hear or won't notice them. If anything is very hard to own, take particular pains to be most clear in owning it. Unless you mean to make a perfectly true confession, you had far better get up and go out of church, and not make your confession and Communion at all; better that you should die without ever making your Communion, than mock God by wilfully making a bad confession. A Communion made after a bad confession deserves hell" (*The First Communion*, 2nd ed., 1896, W. Knott).

The *influence* of such manuals is seen in the spread of Ritualistic practices at public worship, and in the adornment of the homes of those who have been instructed from them. At ultra-ritualistic churches, where the congregation is largely in sympathy with the teaching of the manuals, the movements of the worshippers strongly suggest that they have been well drilled before. Thus, at the recitation of the "Incarnatus est" in the Nicene Creed, all present kneel; again, at the words of consecration, when a "Sanctus bell" is rung, the whole congregation fall prostrate. At children's services in such churches very young children may be seen making obeisance to the "altar," crossing themselves, and the like. Even in churches where extreme practices and teaching do not prevail, persons coming from other districts may frequently be seen indulging in the external signs of sacerdotal Romish doctrine above named. In many homes—both of the rich and poor—"prie-dieux," crucifixes, and pictures of a distinctly Roman type are to be seen, and these are frequently the direct result of the teaching and directions to be found in the manuals. Of the far-reaching *indirect* results it is impossible to speak definitely, but they must be very great. [W. A. L.]

Note.—The writer of the article is much indebted to a work entitled *Contemporary Ritualism*, a volume of evidence, compiled by the Rev. the Hon. W. E. Bowen, M.A., J. Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners St., London, W.

RITUALISTIC SECRET SOCIETIES.—Secrecy has been a special characteristic of the Ritualistic Movement since its commencement in 1833. Ample evidence of this will be found in my *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. At the present time the number of secret, or semi-secret Ritualistic Societies in the Church of England is very large. Some of these admit the clergy only into their ranks, while others admit both clergy and laity. Several of them have a large number of members, while others are but comparatively small bodies. There is one thing in which they all agree, and that is in avoiding the light of publicity as far as circumstances will permit. Several Ritualistic Secret Societies, very active in their time, have ceased to exist. Amongst the principal of these Secret Societies is :—

The Society of the Holy Cross.—This Society was founded in the year 1855. For the first eight years of its existence its statutes and rules existed only in MS. Admission to the Society is granted to bishops, priests, and deacons, and to *bonâ fide* candidates for Holy Orders only. No ordinary layman is admitted, and no women. Only those thoroughly devoted to the Romeward Movement are admitted into its ranks. The objects of the Society of the Holy Cross (commonly known among the brethren as the "S.S.C."), as stated in its secret statutes, are "to maintain and extend the Catholic faith and discipline, and to form a special bond of union between Catholic priests;" "carrying on and aiding mission work at home and abroad;" "circulating tracts and other publications;" and "holding Synods and Chapters for prayer and conference." The "publications" issued by the Society to the public do not appear (with one or two exceptions) under its own name, but under that of "A Committee of Clergy." "There are," according to the statutes, "four degrees of obligation in the Society, termed respectively, the Ordinary, the Green, the Red, and the White Rule." The "Ordinary Rule" is binding on all. The "White Rule" is for celibates only, who may be termed the inner circle of the Society. They have their own "Master." A roll of celibates is kept, but I have never been able to see a copy. About ten years after the formation of the S.S.C. it was thought desirable by the brethren to form a separate Society to be known as "The Society of Celibates," but eventually the celibates were formed into a section of the S.S.C. itself. The celibates take a solemn oath to remain single, some for a short period, others for life. In a secret *Directory for Priests*, issued to the brethren at the close of 1865, there was a chapter with the significant heading: "Unwritten Monitions of the Society." It was as follows: "(1) Whenever a Monition may be of such a character that it is not wise to have it published, it shall be delivered by the Master or Senior Vicar in Synod. (2) Brethren are not allowed to divulge the unwritten Monitions." At the Synod of the Society, held in May 1876, the Master acknowledged that the Society "started with its secrecy." "The bond of union between the brethren was," he said, "to be as strict as possible. None but themselves were to know their names, or of the existence of the Society, except those to whom it might be named to induce them to join; but this only with the leave of the Society." It would be impossible to give more convincing proof than this of the secrecy of the S.S.C.

Those members attached to the White Rule are required by the statutes "to say Mass daily," and to "frequent the Sacrament of Penance at least monthly." Those who are under the Red Rule must "say Mass on all Sundays and other Holy Days," "frequent the Sacrament of Penance at least three times a year," and "make a Retreat each year." Those under the Green Rule must "say Mass (if practicable) on all Sundays and other Holy Days," and "frequent the Sacrament of Penance at least once a year." All the brethren, being in priest's orders, are expected to act as Father Confessors. It is an imperative rule that, "The brethren shall devote themselves diligently to the Science of the Care of Souls, and shall labour in bringing young and old who are under their influence, to value duly the Sacrament of Penance." To help on the Confessional work of the Society, it has a "Penitentiary Committee," to which all questions of moral theology dealt with in the Confessional may be referred for advice and guidance. The Society of the Holy Cross issued to its members, to assist them in their work of hearing Confessions, a work in two parts, which bore the title of *The Priest in Absolution*. Parts of this work deal with most indecent matters. The late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait), on June 14, 1877, in the House of Lords, said of this book: "No modest person could read the book without regret, and it is a disgrace to the community that such a book should be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church."

Meetings of the brethren are held in London every month, and are known as "The Monthly Chapter." Twice a year, on Holy Cross Day in May, and again on Holy Cross Day in September, Synods of the Society are held in London, which all the brethren are expected to attend, unless they can send a valid excuse. The proceedings are always secret, and the brethren are forbidden to divulge to outsiders anything that takes place during the proceed-

ings. At present, the number of clergy belonging to the S.S.C. is about 400, but no "Roll of the Brethren" has fallen into Protestant hands since 1896, and therefore I am unable to give the exact number.

Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.—This Confraternity was founded in 1862, and in 1867 was united with "The Society of the Blessed Sacrament." Briefly, its objects are the propagation of a doctrine of the Real Presence in Holy Communion, which is hard to distinguish from that of the Church of Rome, the "Eucharist Sacrifice" and "Eucharistical Adoration," or the Mass for the Living and the Dead. The Confraternity makes grants of "altar" linen, and Eucharistic vestments for the celebration of Mass in poor parishes. Bishops, priests, deacons, and the laity of both sexes are admitted as Associates, but the Confraternity is ruled exclusively by priests. In 1902 its Priests-Associate numbered 1709, and its Lay Associates, 18,600. The Confraternity is of a semi-secret character. It issues to its members a monthly *Intercession Paper*, containing the subjects for prayer and thanksgiving, but every effort is made to keep it from falling into Protestant hands. Every year a "Roll of Priests-Associate" is printed, yet it is but rarely that any Protestant can see a copy, and then certainly not with the sanction of the authorities of the Confraternity. At its annual Conference in London none are admitted but those who can produce a medal proving their membership. Amongst the subjects which the Associates are expected to pray for every month are an increase of "Sacramental Confession," the Reunion of Christendom, the restoration of the Reserved Sacrament, and of Unction for the sick, and the repose of the souls of the faithful departed. The late Bishop Samuel Wilberforce strongly censured the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament for "its singularly un-English and Popish tone."

Order of Corporate Reunion.—This very secret body was founded in 1877, and admitted into its ranks the clergy and laity of the Church of England only. The Order was founded on the assumption that the Orders of the clergy of the Church of England were of doubtful validity. To meet this difficulty three foreign bishops were brought over to England from the Continent, whose Orders were valid in the estimation of the Church of Rome. The Rev. Thomas W. Mossman, Rector of West Torrington, Lincolnshire, one of the secret bishops of the Order, was also a member of the Society of the Holy Cross, which was opposed to the policy and work of the Order. He was called upon by the Society for an explanation of his position. In a secret "Report" of a Committee of the S.S.C. it is stated that: "They have no evidence at all as to the position of the Consecrator or Consecrators (of clerical members of the O.C.R.), nor as to the nature of the jurisdiction assumed to be bestowed. On the contrary, a silence, which is in itself highly suspicious, has been maintained. Every promise of revealing the facts at a given date, of which there have been several, has been broken." What is very important to note is that Mr. Mossman wrote himself to this Committee of the S.S.C.: "The Consecration (of O.C.R. bishops) may have taken place in the Cathedral of Belgrade, or of Arles, or of Milan, or Seville, or Tuam. . . . I can only speak profitably of what I am able to testify *of my own personal knowledge*. The most important part of this is that a Consecration has undoubtedly taken place. I have been frequently asked what is meant by 'three distinct and independent lines of Episcopal Succession' in the First Pastoral of the Order

MEDAL OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

of Corporate Reunion. Let me distinguish carefully between what I have been told and what I know. What I have been told is, that *three Anglican clergymen have been consecrated bishops from three distinct sources.* That may be true, or it may be the reverse. *What I know is*, that one Anglican clergyman [no doubt Mr. Mossman refers to himself] has been consecrated a bishop by a Catholic bishop; and by Catholic bishop I mean one who is now at this present time, and who was when he performed the act of consecration, in full communion with either the See of Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Archbishop of Canterbury. It will thus be seen that the bishops of so-called heretical or schismatical bodies are excluded *vi terminorum.* More than this I am pledged not to reveal at present." In a special and secret *Report on the Order of Corporate Reunion, Presented to S.S.C.*, by Mr. Mossman, he asserted: "I have the best possible ground for believing that, whatever might be the action of the other Patriarchs, the Patriarch of the West [the Pope] would not look coldly on our plea" for admission, as members of the O.C.R., to "intercommunion."

After the death, early in 1902, of the Rev. F. G. Lee, the principal and secretly consecrated Bishop of the Order of Corporate Reunion, Mr. A. J. Oliver wrote a letter in the *Tablet* of Feb. 22, 1902, in which he stated: "I was one of the original members of the Order of Corporate Reunion, being admitted into it very early in 1878. *An oath of secrecy respecting the proceedings was first taken*, then conditional baptism was administered, being followed by Confirmation according to the Catholic rite. This latter was not conditional, it being a tenet of the Order of Corporate Reunion that Anglican Confirmation, both as regards form and matter, is invalid. I have presented for re-ordination a clergyman of the Established Church, *a dignitary.* This ceremony took place in the chapel of All Saints' Vicarage. I have heard of several re-ordinations taking place there, but have only been present at this one."

It is, of course, impossible to give official statistics as to the number of Church of England clergymen secretly ordained by the bishops of the O.C.R., but I may mention that the editor of the *Catholic Standard and Ransomer*, a Roman priest, who was formerly a Ritualistic curate, and as likely as anybody to be acquainted with the facts of the case, in the issue of his paper for Nov. 22, 1894, said: "We have heard just recently that there are *eight hundred* clergymen of the Church of England who have been *validly* ordained by Dr. Lee and his co-bishops of the Order of Corporate Reunion." After the death of Dr. Lee, Monsignor Capel wrote to the Roman Catholic *Universe* of March 22, 1902: "The reception of Dr. Lee into the Fold of St. Peter was a special joy for myself. Nearly twenty-four years ago, I took and presented from him and his Episcopal Colleagues of Corporate Reunion Society *an address of homage to our Holy Father Leo XIII.* Dr. Lee assured me, and I was so to tell the Pope, that he, as well as the others, had been conditionally baptized, re-confirmed, re-ordained *and consecrated by those whose Orders were acknowledged to be valid by Rome.* He further asserted that *some five hundred of the clergy ministering in the Anglican Communion* had been raised to the priesthood under like conditions by himself and his brother bishops." That would be at the close of 1878, or early in 1879. The editor of the *Catholic Standard's* estimate, not of 500 but 800, was made about fifteen years later.

Mr. William Clement, who, in 1877–79 was "Master of the Ceremonies" in the Franciscan Church, Peckham, published in 1893, under the title of *The O.C.R. and its Founder*, some letters addressed to him by Mr. William Grant, a layman, who at the time was the official "Registrar" of the O.C.R., and a professed member of the Church of England. In the course of his letters Mr. Grant made some startling acknowledgments. On Nov. 22, 1877, he wrote of a certain individual: "I wish you could get at him on the duty as a Catholic of acknowledging the Supremacy of the Holy See. I have formerly said as much as I could consistently do. For my own part, I know that we all owe obedience to Rome; and personally I look to Rome for guidance in matters of faith. I know I ought to be logical and submit, and *outwardly* communicate with the Church of Rome, but I believe I am doing a work for unity where I am, which I could not do elsewhere." On Feb. 28, 1878, Mr. Grant wrote: "I am never sorry to hear of any one receiving the full Catholic faith, and becoming united to the See of Peter. I only wish this could be done in a corporate way, and therefore more largely. I should be glad, for example, to see England as a nation reconciled to the Holy See." On Sept. 18, 1879, he wrote again: "*In confidence*—I am working for the end you know; at any rate the O.C.R. are bringing men to the Holy See. If an Uniate Church (which I believe Cardinal Manning would do his best for, if practicable) does not result, at least we are taking the right way to lead men to the Roman Catholic Church. . . . What I feel is this: there are many who won't read Roman books, nor go *straight* to Rome; but we may help such in O.C.R. in course of time to put away their prejudices."

So far as the public are aware, the Order of

Corporate Reunion has ceased to exist, at least since the death of its principal founder, Dr. Lee, in 1902. Its history, however, forms an important chapter in the History of the Oxford Movement, with lessons for Protestants which ought not to be forgotten for many years to come.

The Guild of All Souls.—This is a semi-secret Society for the clergy, and laity of both sexes. A list of its clerical members (excepting those of its Council) has never been seen by Protestant Churchmen. It circulates an annual report, but this is not on sale to the public. It issues to its members a *Quarterly Intercession Paper*, but every effort has been made to keep it out of Protestant hands. The Guild of All Souls is, in reality, a Purgatorial Society within the Church of England. It was founded in 1873, for the purpose of propagating a belief in the existence of Purgatory, and of encouraging the practice of Prayers for the Dead, and the offering of Masses to release their souls from Purgatorial pains. In 1903 the number of members, clerical and lay, was stated in the *Church Times* to be 5230; but the number of clergymen was not given. In 1901, however, the same paper gave the number of clergy as 735, so that by this time it is, probably, about 800, since in the two years 1901–3 the total membership had increased by nearly 1000. Branches of the Guild are established (in addition to those in England) in Madras, Prince Edward Island, Barbadoes, Montreal, and Port Elizabeth, South Africa. The Guild issues a book of offices, containing the significant title: *Office for the Dead, According to Roman and Sarum Use.* It published a book entitled *Treatise of S. Catherine of Genoa on Purgatory*, in which it is taught that the pains of Purgatory are "as sensible as the pains of hell," and in which the editor speaks of what he terms "the extreme moderation of the Roman Church upon the doctrine of Purgatory." In Connection with this Guild of All Souls, I reckon that about 6000 Masses for the Dead are offered every year in Church of England places of worship—in England alone!

Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.—This Association was founded in the year 1857, and for a few years was composed of members of the Church of England, the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church but eventually the Pope officially censured it, and required all Roman Catholics to withdraw, on the ground that it was wrong for them to unite with heretics and schismatics even in praying for the unity of Christendom. The members are required to pray daily for the restoration of visible unity between the Church of England, the Church of Rome, and the Eastern Churches, while the clergy are required to offer the "Holy Sacrifice" at least once in three months for the "intention" of the Association. The A.P.U.C.—as it is popularly termed—is said to have within its ranks about 12,000 clerical and lay members, and its secrecy consists almost exclusively in this—no one knows *who* they are, excepting the officials at the central office in London. About ten years after its formation the Association published a volume of *Essays on Reunion*, with an Introductory Essay by Dr. Pusey, advocating Corporate Reunion with Rome and the East; and also two volumes of *Sermons on Reunion*, also pleading for Reunion. When the Association was condemned at Rome, 198 clergymen of the Church of England addressed to the Prefect of the Inquisition at Rome a protest in which they boasted: "We have cultivated a feeling of goodwill towards the venerable Church of Rome that has for a long time caused some to mistrust us."

It may be well to point out here that while Christian *unity* is a Christian duty, Christian *separation* is no less a Christian duty. The unity must, if on Scriptural lines, be only with that which is pure and good and has the written Word of God as its basis. It is on these grounds that we do not desire Union with Rome, but separation. "Come out of her, my people," and "Be ye separate," are Divine exhortations never to be forgotten.

[W. W.]

ROCHET.—A vestment of lawn or fine linen worn by bishops, abbots, and others in the Church of Rome. It is also the "episcopal surplice" in the Church of England, being of a finer linen called lawn. Before the Reformation bishops were obliged to wear their rochets in public, but since that time they have, as a rule, worn them only during divine service, in the House of Lords, with the black satin chimere or upper robe, and in Convocation with a scarlet chimere.

ROGATION DAYS.—The three days immediately preceding Ascension Day. These days are still observed in the Church of Rome by public processions with Litanies and a special Mass. Previous to the Reformation there were in this country two ceremonies connected with the Rogation Days. One was giving God thanks for, or asking a blessing on the fruits of the earth (in Latin); the other, perambulating the parishes, or "beating the bounds," which was observed with whipping of boys and some cruelty. This "beating the bounds" still survives in some places, and usually takes place on Ascension Day. No special service is provided for these days, but there is a Homily in three parts "for the days of Rogation week," and there is an "Exhorta-

tion to be spoken in such parishes where they use their perambulations in Rogation week, for the oversight of the bounds and limits of their town."

ROMAN CHURCH.

History.—At first the Roman Church simply meant the Church in Rome. It was the oldest of all the Western Churches, being addressed as an already existing Christian community by Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, written probably in A.D. 58. It appears to have sprung up in a spontaneous fashion, perhaps owing to the presence in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost of certain "strangers of Rome" (Acts ii. 10). The Roman Catholic tradition that it was founded by Peter rests upon no historical foundations, and though it is probable that Peter visited Rome at a later period, and was there put to death, his visit must have been subsequent to that of Paul, while the story of his twenty-five years' episcopate is nothing better than a fiction. However, the martyrdom of both Paul and Peter in Rome conferred a special distinction upon the city in the eyes of the Christian world, and, in combination with its metropolitan position and power, paved the way for those ideas, first of Roman primacy and then of Papal Supremacy, which gradually prevailed. Thus the Roman Church became a synonym for the Western Church and the Bishop of Rome came to be regarded as the Primus of universal Christendom. In the history of the Roman Church three great stages are to be distinguished.

1. The age of the Old Catholic Church, up to the schism between the Greek and Latin communions in the end of the eighth century. This is the age in which an inheritance is claimed by all Christians—Greek, Roman, and Protestant; though the value of the inheritance is differently estimated. It is the age at once of persecution and victory, the age of martyrs, confessors, and Fathers, the age of the Nicene and Chalcedonian Councils and Creeds. During the later and larger portion of it, Jewish and pagan influences were powerfully at work, and were gradually transforming the faith, worship, and organisation of the Church, both in the East and West, in ceremonial, sacerdotal and hierarchic directions.

2. The age of Mediæval Romanism in its distinction from the Greek Church, beginning with the Great Schism and extending to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It is marked by great missionary enterprise on behalf of the barbarian races of Europe, by the rise of the monastic Orders, by the growth and dominance of the scholastic theology, but above all by the steady assertion of the constantly expanding Papal claims, until, with Hildebrand, Innocent, and Boniface, the Pope has become the representative of God on earth, not only the head of the Church, but the prince of the world, the lord of monarchs and arbiter of nations.

3. Finally, there comes the age of Modern Romanism, from the Council of Trent (1563) to the present day. The pronounced antithesis is no longer with Greek, but with Protestant Christianity. The Protestant Reformation evoked the Roman counter-Reformation, finding expression in the Tridentine decrees, which are expressly directed against the principles and teaching of Protestantism. But a new and significant departure in the modern history of the Roman Church was marked by the Vatican Council of 1870, with its promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Vaticanism is directed not merely, like Tridentine Romanism, against Protestant Christianity, but against liberalism, Gallicanism, and nationalism generally within the Roman Church itself, against all modern thought, and every principle of civil and religious freedom. The "Old Catholic" secession showed that in the view of some of the best minds in the Roman Church, the Papacy had entered upon an altogether new path; but in reality the development of 1870 was a revelation of the essential genius of Romanism, and the arrival at a goal towards which for centuries it had been tending.

Government.—In respect of government the Roman Church, as now organised, is a vast hierarchy, constructed on the principles of the most absolute monarchy the world has ever seen. In this system no place is given to the Christian people; they stand outside of the hierarchy altogether as its mere subjects. Their one duty as subjects is to render obedience to the priest, while the priest again is bound to obey the bishop, and the bishop, by the most solemn oaths, is sworn to obey the Pope.

In his monarchical functions the Pope is assisted by a college of cardinals, known as the Sacred College. Cardinals are "created" by papal appointment, and rank next in dignity to the Pope himself. The number of the Sacred College slightly varies from time to time, but nominally seventy is its maximum, "after the example of the seventy elders appointed by God as counsellors of Moses." In spite of their exalted position, cardinals possess no constitutional rights under the Pope's absolute government, the chief affairs of the Church being in their hands not as cardinals, but as the principal members of the great administrative committees which are about twenty in number, and are known as "congregations." Among the most important of these are the Congregation of the Holy Office (the Inquisition), for the repression of

heresy; the Congregation of the Council, for the execution of the decrees of the Council of Trent; the Congregation *De Propagande Fide*; the Congregation of the Index, for the prohibition of such books as are disapproved of the Congregation of Indulgences, by which indulgences are proclaimed. The distinctive symbol of a cardinal's dignity is the red hat conferred by the Pope, while the chief privileges of the Sacred College are that none but its members are eligible to the Papal See, and that the Pope is elected by them alone. When a vacancy in the see occurs, the cardinals meet in what is known as Conclave to elect a successor, a majority of two-thirds of the votes being required to make the election valid.

The name Curia, or Roman Curia, was long used, and is still commonly used by Protestants, to denote the whole machinery of administration of the Papal See, including the entire body of persons of various ranks employed in attendance on the Pope and in transacting the business of the central government. Romanist writers, however, and Vaticanists in particular, now employ the name Roman Court for this purpose, and reserve the title Roman Curia for the Roman Bar, or body of lawyers entitled to practise in the different pontifical courts of justice.

The local work of the Roman Church in its wide ramifications through the world is directed by its bishops, who received their authority directly from the Pope. Under the bishops and immediately responsible to them, are the secular clergy, *i.e.* the ordinary priests, who are usually divided into parish priests and their curates or assistants. The duties of priests are numerous and varied, but their chief function is to administer the sacraments, and above all to offer that sacrifice of the mass which forms the very centre of the Roman worship. Similar functions, with the exception of those which are distinctly parochial, are exercised by the regular clergy, those priests, viz., who follow the rule (*regula*) of a religious order.

Statistics.—Of the three great divisions of Christendom—Greek, Roman, and Protestant—the Roman is the largest, claiming, according to its own authorities, about 215,000,000 adherents, or nearly as many as the Protestant and Greek Churches combined. Relatively to Protestantism, however, the Roman Church is not making progress. The more rapid growth and spread of the Teutonic, which are distinctively the Protestant races, as compared with those Latin races from which the main strength of Romanism is derived, leads to a greater proportionate increase in the Protestant population of the world. By the admission of Cardinal Gibbons (see his article "Roman Catholic Church," in vol. xxxii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), the Roman Catholic population of the United States ought to have increased from 10,627,000 in 1890 to over 14,000,000 in 1900; but was estimated in Hoffman's Directory for that year at only 10,129,677. Even when every allowance is made for the difficulty of obtaining exact official returns, on which the cardinal dwells, these figures are significant. And when we pass from the more intangible statistics of religious profession, and look at the relative growth in world-influence of the two main forms of Christianity, it is a noteworthy fact, as Bishop Boyd Carpenter has recently pointed out ("Christian Church," in vol. xxvii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), that while in 1700 the populations under Protestant government numbered 32,000,000, and those under Roman Catholic government 90,000,000, in 1900 the relations were so utterly reversed that the Roman Catholic powers could claim only 242,000,000 subjects, whereas the sway of Protestant governments had extended over 520,000,000 souls. [J. C. L.]

ROMAN EMPIRE, HOLY.—Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, had the centre of his government in the city of Rome. Constantine the Great, however, removed the capital from Rome to Byzantium, and thereafter the political separation of East and West became inevitable. The separation was the work of centuries. The resignation (A.D. 476) of Romulus Augustulus marked the extinction of the Western line of Emperors; and after that year the imperial sovereigns, throughout a long period, reigned at Constantinople. In A.D. 800, Charles, King of the Franks, was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III., and in that coronation may be seen the inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire. During the centuries of the decline of the Western Empire the Church was increasing in power. Her territories required a political protector, especially in the eighth century when the Lombards threatened to become the masters of Italy. The Emperor in the East was powerless, official guardian of the Church though he claimed to be, and more than once the Bishop of Rome sought and obtained the aid of the Franks against the Lombards. At last, in the year 800, when the imperial throne was occupied by the widowed Empress Irene, a usurper who had blinded and deposed her own son, the Pope crowned the King of the Franks, raising him through the choice of the Roman people to the imperial dignity, and obtained a protector. It is difficult to say whether the Pope or the people created Charles Emperor, or Charles himself seized the imperial dignity, but in the Middle Ages the Church's theory

was that all political power, as in the case of Charles the Great, was derived from the Pope. Further, it is difficult to determine whether the Empire of Charles was a restoration or continuation of the ancient Roman Empire, or was a new political creation. In the West, however, it was believed to be the Roman Empire, and it obtained from the first the sanctions of age. At the death of Charles the territory was divided and seeds of trouble were sown. War, with political strife and social disturbance, so disintegrated and weakened the Empire which Charles had founded, that in 888, when Charles the Fat, the last direct male heir in Germany, died, it became extinct. The imperial idea, however, did not die, and there were men wearing the Italian or Lombard crown, who, though they possessed neither power nor dignity, were styled Emperors.

In Italy there was no sense of national unity, and the rivalry of factions produced constant political changes. At a crisis in the strife Otto of Germany was invited to proceed to Italy as the protector of one of the parties, and the imperial crown was set before him as a reward. In the year 962 he was crowned Emperor at Rome, and with that event the Holy Roman Empire, the sovereignty of Germany and Italy vested in a German, was established. The Empire of Charles had become extinct, but the imperial idea lived again in the Empire associated with Otto's name. Otto's territory was less than that of Charles, but in him, as in Charles, there was seen a powerful king uniting Italy to his own territory, continuing the ancient Roman imperial title, and protecting the Church. The territory, and with it the power, was less. Otto, by his title the universal sovereign, had no authority in what is modern France, and no power in Spain or England. Yet that title, in his case, and when any of his successors was himself great, gave to its possessor the supreme dignity of Cæsar of the Roman world.

The dynasty founded by Otto I., styled the Great, continued till the death of Otto III., 1002, and was marked by the control as well as the protection of the Bishops of Rome. The tenth century witnessed a tragic degeneration of the Papacy, and Pope after Pope rose and fell as this or that Italian faction of the nobles triumphed and was vanquished. It was a burden to many of the Italian nobles and Roman citizens to be governed by a German overlord, and the sense of wrong was increased when they beheld the Bishops of Rome, with the prestige of a great office, controlled by foreigners. Yet the Papacy was in danger of perishing through moral corruption, and even though its spiritual independence was infringed, the Church was strengthened and purified under German supervision. The successors of the Ottos continued to control the Popes, and the setting aside of three rival Popes and the subsequent election of another, were in reality the acts of the Emperor, Henry III. Thanks to the imperial influence, the Papacy increased in strength, till at last, under the inspiration of the great Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073–1085), spiritual independence, freedom from secular control, became the papal policy. In the attempt to establish this independence the papal came into bitter conflict with the imperial power, and, as events progressed, the papal policy passed beyond independence to supremacy. In the thought of the people, the Empire, with its long and great tradition, was a divinely appointed institution, even as the Church was, by its own claim and in the popular belief. But the Church representing spiritual things would not continue under the control of the Empire representing material interests, and hence the effort for independence. And, in like manner, the theory became prominent that the Church, from its superior spiritual character, ought to rule, not only in religion but also in the sphere of politics. The history of the Middle Ages might be described as the history of the strife for supremacy between the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire.

Hildebrand, in his attempt to secure the Church's freedom, determined to make the papal power felt in Germany, where the great prelates were feudal lords rather than bishops obedient to the Pope. A protracted quarrel over the investiture of prelates into their offices by the Emperor was an outcome of the papal scheme of independence, and in this quarrel Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry IV. were the first great antagonists. As Italy had felt the shame of German control when the Papacy was weak, so now, when the Papacy was strong, Germany was to experience Italian government in ecclesiastical affairs. Henry, though no insignificant opponent, was powerless to subdue the strong Pope. The scene at Canossa, and the ban of the Church, and the loss of his crown were tragic events in the career of the man who sought to preserve ecclesiastical Germany from the rule of the Bishop of Rome, and to exert as Emperor a power in Italy and Rome. In the midst of this contest Hildebrand excommunicated Henry and freed his subjects from their oath of allegiance to their king. This weapon of excommunication, with its political consequences, was to be freely used by the Popes of the Middle Ages. Hildebrand, in a country without political unity, could not with his own resources oppose a German army; but in obtaining the aid of the Countess

Matilda of Tuscany, and entering into an alliance with the Normans in the south of Italy, he prevented a German occupation of Italy. Dread of this occupation was ever before the Popes, as the presence of the Germans in Italy would mean for the Church not only imperial control, but also the loss of the papal territories.

In the reign of Henry V. the investiture strife was continued, till in 1122 it was settled by the Concordat of Worms. The Concordat was a compromise. The Emperor was still to invest the prelates into their lands, but not into their ecclesiastical offices; and he was to use no spiritual symbols in the investiture. The Church was victorious in this part of its scheme of independence, and among the Germans the clergy now looked to the Pope and not to the Emperor as their overlord. Before the investiture strife was closed the first Crusade had been proclaimed at the Council of Clermont, and Henry IV., under the ban of the Church, could not be the leader. The Pope was the inspirer of the movement in the West, and the Germans saw their king, and the Empire the Emperor, excluded from a post of honour to which, as guardian of the Church, he had the right to aspire. Through the inauguration of the Crusade, the Church gained and the Empire lost prestige in the West.

By the death of Henry V. the Franconian line of Emperors came to an end. Henry was followed by the Saxon Lothair, who subjected himself to the papal authority that he might gain the Church's support against the Hohenstaufen, who had opposed his election. Lothair died in 1138, and Conrad of Hohenstaufen was elected king of the Romans, as the king was styled, who was crowned at Aachen, the old Frankish capital. In the representatives of the House of Hohenstaufen the Church was to meet its strongest and bitterest foes. Not Conrad, but his nephew Frederick I., commonly named Barbarossa, was to make his House famous, and was to try to get back for the Empire the glory which it had lost in the struggle with the Church. Frederick (1152-1189) determined that as Emperor he should be in reality, as in name, sovereign in Italy and Rome, and that he should crush the political pretensions of the Popes, and be master of the clergy. In Hadrian IV., the Englishman who was Pope, and Alexander III., he found opponents who successfully baffled his schemes; and Frederick gained, not as Emperor in Italy, but as King in Germany, the high distinction attached to his name. In the strife between the Church and the Empire the use of the phrase "Holy Empire" became common, and was doubtless intended to mark an assertion of the divine origin of the Empire in opposition to the Church's claim to be *the* divine institution. Henry VI. (1190–1197) succeeded his father Frederick. His marriage with the Princess Constance gave him sovereign power in Naples and Sicily, and had he lived, the German power, now established in the south as in the north, might have conquered Italy. He sought, too, to have the imperial crown declared hereditary in the Hohenstaufen family. His death, however, prevented the fulfilment of this plan, and Germany, where his infant son, the future Frederick II., was too young to rule, was the scene of contest between Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Hohenstaufen, candidates for the crown. In the years of the contest Germany was weakened, and the great Pope, Innocent III., realised, as no other Pope ever did, Hildebrand's ideal of supremacy in the political as in the ecclesiastical world, Frederick II. (1212-1250), who dethroned Otto. was the last emperor to attempt with imperial might to crush the papal power with its vast political influence over territories in Italy, and its ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout the West. Pope after Pope in the long reign of Frederick determined to extinguish the imperial power in Italy, and hatred of the Hohenstaufen became a papal passion. Frederick was excommunicated, but seemed to care nothing for the curse of the Church. He could not, however, despise the opposition of the King of Thuringia and William of Holland, upon whom in succession the Bishop of Rome, claiming the power to give, bestowed the imperial crown. By the strength and resolute purpose of the cities of the Lombard League, German influence was destroyed in the north of Italy; and in the south, by the machinations of the Popes in the last years of the Hohenstaufen, an Angevin and then an Aragonese dynasty ended the German rule. Italy was lost to the Empire, though feeble attempts were afterwards made to recover it, and the Holy Roman Empire survived only as a name.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen, Germany, which required a strong ruler to save its civilisation from ruin, witnessed the rivalry of the factions of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, and Alfonso of Castile, who each claimed the imperial title. At length, in 1273, Rudolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the House of Austria, was elected to the barren honour of Emperor. He was never actually crowned at Rome, though, according to the papal theory, the imperial dignity was the gift of the Pope. The electors, princes, and prelates, varying in number from time to time, nominated the Emperor; but the Pope, by his claim, conferred the power, and, by recognised custom, bestowed the crown. At Rhense, in 1338, when the Church had fallen on the evil

days of the Babylonish Captivity, and the Empire was but a name, the electors declared that the imperial power was derived directly from God, and that an approval of the Pope was not necessary for the prince of their choice, who might style himself Emperor before the coronation at Rome. In 1356 Charles IV., by his Golden Bull, laid down rules for imperia elections. In 1692 Leopold I. made the head of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg an Elector, and by this arrangement George I. of England and his successors, while the Empire lasted, could take part in the election of the Emperor.

Apart from Italy, other countries, such as Poland, broke away from their imperial allegiance, and though there were emperors who have left marks on the pages of history, they gained their distinction apart from the Empire. Sigismund, at the Council of Constance performed a part, as Constantine did at Nicea; but Maximilian I. achieved his fame as head of the House of Hapsburg, and Charles V., the sovereign over vast territories, derived little or none of his power from his imperial position. The Reformation, with its principle of individuality, helped to destroy the mediæval idea of a universal State associated with a Catholic Church; and before the Reformation, while that idea was still cherished, the West was becoming a group of nationalities.

The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, marked another epoch in the history of the Empire which was so slow to perish. That peace closed the religious struggle in Germany, which had been begun in the days of Luther, and left the Empire, after the failure of Ferdinand II. to restore it to the former greatness and extend it to its old limits, German in constitution if still Roman in name. The last phase was the abolition of the Empire. Napoleon, desirous of being master of the West, thought of re-establishing the Empire of Charles the Great, and even of having himself crowned as Roman Emperor. He contented himself, however, with creating a title for himself, and while new kingdoms were rising and old were falling, the Roman Emperor, Francis II., Archduke of Austria, began to style himself Hereditary Emperor of Austria. The title was still further changed when, in a treaty with Buonaparte, he was named Emperor of Germany and Austria. In 1806 sixteen states formed themselves into the Confederation of the Rhine. The Confederation was protected by Napoleon, who announced that he no longer recognised the ancient Empire. On Aug. 6, 1806, Francis resigned the imperial dignity, and the Empire of Augustus, associated with the names of Constantine, Charles, Otto, and Frederick, came to an end.

Authorities.—Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*; Fisher, *The Mediæval Empire*; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*. [J. H.]

ROMANISM IN ITALY.—Before entering upon the study of the subject of this article, I wish to make a remark on the word 'Romanism' in the title. It is, of course, used as a synonym for Roman Catholicism—for the Papal Church. But living in Italy as I do, and having noted during many years the trend of public opinion, and of the national policy, I have long felt that its use in that sense is no longer strictly applicable. It is true that the Pope, the nominal head of the Church, still has his seat in Rome; and that thither, too, its real Head, the General of the Jesuits, the "Black Pope" as he is called, to whose authority the "White Pope" virtually resigned himself by a brief dated October 1836, has transferred his seat from Florence; and it is also true that the Vatican is still the headquarters of all those societies and bodies which frame the policy of the Church, and see to its being carried out in every quarter of the globe; but still Romanism is not now characteristic of the city. If Rome could be cleared of the foreign Roman Catholic element, which consists mainly in priests and students, it would be seen how few and uninfluential the native representatives of Romanism really are. Not only so, but if there is an anti-Roman, anti-papal city in Italy, it is Rome. When, in the spring of 1903, the Pope, Leo XIII., celebrated his episcopal jubilee, and congratulations from many sovereigns, governments, and peoples were sent to him, King Victor Emmanuel in the Quirinal took no notice of him, the House of Deputies at Montecitorio took no notice of him, the City Council at the Municipality took no notice of him. Indeed, when some clerical councillors suggested that the city through its representatives should send a few words of congratulation to him, not, however, as the Pope, but simply as a venerable old man, as a sort of father amongst the people, the Syndic, Prince Colonna, nobly answered, in what are destined to become historic words, "*Il Papa non riconosce il Re, ed io non riconosco il Papa*" ("The Pope does not recognise the King, and I do not recognise the Pope"). When, at a preceding jubilee celebration of Leo XIII., Prince Ruspolo, then Syndic of Rome, paid homage to him, Signor Crispi, who was Prime Minister, within forty-eight hours turned him out of office. Rome, once "the least Italian of all Italian cities," once the territory of the Pope, and the chosen abode of his devotees, is now the home of the loyal subjects of King Victor Emmanuel, and is patriotically,

as well as geographically and politically, the capital of a free and a united Italy. The term "Romanism," therefore, whilst used conventionally as equivalent to papal Catholicism, is no longer true to its derivation, and can be dissociated from Rome and the Romans.

The other term of my title limits our study of Romanism to Italy, and it is well it should do so, for if we go farther afield the probability is that we shall get erroneous ideas of it, especially if we go to Protestant countries, where, as in England and America, it disguises itself so as not to appear in too open conflict with its Christian surroundings. But in Italy it was born and grew up and reached the full maturity of its powers in unbridled licence of exercise, and in Italy we now see it in the decrepitude of old age. Within the borders of Italy we see it disclose itself in its true character and in its true manner of working; we can see all that it is, and all that it is capable of doing for weal and for woe for humanity.

First, let us look at the STATUS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN ITALY. Its present status dates from 1870, when, on the 20th of September of that year, the Italian troops entered Rome by the breach in its walls at Porta Pia, and the temporal power of the Pope, that "unhappy papal government," to quote the words of Dr. Arnold, "which discharges no one function decently . . . so contrived, as it would seem, for every evil end, and so necessarily exclusive of all good," came to an end; and Italy, no longer what Prince Metternich called it, "a geographical expression," no longer what Niebuhr called it, "a land of the dead," no longer what Capponi called it, "a garden of Eden without the tree of knowledge and without the tree of life," became "Italia Una, from Alp to Etna," eager to enter upon a career of activity and progress.

It would have been well if its first action had been to overthrow Pope and Popery, which were the main factors in creating its past unspeakably sad condition. Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Ricasoli, and many more of her noblest sons, desired it, but superstition dies hard; besides which, Continental Governments, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, brought pressure to bear upon Italy, and they were retained and given a legal status in the land. In order to effect this, the ground was first of all cleared. The Church was stripped naked. All ecclesiastical property—churches, monasteries, nunneries, and houses and lands from which the Church drew revenue—were taken from it, and declared to be the property of the State, and it was made illegal for the Church ever again to hold real estate in the country. It cannot buy, it cannot build, it cannot inherit property. If property is left to it, it must within a given time be turned into money, or it is confiscated. It is illegal to alienate a stone of building or an inch of Italian soil for Church purposes.

Having thus made the Church a tenant at will, the Government proceeded to establish and endow it. It was declared the National Church. The number of archbishops, bishops, and priests for whom the State held itself responsible, was fixed, and stipends were assigned to them. The churches were given them for their use free of rent or taxation, and the Government charged itself with their upkeep. Monastic Orders were suppressed, and their buildings, excepting such as were decreed to be national monuments, were devoted to useful purposes, as barracks, schools, hospitals, and kindred institutions. The Pope's position was defined and secured by what are called the Papal Guarantees. These consist of thirteen Articles, of which space forbids me giving more here than the substance of the more important of them. (1) The Pope's person is sacred and inviolable. (2) Attempts against his person are punishable as they would be if directed against the person of the King. (4) An annual endowment is assigned him of 3,225,000 francs (£129,000), which was the sum found inscribed in the Roman balance sheet. (5) The use of the Vatican and the Lateran palaces, the Villa Castel Gandolfo, and certain other smaller places, are conceded to him free of taxation. (7) No public official or agent of police, in the exercise of his duties, can enter his residences. (9) The Pope is completely free to fulfil all the functions of his spiritual ministry. (11) Ambassadors or Agents accredited to him by Foreign Governments enjoy the prerogatives and immunities accorded to such by international right. (12) The Pope can have his own post and telegraph offices to be worked by his own clerks. (13) In the city of Rome, and in the six suburban sees, the Seminaries, Academies, Colleges, and other Catholic institutions founded for the education of ecclesiastics, shall not be interfered with by the scholastic authorities of the kingdom.

The Pope and Curia spurned these most generous concessions and privileges, but yet, in reality, they take advantage of all of them, with the exception of the Pope's annual allowance, which, unappropriated by him, returns to the Government exchequer every five years. What these Papal Guarantees have secured for the Church has been well described by a writer in the *Nazione*. After reviewing the history of the Church since their operation till the beginning of the present century, he says, "I dare say in conclusion, with fullest confidence, that the Papacy has never enjoyed a period

so tranquil, so secure in independence and in absolute liberty, as that which it has passed through from the 20th of September 1870 till to-day. He who denies it audaciously contradicts history."

Secondly, let us inquire, HOW THE CHURCH THUS ESTABLISHED AND ENDOWED BY THE GOVERNMENT FULFILS ITS MISSION? What has it done—what is it doing for the spiritual needs of the people? The answer is a sad one—nothing. Placing in the background all thought of making bad people good, and good people better, if it ever had such an idea, it organised itself into a great political conspiracy, aiming at the restoration of the temporal power by the destruction of the throne, of the unity and of the independence of the kingdom. Each Pope maintains against the King, the Government, and all who are the servants of the Government, the sentence of excommunication pronounced in 1870 by Pio Nono. King Victor Emmanuel is never spoken of as the King of Italy, but only as the King of Sardinia, or the Head of the House of Savoy, and Roman Catholic kings are forbidden to visit him in Rome. Protestant kings cannot be so treated, but they would not be received at the Vatican if they went from the Quirinal. Hence King Edward VII. and the Emperor William, in May 1903, left their royal host and his palace, and visited the Pope from their respective embassies. Article VII. of the Papal Guarantees is taken advantage of to turn the Vatican into the headquarters of this conspiracy, which has its ramifications in every quarter of the land. Cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests are the conspirators, who, in their respective spheres of influence, carry out the Vatican war policy. The late Hon. Ruggero Bonghi, who was one of the few clerical members of the House of Deputies, in an article in the *Nuova Antologia* of January 1894, wrote thus: "The war is conducted by the Papacy, and since its commencement twenty-three years ago, it does not seem to decrease in vigour and in precision of aim; on the contrary, it even increases, being guided to day by a Pope of an elevated mind, but in the highest degree political. The Pope continues to fight fiercely to recover the temporal power. Throughout the country the priests either follow the Pope, or remain inactive and silent, even when in their hearts they dissent from him." Signor Crispi, in an article in *The New Review*, says, "To-day he (the Pope) conspires; to-morrow, as king, he would treat openly with our enemies to the detriment of our national unity." The papal campaign consists in spreading discontent amongst the people, fomenting rebellion (as it did in Sicily and Carrara in 1894, and in Florence and Milan in 1898), impeding useful legislation, bribing and corrupting electors, diverting charity moneys for political purposes, subsidising anti-national newspapers at home and abroad, and exercising a general system of spiritual terrorism. To counteract these tactics the Government has had to pass various penal statutes, such as the *Pious Works Bill*, by which all charity moneys (which yield an annual income of five million pounds sterling) were taken from the Church and placed under the control of local lay boards; the *New Penal Code*, which threatens with fine, imprisonment, and dismissal from office any priest, who, in the exercise of his office talks against the King and Constitution, or incites to the setting aside of the laws of the State, or to the neglect of duties due to the country, or damages legitimate private interests, or disturbs the peace of families. The government has been compelled to abolish all chaplaincies in the army and navy, and all theological faculties and priest professorships in the Universities, and it has also had to banish all priests as teachers from the public schools, replacing them by certificated laymen. It has also made marriage a civil contract, only legal when celebrated by the Mayor of a town, or by his substitute in the council-chamber. The Premier, G. Zanardelli, lately said in the House of Deputies: "*Si deve vedere se in Italia comanda il Quirinale od il Vaticano*" ("It has to be seen who rules in Italy, the Quirinal or the Vatican"); and by such legislation he shows that the Quirinal is determined to rule, and to prevent an Italian subject from being annoyed in any shape or form by the Vatican, for doing what the law commands or permits.

Thirdly, let us ask, WHAT ATTITUDE DO THE PEOPLE OF ITALY ASSUME TOWARDS THE CHURCH? Speaking generally, this is one of implacable hostility, cherished on two grounds. (*a*) *On that of Patriotism.* They recognise the Church to be what we have just seen it to be, the enemy of their country. It is therefore impossible for an Italian to be a patriot and a papist at the same time. As Signor Crispi wrote in *The New Review* for May 1892, "To be a sincere Catholic and a friend of Italy, is to the Italians a contradiction." Italians have therefore to chose between the Church and their country. And they have chosen their country. They have created it a free and united Italy in spite of everything the Church could do to prevent it, and they preserve it as such in spite of everything it can do to destroy it. Therefore, on grounds of patriotism, Italians hate the Church. (*b*) They do so, *on the ground of morality and religion.* Italians of every class, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, recognise the

Church to be, to quote the words of Professor Raffaele Mariano, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Naples, "*Un istituto di assicurazione di salute per quei che interiormente non sono tocchi dalla potenza spirituale dell' Evangelo*" ("A Society of Assurance of Salvation for those who inwardly are not touched by the spiritual power of the Gospel"). Elsewhere he tells us he was taught by the Church to believe that his salvation was secured by his being inside its pale, and by having its offices said for him by its priests, independently altogether of his character and life. He might be what he liked, and he might live as he liked; that was of little consequence. But, he tells us, he had been reading the New Testament, and he found nothing of the kind, but, on the contrary, that his salvation depended "on a mystical change of heart, wrought in him through faith in Christ, by the influence of the Holy Spirit." "Therefore," he argues, "Roman Catholicism is not only not Christianity, but it is the *very antithesis of Christianity*." His conclusion seems a right one, and it is recognised as such by his countrymen. Christ came to save *from sin*, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins," but the Papal Church practically professes to save *in sin*. Thus it reverses the very mission of Christ, thus it is the *antithesis of Christianity*. For this reason Mr. Gladstone said, "There has never been any more cunning blade devised against the freedom, the VIRTUE, and the happiness of a people than Romanism," and Mr. Ruskin speaks in his *Modern Painters* of "its permission of crime," and calls it in his *Stones of Venice*, "The Church of the UNHOLY." Italians even go a step further, and say that not only does the Church permit sin, but that it puts a premium on it by the granting of dispensations, indulgences, and absolutions on easily complied with conditions. As I heard an Italian say, "Absolution is given, for what ultimately resolves itself into a money payment, in order that the sin and the payment may be repeated." And in harmony with this theory, an Italian newspaper lately gave quotations from the Church's *Libro delle Tasse dei Peccati* (Book of Taxes for Sins) and its *Tariffa dei Peccati* (Tariff for Sins), with a pictorial representation of a rich man confessing his sins to a priest, who sits at his table making out the bill. Because of this, Italians call the Church *La Bottega del Papa*, and *La Santa Bottega* (The Pope's Shop and The Holy Shop). As a matter of fact, nothing can be got in the Church without money in some shape or form, and anything can be got for it. The Church is thus recognised to be a very mundane and a very immoral institution, and therefore it is regarded by the Italians with feelings of bitter hostility.

Fourthly, HOW DO THE ITALIANS SHOW THIS HOSTILITY TO THE CHURCH? (*a*) *They do so by declaring their conviction that all its doctrines and ceremonies are mere* sciocchezza (*rubbish*). Mr Ruskin speaks of hardly having ever met on the Continent any one who believed in the doctrines of Romanism, and certainly that is my own experience in Italy. No priest nor layman in Italy really and sincerely believes its doctrines, nor do the latter ever trouble to acquaint themselves with them. They realise that wherever truth is to be found, Romanism is a lie, and that, to use Mr. Ruskin's words, it would be mere "fatuity to seek for the unity of a living body of truth and trust in God in a dead body of lies and trust in wood." As for its ceremonies, they speak of them as a mere *spettacolo* (a theatrical display). Even the Mass they consider to be a thing incompatible with common honesty, a piece of vulgar jugglery, "no more worthy of respect than table-turning." (*b*) *They show their hostility to the Church by declining to attend its services.* Twenty millions, out of Italy's thirty odd millions of inhabitants, refuse to cross its threshold. King Victor Emmanuel never does so, although the House of Savoy has its own priests, who are independent of the Vatican; and, of course, so long as the Roman Catholic Church is the national one, he must, from time to time, in his own private chapels, make use of its services. Even of those who go to church, most have no connection with its priests and services, but merely go to say their prayers in buildings that belong to the nation. To attend church otherwise is to fall in public estimation, is to have the finger of scorn pointed at one as a *birbone* (scoundrel), as a man living in sin, and compounding with the Church for his manner of life. (*c*) *They show this hostility by refusing to give their sons to the priesthood.* No respectable father would dream of allowing his son to enter its ranks, knowing that he would in all probability grow up with his mental faculties stunted and atrophied, and with his moral faculties vitiated; and that he would be ostracised and banned by society as the enemy of his country, of civilisation, of education, of morality, and of religion—in a word, as the enemy of God and of man; that he would be spoken of by his ecclesiastical superiors as *fango* (mud), and by the people in general as a *scagnozzo* (cur). The Church has therefore to be content to recruit the ranks of its priesthood from the lowest grades of society, in fact from the pauper and criminal class, and even all thus got hold of it does not retain, for, as theological students are called up as conscripts,

like other young men in the country, many, when their turn of military service is over, refuse to return to the Church, and thus they escape from a false and unworthy position into which they were entrapped in their early years, and are free to pursue an honourable calling.

We have thus seen what Romanism in Italy is. We have seen its character and aims, its workings and influence; and because Italy is its home and habitat we may be sure, as I have already said, that the knowledge we have gained of it is absolutely and entirely correct. And we have also seen that, because of its treasonable and immoral nature and doings, it is held in check by special penal laws, and it is contemned and opposed by the great bulk of the people. Thus, though it is the National Church, it is no longer the Church of the nation; though it is in Italy, it is no longer of it.

What its future may be we cannot tell, but certainly Italy has nothing to fear from it. Already it is "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined," and if ever a life-and-death struggle arose between it and the State, its doom would be at once sealed. Indeed, the Church recognises the fact that Italy is lost to it, that its present legal status is a most precarious one, and that its ceasing to exist in the land is only a question of time. Hence its anxiety to conciliate, and gain ground in, other lands, especially the rich Protestant lands of England and America. And it is precisely in these countries, where it is neither understood nor feared, where, indeed, it is flattered and favoured, that Romanism is most likely to grow and strengthen and work mischief, to the detriment of the individual, of the family, and of the State, as a political conspiracy and as an immoral institution. [A. R.]

ROMAN PRIMACY.—For the assumptions on which the Roman claims are founded "on the merit of St. Peter" (Leo I.) see PETER, ST.; PRIVILEGE OF PETER.

For the history of the Roman Primacy after it began to be gradually merged in the Papacy, see PAPACY; SUPREMACY, PAPAL. Our business here is to sketch its history in brief from the Apostles' time to the beginning of the Papacy; say, roughly, during the period of the first four General Councils.

Before the first of these we find three Patriarchates, in this order of precedence—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, all three sees connected with St. Peter, but the second only indirectly through St. Mark. Plainly, then, the precedence was not arranged on "the merit of St. Peter," else Antioch should precede Alexandria. Baronius explains (*Annal. Eccl.*, A.D. 39): "The ancients acknowledged *no other rule* in instituting the ecclesiastical Sees, than the division of provinces, and the prerogative before established by the Romans." So Cyprian (*ad. Cornel.*), says, "Rome, on account of its magnitude, ought to precede Carthage."

That these three Patriarchates were entirely independent of each other is sufficiently proved by the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice: "Let the ancient customs prevail which have been in Egypt and Libya, and in Pentapolis, so that the bishops of the Alexandrian Church have the authority over all these, for as much as this also is customary for the Roman bishop. And in like manner at Antioch, and in the other provinces, let the privileges of Churches be preserved."

Later Councils recognise five Patriarchates in this order, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. Here we have the mother Church last as being politically the most insignificant; and hitherto, on the same principle, an ordinary see, subject to the metropolitical jurisdiction of the local capital, Cæsarea; whilst a comparatively modern and hitherto obscure See is promoted to second rank above three Apostolic Sees, Rome still retaining her pride of place. The Council of Chalcedon explains: "The Fathers rightly gave precedence to the elder Rome, because that was the Imperial City; and with the same object the hundred and fifty bishops most beloved of God [second Gen. Coun., 381] awarded the like precedence to the most holy See of the New Rome. . . . ought also to be magnified like it in Ecclesiastical matters being next after it."

So in Africa the Bishop of Carthage (metropolis) was the standing Primate of his province, acting as Primate over all the Churches in Africa. So far was this principle carried that whenever the Emperor divided a province in two, giving them separate magistrates, a parallel change was effected ecclesiastically. Some of the very titles given to bishops are confirmatory, as metropolitan, diocesan (see SUPREMACY, PAPAL), exarch; whilst the very titles, presbyter, bishop, metropolitan, archbishop, primate, exarch, patriarch, being associated with the villages, towns, cities, that were the seats of these different orders, naturally suggested the completing of the analogy by a correspondency in the highest rank of all; and that this one Head of the Church should also have his seat where the one Head of the State already held his court. It is to this confounding of the ideas of the outward and the inward Church we trace the entire germ of the Papacy and its development. The first real foundation ecclesiastically given this claim was by the Council of Sardica, for which see SARDICA.

[Other articles show that it was really only

when Constantinople's political position began to rival Rome's and threatened to outstrip it, that the advocates of Rome's claims to the chief Primacy began to base those claims on "the merit of St. Peter" and his "privilege."] See INDEX.

Yet, up to Constantine's time, Rome was not even an exarchate; for the civil diocese of Italy had been divided into two vicariates, the Roman vicariate containing ten provinces. But there is no reason to be surprised that the claims of the Church of Rome advanced more and more from mere precedency to authority and power. "All roads led to Rome." And Rome stood absolutely alone, the one seat of authority and rule, towards which all the known world stood subject or dependent. And the Church which had its seat there, from association alone, was bound to acquire a proportionately more illustrious character than other Churches. This was the case when wealthy and powerful personages were drawn into her fold, even the Emperor himself; and when her wealth and power thus obtained were used freely for the benefit of the needy and oppressed everywhere. Moreover, her prevailing character for orthodoxy, the consistent fashion in which, while not by any means a learned Church, in the course of her doctrinal development, she held to the ancient faith. All the controversies, excepting almost alone the Pelagian, had originated outside the Western Church. The Western Church owed this advantage to its unspeculative temper as contrasted with that of the Orientals. The Greek Church had also continuous cause of distraction in disputes for precedency among her Patriarchates and Apostolic Sees, while Rome stood absolutely alone, in the West without rival, the one Patriarchate, the one Apostolic See, claiming also two (those the two greatest) Apostles as her founders, one of whom she claimed as her first bishop, whilst the other had addressed to her the greatest of the inspired Epistles, and her soil was consecrated by the martyrdom of both. Nor was the prestige arising from these and other causes limited to the Western Empire. So, contending parties in the East and elsewhere found it to their advantage to win her favour in their disputes. From all the Churches her arbitration was requested and her protection sought by those who had against them locally the dominant party. The papal declarations and ordinances came in time to be regarded as "decretals" having the force of law, proceeding not from a friendly, high-placed arbitrator, but as being of divine authority. The declarations and ordinances, which at first were written in the name of Roman Synods, came gradually to run in the name of the Pope alone, and rose more and more from a tone of advice to a tone of command. In the ninth century a great forgery supplied an uncritical age with a series of decretals professing to have been written by the earlier Popes from St. Clement downward. See DECRETALS.

The claims of the Roman Primacy, as we know them to-day, were not acknowledged (or even known at first) in those earliest centuries. This is manifest from the fact that there are so many things we do not find, which we should reasonably expect to find, if those claims had been recognised by the Church at large. Thus:—

We should expect to find:—

1. That St. Peter's charter conferring the alleged Primacy should be producible (as his Epistles); at least that we should have frequent references to it and quotations from it by writers of the early Church. But there are none such.

2. That the Pope's claim, if made, to be not only above all grades of the Christian ministry, but in a class above all, and himself the only one in that class, should have frequent mention, direct and indirect. But "none of the ancient confessions of faith, no catechism, none of the patristic writings composed for the instruction of the people, contain a syllable about the Pope" (Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, chap. iii. 4).

3. That the Popes themselves (as they do to-day) would make constant appeal to this their inherent supreme and unique authority. But "often and earnestly as the Popes exhorted separated bishops and Churches to return to communion with Rome, they never appealed to any peculiar authority or exemption from error in the Roman See" (*ibid.*).

4. That the records of a succession on which so much depended (as alleged) should be kept with perfect and undoubted accuracy. But actually the first names on its roll of bishops are not always given in the same order by the early writers who allude thereto.

5. That all the upholders of sects and heresies (of which some eighty are mentioned in records of the first six centuries) should be continually censured for rejecting papal authority. Yet not one is so reproached.

6. That in letters to and from the Popes we should find the claims taken for granted—letters from, written in tones of authority, letters to, in tones of submission and entreaty—that certainly on the part of orthodox bishops, at all events, there would never be any questioning or denying of such claims. But Clement (or the Roman Church) addresses the Corinthian Church in tones of affectionate remonstrance, not authoritative rebuke. Ignatius addresses the Roman Christians as other

Churches—no allusion to the supreme pontiff at all. Cyprian's assertion of his independence and that of "every bishop," in a letter to Pope Stephen (a conviction often repeated by him), was afterwards endorsed by Augustine's admiring approval. The Eastern bishops at Antioch protested to Julius that "it did not belong to him, a foreign bishop, to set himself up as a judge in the affairs of the Eastern Church; that every Synod was independent in its decision; that he, as bishop of a larger city, was no more than other bishops" (Neander, *Church History*, iii. 243). "We are resolved not to admit this arrogant claim," wrote the African bishops to Boniface I. in 419. These are but a few instances out of many.

7. That in connection with the greatest ecclesiastical events of these centuries—the four General Councils—the Bishops of Rome would be found playing a principal part. But "the Popes took no part in convoking General Councils. All great Councils to which bishops came from different countries were convoked by the Emperors, nor were the Popes ever consulted about it beforehand," &c. (*ibid.*). The Popes "were not always allowed to preside personally or by deputy at the great Councils, though no one denied them the first rank in the Church" (*ibid.*). Of the second Council Baronius tells us "it was called contrary to his [the Pope's] will," and the Roman See was not represented at it at all. The third did not wait for the Roman representatives, who were behind time. However, in the history of these four Councils we have noteworthy illustration of the progress made during this period, in advancement of the Roman claims. Sylvester excuses himself for absence from the first on the score of age; Leo, from the fourth, on the score of dignity.

8. That all controversies on matters of faith and discipline would be submitted to the Bishop of Rome for determination. But "for the first thousand years of Church history not a question of doctrine was finally decided by the Pope . . . nor can a single dogmatic decree issued by one of them be found during the first four centuries, nor a trace of the existence of any. . . . During all the fourth century Councils alone decided dogmatic questions" (*ibid.*). Popes' letters were not accepted as authoritative unless endorsed by a Council. Notably, Celestine's condemnation of the heresiarch Nestorius approved by the Council of Ephesus, and Leo I.'s famous letter to Flavian approved at Chalcedon. These two instances bring us far into the fifth century.

In three controversies during this early period—about Easter, heretical baptism, and the penitential discipline—the Roman Church took an active part, and in all three the Popes proved unable to carry out their own will and view and practice; and the other Churches maintained their different usages without its leading to permanent division.

9. That National Churches which were never under Rome, and having no intercourse by letter with her—as the Armenian, Syro-Persian, Ethiopian, British, and Irish—would be considered defective, and that there should be difficulties about having full communion with them. But it was not so.

To sum up this account of the position of the early Popes, "we get the following picture of the position of the ancient Church: Without prejudice to its agreement with the Church Universal in all essential points, every Church manages its own affairs with perfect freedom and independence, and maintains its own traditions, and usages and discipline, all questions not concerning the whole Church, or of primary importance, being settled on the spot. The Church is organised in dioceses, provinces, patriarchates (National Churches were added afterwards in the West), with the Bishop of Rome at the head, as first Patriarch, the Centre and Representative of Unity, and, as such, the bond between East and West, between the Churches of the Greek and the Latin tongue, the chief watcher and guardian of the, as yet very few, common laws of the Church—for a long time only the Nicene; but he does not encroach on the rights of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. Laws and Articles of faith, of universal obligation, are issued only by the whole Church, concentrated and represented at an Œcumenical Council" (Janus, *The Pope and Council*, chap. iii. 5). [T. C. O'C.]

ROMEWARD MOVEMENT, THE.—The object of this article is to prove that the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome has been the chief object of the leaders of the Oxford Movement from its birth in 1833 down to the present moment. At a meeting of the English Church Union, held at Bristol, Feb. 14, 1895, the President (Lord Halifax) frankly declared that "the Reunion of Christendom is the only legitimate conclusion of the Oxford Movement." Thirteen years before this, at the annual meeting of the Union, the same speaker asserted that the Reunion of Christendom "is the crown and completion of that movement which has transformed the face of the Church of England." Individual secession to Rome, though common amongst both leaders and disciples, has not been the guiding principle of the movement. Something far more dangerous than this is aimed at. It is desired that all

those members of the Church of England, whether clergy or laity, who hold more or less of Roman Catholic doctrines, shall remain within her fold for the purpose of "Catholicising" her, and making her respectable enough for the Pope to accept her by-and-by, when, as the *Union Review* expressed it in 1867, "Catholicism will have so leavened our Church, that she herself in her *corporate* capacity, and not a mere small section of her, like ourselves, shall be able to come to you [the Church of Rome] and say: 'Let the hands which political force, not spiritual choice, have parted these three hundred years, be once more joined.'" A Ritualistic priest, writing in the *Church Review* twenty-one years later, described most accurately what has really been the policy of the party since 1833: "It seems to me," he wrote, "utterly premature to consider reunion, especially with the great Patriarchal See of the West [the Church of Rome], as within even distant probability, until the Anglican Communion, as a whole, is Catholicised. *There lies our work.*" Here we see not only the main object of the movement, but also the means to be used for attaining it. Not individual secession, but the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England as a whole with the Church of Rome, is the object of the Romeward Movement.

Three months before the birth of the Oxford Movement, its two chief founders, the Rev. J. H. Newman and the Rev. R. H. Froude, visited the city of Rome. While there they had a secret interview with Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, the object of which was afterwards revealed by Froude himself: "We got introduced to him [Wiseman]," wrote Froude, "to find whether they would take us in [*i.e.* to the Church of Rome] on any terms to which we could twist our consciences." Thus early were the founders of the movement thinking about union with Rome! The Rev. William Palmer, one of the Tractarian leaders, who afterwards withdrew from the movement, tells us, with reference to this interview, that "Froude had with Newman been anxious to ascertain the terms upon which they could be admitted to communion by the Roman Church, supposing that some dispensation might be granted which would enable them to communicate with Rome without violation of conscience." When the movement actually commenced in Oxford, the first work of its promoters was that of "Catholicising," or, as we should say, "Romanising," the Church of England. The various steps taken in this direction are described in detail in my *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, and in my *History of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England*, and also above, in the article OXFORD MOVEMENT, to which I must refer my readers, as it is manifestly impossible to compress the facts into a single article like this. But it may be well to mention here again that, as early as January 1834, Mr. Ambrose Phillipps De Lisle, a Roman Catholic gentleman, exclaimed, after reading the fourth of the *Tracts for the Times*, issued by the leaders of the movement: "Mark my words, these *Tracts* are the beginning of a Catholic Movement which will one day end in the return of her Church to Catholic unity and the See of Peter." So impressed was Mr. De Lisle in favour of the movement that he gave up the rest of his long life to promoting it to the utmost. The influence of Froude on Newman was very great. "He made me," wrote Newman, "look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation." That was ten years, at least, before Newman left the Church of England. As the years went on, Newman's love for Rome increased. Of the year 1840 he wrote: "I wished for union between the Anglican Church and Rome, if, and when, it was possible; and I did what I could to gain weekly prayers for that object." In the following year he wrote to a Roman Catholic: "Only through the English Church can you act upon the English nation. I wish, of course, our Church should be consolidated, *with and through and in your Communion*, for its sake and your sake, and for the sake of unity."

In 1841 the Mr. De Lisle mentioned above had become the secret and recognised emissary of the Pope and Bishop Wiseman to the leaders of the movement in Oxford University. Newman opened his heart to De Lisle more than to any of his own disciples in the Church of England. Writing to his wife on May 5, 1841, De Lisle made this startling announcement: "Many here would like to come to an understanding with the Pope at once, that so they might be in active communion with him, and yet remain in the Church of England to labour for the reconciliation of their whole Church. This is to be taken into solemn consideration. I proposed to them last night that Father Rosimini should come to England and visit Oxford with me, with a view to conveying their sentiments to the Pope himself." One of the most prominent of the Tractarian conspirators at this time was the Rev. W. G. Ward, who subsequently seceded to Rome. His Roman Catholic son tells us, that while his father was still a Church of England clergyman: "He had long held that the Roman Church was the one true Church. He had gradually come to believe that the English Church was not strictly a part of the Church at all. He

had felt bound to retain his external communion with her members, because he believed that he was bringing many of them towards Rome." No doubt Ward realised even then what Newman afterwards expressed as his own view of the Oxford Movement in 1857: "I think," Newman wrote, "that it is for the interest of Catholicism that individuals should not join us, but should remain to leaven the mass—*I mean that they will do more for us by remaining where they are than by coming over.*"

If it be asked in what way do the Ritualists do more for the Church of Rome by remaining in the Church of England than by leaving her fold, let the Ritualistic *Church News* of October 28, 1868, reply: "England," it said, "will never become Catholic through the Roman part of the Church. The Roman Catholics minister to their own people and to the Irish, and make a good many converts from the upper classes, but they can never leaven the lump and touch the people as we hope and intend to do with the blessing of God. What Cardinal Wiseman said was this—England must return to Catholic Unity through the Established Church. The Established Church, then, must get hold of the people, and not only get hold of them, but Catholicise them. As we move onward and restore again the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Confessional, the Seven Sacraments, the Veneration of Mary and the Saints, Prayers for the Departed, the Catholic Doctrine of Purgatory, and the like, we must remember that we have to restore these Rites, Beliefs, and Practices not as luxuries for a few, but as living realities to be held and used by all."

In 1857 the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was formed, for the purpose of promoting prayer for the Corporate Reunion of the Church of England with the Eastern Church and the Church of Rome. Particulars of its work in this direction will be found in the article RITUALISTIC SECRET SOCIETIES. The English Church Union, with over 4000 clergy and 30 bishops in its ranks, is also officially pledged to Corporate Reunion with Rome (see ENGLISH CHURCH UNION). The Society of the Holy Cross also labours for Corporate Reunion with Rome. As far back as 1867 it organised an address to the bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference, which was signed by 1212 clergymen of the Church of England and 4453 laity, in which they asked the Episcopate "to adopt such measures as may, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, be effectual in removing the barriers which now divide the Western Branch of the Catholic Church." The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, with about 7800 clergy, requires its members to pray every month for the "Reunion of Christendom."

The Ritualists, of course, know very well that Rome, claiming infallibility, can never give up one of her doctrines, and that therefore union with her can only be secured by accepting every one of her false and unscriptural tenets; and yet, notwithstanding Rome's unyielding attitude, they persevere in their efforts to secure reunion practically on Rome's own doctrinal terms. In matters of discipline Rome can make concessions, but not in doctrine. The Reformed Church of England, in the *Homily on the Peril of Idolatry*, declares that the Church of Rome is the Babylon of the Book of the Revelation, and applies to her the divine command: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." [W. W.]

ROOD-SCREEN.—The rood (Anglo-Saxon *rod*) properly means *the cross* without any figure on it. The rood-screen, however, sometimes had a crucifix and even other figures connected with it (as the Virgin Mary and St. John). By Queen Elizabeth's Orders, October 10, 1561, as set forth in full in Miller's *Eccles. Guide*, section 83, from the British Museum 5155 a. a. 7, all rude lofts or screens were ordered to be abolished. There is no evidence for any use of the rood-screen, or cross upon the beam or screen dividing the chancel from the nave, till at least the twelfth century. See article on ROOD in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*. Opposite we give from a comparatively modern church a fair illustration which shows the nature of the rood-screen, and in what it consists. See CROSS; CRUCIFIX.

ROSARY.—The term is said to be derived from *Rosarius*, a chaplet of roses. In the Church of Rome it is used to describe a form of prayer to the Virgin, made up of fifteen decades of Aves, each decade being preceded by the Lord's Prayer, and followed by the Gloria. This form is divided into three parts, each composed of five decades, and called a corona or chaplet. The five decade Rosary is the one in ordinary use. Humboldt found the Rosary in use among the natives of Mexico (vol. ii. p. 20). It is commonly employed among the Brahmins of Hindustan, and is constantly referred to in the Hindu sacred books (*The Two Babylons*, by Hislop). Sir John F. Davis, in his book *China* (vol. i. p. 391), says: "There is a small rosary of eighteen beads, with which the bonzes count their prayers and ejaculations exactly as in the Romish ritual. The famous statue of Diana at Ephesus showed the goddess with a rosary round her neck."

But the Church of Rome invented an origin for the rosary entirely different. We are told that the Blessed Virgin instructed St. Dominic in the use of the rosary, and, thus armed,

sent him forth to do battle with the Albigenses. This version of the origin of the rosary has been accepted by no fewer than eight Popes. One of them, Benedict XIV., says that such was a tradition of the Dominican Order (Benedict XIV., *De Fest.* 160). The rosary has been indulgenced by various Popes, but in order to gain the indulgence, it is declared to be essential that the beads were blessed by a person having authority to do so.

There have been various rival rosaries started since St. Dominic's time, such as the *Living Rosary*, when fifteen persons unite to say the entire rosary every month; the *Rosary of St. Bridget*, consisting of seven Paters and sixty-three Aves in honour of the supposed sixty-three years of the Virgin's life; the *Rosary of the Seven Dolours*, a devotion introduced by the Servites; the *Rosary of the Immaculate Conception*, approved of by Pius IX. in 1855; the *Crown of our Saviour*, introduced by a Camaldolese monk in 1516, and consisting of thirty-three Paters, five Aves, and a Credo; the *Rosary of the Five Wounds*, introduced by the Passionists and approved of by Leo XII. in 1823. As the Dominicans had patented (so to speak) the rosary attributed to St. Dominic, all the later forms were intended to take the wind out of their sails. Pope Leo XIII. has been styled by Roman Catholic authorities "the Pope of the Rosary." [T. C.]

ROSE, GOLDEN.—This was, like the consecrated "Cap and Sword," a gift dating from the twelfth century, presented by the Popes to those who had deserved well of the Church. Both were conferred during the sixteenth century on the chief persecutors of the Huguenots. As early as 1159 the Rose was presented to Louis the Young. Henry VIII. received it three times, as did his daughter, Queen Mary, for her severity towards the Protestants; her husband, Philip II., was similarly honoured for his cruelties in the Netherlands, as were Charles IX. and Henry III. of France, and the cruel Dukes of Alva and Guise. In later years

A Rood-Screen.

Napoleon III., Isabella, Queen of Spain and the wife of Ferdinand, King of Naples ("Bomba"), have been recipients of this consecrated gift. [C. P. S.]

ROSMINIANS.—The Rosminian Society for all kinds of works of Christian charity was founded by Antonio Rosmini, an Italian philosopher, in 1828. Pope Gregory XVI. gave his approbation both to the Institute and its Rule. Two of the works of the founder were, however, placed on the Index Expurgatorius in 1850, and forty propositions taken from his writings were formally condemned Dec. 14, 1887. There are, it would appear, nine houses of the Institute at present in England and Wales. See *Catholic Dictionary*.

ROYAL SUPREMACY.—The statement which the Church of England makes in the Bidding Prayer (see the 55th Canon) that the sovereign is "supreme governor . . . over all persons in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal," or, as it is put in other forms of the same prayer, "in all causes and over all persons ecclesiastical and civil within her dominions supreme," is only a statement of the common law which will be found stated in Coke, *Inst.* IV. ch. 74; Hales, *Pleas of the Crown*, i. 75. Even in pre-Reformation times the king kept in his hands the nomination of bishops, and the Pope's claim to collate them was denied by the Statute of Provisors, 25 Ed. III. c. 4. On the other hand, before the Reformation, where a matter was ecclesiastical and did not come within the cognisance of the King's Courts, appeals were allowed to Rome; but a statute of 1353, 27 Ed. III. c. 1, made it an Act involving the offence of præmunire to bring a suit in a foreign Court (in the papal Court) when the matter could be dealt with in the King's Courts.

The Convocation of 1532 acknowledged *inter alia* that the king was lord and supreme head over the Church, "ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani cujus singularem protectorem et supremum dominum et quantum per Christi legem licet etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus"; and that Convocation had always and ought only to assemble by the king's writ. It promised not to attempt to allege claim or put in use any new canons except by the king's licence, nor to enact, promulge, or execute any such canons without the King's assent.

When Henry VIII. abolished the papal jurisdiction entirely, he provided by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, sec. 4, that appeals from the Archbishops' Courts should go to the King's Court instead of going to Rome, and sec. 5 of the same Act made it an Act involving præmunire to appeal to Rome in any kind of case. This Act, after being repealed by Queen Mary, was revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1. That Act, by sec. 17, annexed to the crown all ecclesiastical superiority or authority which had been or might lawfully be theretofore exercised by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority. The XXXVIIth Article states that "the chief government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil," belongs to the King's Majesty, and explains "that they" (*i.e.* godly princes) "should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal." Canons 1 and 2 of 1603 enforce this position, the first being headed "The King's Supremacy over the Church of England to be maintained," and directing sermons four times a year to be preached to enforce this view. Canon 2 says that the person is to be *ipso facto* excommunicate who "doth affirm that the King's Majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church, or impeach in any part his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the Crown and by the laws of this realm therein established."

Every clergyman, besides being bound by these canons, has to take upon ordination and institution the following oath, and so has every bishop or archbishop before confirmation: "I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King Edward, his heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God"—which binds him to recognise the sovereign's position in matters ecclesiastical established by law.

[E. B. W.]

RUBRICS are so called from having been printed in red in the service books in use prior to the Reformation. Their purpose is described in the Preface added in 1662 to the Prayer Book, as "for the better direction of them that are to officiate in any part of Divine Service." "Alterations" had been found needful by experience, owing to diversities of interpretation, or undesigned omissions which the last revision undertook to amend. For the Reformed Liturgy included in a single volume all the offices of the Church, and its rubrics were designed to supersede the innumerable directions which had been previously scattered, and had to be collected by the officiants from many separate volumes. The Preface to the First Prayer Book claims accordingly that "by this order, the Curates shall need none other books for their public Service but this book and the Bible;" and in the following year the older books were called in, with instructions to destroy them because they "did minister great occasion to diversity of opinions, rites, ceremonies, and services" (3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 10). On Christmas Day 1549, the bishops had been directed to "deface and abolish" the older books, "that they may never hereafter serve either to *any such use as they were provided for*, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform Order" (Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, iii. 75; Card. *Doc. Ann.* No. xx.). This effectually refutes the theory that the mass-priests who retained their livings as Conformists were at liberty to supplement the rubrics by any older directions with which they might choose to "enrich" them.

When the Bishop of Lincoln defended certain illegal acts on the plea that a bishop is not a "minister" bound by the rubrics, the Court

of the Archbishop ruled (July 24, 1889) that "when a bishop ministers in any office prescribed by the Prayer Book, he is a minister bound to observe the directions given to the minister in the rubrics of such office." For the rubrics, forming part of the schedule to the Act of Uniformity, are of statutory obligation; and hence the bishop is forbidden by the Preface to the Prayer Book to give any order which is "contrary to anything contained in the Prayer Book." On the other hand, he is empowered to exercise his "discretion" as to any matter left really open to "doubt or diversity" "concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things *contained in* this book," on being appealed to by the parishioners who are affected by such "doings"; and if himself in doubt, he may send on the question for resolution by the archbishop. But this does not cover such questions as the use of incense, prayers for the dead, or the worship of the Virgin, which are in no sense "contained in the book."

It may be added that several of the paragraphs popularly described as "rubrics" have a separate history and a totally different character. The so-called "Ornaments Rubric" was printed in a type different from the rubrics in the copy from which the Annexed Book was taken, and, as was pointed out in the Ridsdale Judgment, it was from 1559 to 1661 merely an *unauthorised* note of reference to the Act of Elizabeth. In 1662 this same Act of Elizabeth (the 1 Eliz. c. 2) was retained as the standard of "Ornaments," having been incorporated into the present Prayer Book, and subscribed by both Convocations. Their lordships held that in its present form (though less irregular in its introduction) it still retains the character of being a merely subsidiary "rubric-*note*" which had been roughly conformed to the language of the statute, which last, however, still remains in law the primary and over-riding authority, though too often suppressed by the King's printers.

Three other paragraphs, viz., the so-called "Black Rubric" on kneeling, at the end of the communion service, and the Declaration as to the use of the cross after baptism, and the salvability of baptized infants at the end of the office for Public Baptism of Infants, occupy a similar position. The first of these was really a Royal Proclamation added after the Second Prayer Book had been enacted, and again inserted into the present book after it had left Convocation. This last remark applies also to the statements added at the end of the baptismal office—all three being *doctrinal* defences relating to points in dispute, or to popular objections raised by the Puritan Nonconformists against the existing service book. [J. T. T.]

RULE OF FAITH.—This, in the view of Protestants, is the Bible. For the Bible the Church of Rome substitutes tradition and "the Church." It is asserted that "the Church gave us the Bible," which is only true in the sense that the Church has preserved and handed down those Books of the Holy Scriptures which were written by men inspired of God. The Old Testament was stamped by Christ and His apostles as authoritative and inspired. Every Book of the New Testament proceeds from apostles or from those who had heard Christ (Heb. iii. 3; *cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 6). By those writings all questions of heresy as they arose in the early Church were judged. But no General Council ever gave an authoritative list of these Books, so that it was *not* ecclesiastical authority which caused the Churches to receive the Books of the New Testament.

(1) It is, however, objected by Romanists that the Church was formed before the Books of the New Testament were written, and therefore that the Church could do without the New Testament, although man cannot do without the Church. But the Books of the New Testament represent "the living voice" of the first and most authoritative teachers of the Church. It was the same with regard to the Old Testament after Moses and the Prophets and the Psalmists had passed away. (2) Another objection is that the New Testament is unsystematic, and therefore unfit for teaching purposes. But in those Books all necessary doctrine is found. (3) The Romish Church maintains that the New Testament is hard for ordinary people to understand, and that more harm than good is likely to ensue from the reading of it by untrained minds. But the fact is that the great truths of the Gospel are discoverable in the Bible by the simplest minds, while the "Fathers," the supposed accredited interpreters of the Roman Church, are hopelessly divided in opinion on many points. (4) It is asserted also that the infallible Book requires an infallible interpreter, *i.e.* the "Church," to explain its meaning. But the Holy Ghost who inspired the writers, can open the understanding of men even now to know the meaning of the Scriptures. (5) The reading of the Scriptures, it is sometimes said, is the cause of all heresy and schism. Our Lord declared, on the other hand, that the ignorance of the sect of the Sadducees on so important a doctrine as that of the resurrection of the body, arose from their "not knowing the Scriptures" (Matt. xxii. 29).

The Christian writers of the earliest ages believed in the authority of the Scriptures as the Rule of Faith. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, St. John's disciple (martyred A.D. 155, after being a Christian for eighty-six years);

Clement of Rome, St. John's contemporary; and Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (martyred A.D. 116), all testify that the Scriptures are writings which Christians ought to know.

The Church of England is particularly clear and explicit on the subject of the Scriptures as the Rule of Faith. See Articles VI. VIII. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXVIII. XXXIV. See FAITH, RULE OF.

RURAL DEAN.—See DEAN.

RUSSIAN CHURCH.

(*a*) *Origin.*—Until the end of the tenth century the Russians were a heathen people. Tradition tells that St. Andrew in his journeys preached at Kieff, but no mention is made of converts. Christianity was certainly taught to the Goths, who dwelt among Russians in the sixth century. By a mission from Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, Christianity was preached at Kieff in the time of Ascold and Dir at the end of the ninth century, and there is evidence in documents of the existence of individual Russian Christians at the beginning of the tenth century. In 957 the conversion of the Grand Duchess Olga (afterwards canonised) marks the advance of the new religion, but this did not prevent persecution and the martyrdom of Gleb, cousin of Sviatoslaf, in 971. Within twenty years of this time, however, Christianity was established as the religion of the country. The cause of this change was the conversion of Vladimir, son of Sviatoslaf, who had succeeded at first to a third, and then to the whole of his father's kingdom. The Russian chronicler of the twelfth century (*Chronique dite de Nestor*, traduite par Louis Leger, Paris, 1884. The Slavonic original edited by Miklosich, Vindobona, 1860) tells how, after a period of great cruelty and devotion to the ancient Russian gods, Vladimir's conscience was stirred, and he was approached by Moslems, whose faith he would not receive because they forbade drinking; then by Germans (Roman Catholics), whose fasting did not please him; then by Jews, who pleased him in many ways, but who were dismissed as unworthy because they had to confess that their God was angry with them, and had driven them out of their own land. A Greek teacher was more successful, and four years later Vladimir married the sister of Basil and Constantine, accepted Christianity for himself and his people, and many were baptized at Kieff. From much that may be legendary in this story it may be gathered that Christianity was accepted as a State religion by the Russians at the end of the tenth century, and that the development of the Russian Church has for its starting-point the religious beliefs and practices of the Greek Church at that time. (Roman Catholic writers have combated this view, and maintained with little success that this was accomplished with the help of Rome; *cf.* Boissard, *L'Eglise de Russie*, vol. ii. pp. 10 *ff.*)

The spread of Christianity was rapid. A century after Vladimir's conversion there were seven bishoprics in the south and four in the north-west of Russia. But little opposition is recorded, and Russia has no long list of martyrs. It was, however, during the period of the Mongol supremacy (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) that the Church gained that hold on the affections of the people which it has undoubtedly to-day. It was then the one power that kept the people together, gave strength to its rulers, and at last made possible its deliverance. Attempts were made from early times by the Roman Church to bring Russia into subjection to itself. In the fifteenth century, when Isidore was Metropolitan of Moscow, he was won over by the Romans, and at the Council of Florence (1439) announced that the union was accomplished; but on his return to Russia he was expelled by the clergy, who refused to ratify his concessions. At the present time not only has it resisted the attacks of Rome, but has received back into the Orthodox Communion many who had formerly submitted to Rome.

(*b*) *Organisation.*—The Russian Church in its origin was entirely dependent on that of Greece, that is, on the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There is little to be gathered from the Chronicles as to the early history, but it is clear that a Metropolitan was established at Kieff, and that bishops were appointed in different parts of the land (see above). The Metropolitan was the President of a Synod comprising all the bishops. These directed the policy of the Church, instituted new bishops, and exercised discipline over them. The Metropolitan was appointed by the Greek Patriarch, to whom the whole Russian Church owed obedience. The Princes took an active part in the affairs of the Church, and from time to time made statutes determining the revenues of the ecclesiastics, and the jurisdiction to be exercised by them in offences against religious law among clerics and laity (the Ecclesiastical Statutes of St. Vladimir; the Statutes of Yaroslaf, &c.). In 1299, when Kieff had been destroyed by the Mongols, the Metropolitan transferred his seat to Vladimir, and in 1325 to Moscow, where it remained until the time of Peter the Great. In 1588 the national feeling, which from the beginning had manifested itself against the subjection of the Church to Greece, made itself felt, and the dignity of the Patriarchate was claimed for the Metropolitan of Moscow. The Metropolitan Job was solemnly chosen by

the Russian clergy and consecrated as Patriarch by Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople. The Russian Church thus became independent, and the Patriarch of Moscow took rank as the youngest with those of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. The government of the Church continued thus until the time of Peter the Great, when, in 1720, a council of clergy was held under the presidency of Peter, and it was resolved to substitute for the Patriarchate a Synod. In the following year Peter requested the Patriarch of Constantinople to acknowledge this body as the head of the Russian Church, and to communicate the change to the other Patriarchs of the Eastern Church. The Holy Synod thus formed and recognised, consisted originally of four archbishops, seven archimandrites, and two priests with the "Ober-Prokuror," or representative of the Czar, he being not properly a member, but an intermediary between the Synod and the Czar. He is always a layman. At the present time the clerical element consists of the Metropolitans of Kieff, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and the Exarch of Georgia, with a certain number of archbishops, bishops, and archimandrites appointed by the Czar, and two priests, viz. the chief Court chaplain and senior chaplain of the army. The cases that come before the Synod are far too numerous to be dealt with at their sittings, and much of the work is done by correspondence and reports, while much again is relegated to officials. Matters pertaining to Church discipline and teaching, ecclesiastical seminaries, and the spiritual censorship form the chief work of the Synod, which also nominates three candidates for a vacant bishopric; from this list the Czar makes his choice. Each bishop is assisted in his own diocese by a Synod for purposes of discipline; from such a synod appeal may be made to the Holy Synod at St. Petersburg.

The secular, or parochial clergy, known as the "white clergy," to distinguish them from the monks (see below), marry before ordination, but are not allowed to contract a second marriage. Their education is, as a rule, poor; their salaries very small, consisting of the government grant and small payments made by their parishioners for different offices. All clergy wear beards and long hair.

Monasticism was taken over with Christianity from Greece, and monasteries were established by Vladimir and his successors. The monks are devoted to celibacy, and bishops are chosen from them only. All monasteries in Russia obey the rules of St. Basil. The monks are the "black clergy." "Their business is not to study, nor to do work of any other kind, not even for the service of religion, but to sing the divine offices and to live first for the good of their own souls, and then also to do penance for the world" (Palmer, *Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church*, London, 1882). Yet the monasteries have played a great part in the history and development of Russia, and many a town has grown up round a monastery (Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, vol. iii. p. 229). Much wealth has been accumulated by these monasteries, but from the time of Ivan III. the Czars have confiscated what they required in cases of emergency.

(*c*) *Public Worship.*—The public worship of the Church is celebrated on Sabbaths, Holy Days, and Saints' Days, which are numerous. The services are held on the eve and the morning of the day, and are entirely liturgical, no provision being made for preaching. The language of the liturgies is Church-Slavonic or Old-Bulgarian, for the Russians adopted these translations of Greek services from the Bulgarians, among whom Cyril and Methodius had worked in the ninth century. The evening rite consists mainly of the singing of Psalms interspersed with appropriate prayers, the whole being intended to present the story of man's religious history (as represented by the Old Testament) from the Creation to the appearance of Christ, and to lead up to the sacrificial act of the Eucharist, whereby man's redemption is accomplished. The Liturgy (of the Mass) in general use is that of John Chrysostom, but ten times in the year the longer one of St. Basil is followed, and there is besides the "Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified." Both the former "reproduce all the essential features of the Syrian Liturgy," owing to the early contact of Constantinople with Antioch (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, ed. 2, p. 70). Confession is enjoined, but only in general terms, and in the presence of the congregation.[1] Participation in the Lord's Supper is required at least once a year. Leavened

[1] The practice of the Church at the present time requires both a detailed and more private confession—which is frequently made behind a screen in a corner of the Church. Palmer in his *Dissertation on Subjects Relating to the Orthodox Communion*, p. 232, speaks of a full examination by the priest. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church* does the same, and quotes the priest as reminding the penitent that "if thou concealest anything from me thou wilt be doubly sinful." But although a catalogue of sins is read out, to which one has to answer whether he has sinned in this or that particular, the details and circumstances connected with the several sins do not seem to be inquired into, as is the practice in the Church of Rome. See also on the subject Archdeacon Sinclair's *Church of the East*.

bread is used, and is administered mixed with the wine in a spoon. Worship of a more individual character is continually being offered in the churches, which are always open for that purpose. It consists in the offering of prayer with prostrations, the placing of candles before the pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, and the kissing of the sacred ikons. The Church also provides in its service-books forms of worship for all the events of daily life, such as the blessing of the fields and the waters, the opening of a new house, &c. Much importance is attached also to pilgrimages to the Russian holy places, and especially to the Holy Land.

(*d*) *Doctrine.*—The Russian Church acknowledges as authoritative in matters of doctrine the Scriptures and the Sacred Tradition, which latter must be in agreement with the Scriptures. From the Tradition is derived the authority of the sacraments and customs of the Church. Authoritative are the seven Œcumenical Councils: Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople (Second and Third), Nicæa, Second. Beyond these the Church does not claim the right to announce any new doctrine, and it is the claim to this right on the part of the Roman Church which creates the greatest barrier between the Churches of East and West. Immutability and the preservation of the faith exactly as it was received in the ninth century is the most marked feature of the Russian Church. The Scriptures are disseminated among the people, and their study encouraged in the schools and the homes. The Canon includes the Apocryphal writings, though these are vaguely distinguished from the rest in the catechisms. The accepted symbol of faith is the Creed of Nicæa (325) and Constantinople (381), without the addition of the "filioque" in the statement of the procession of the Holy Spirit. The addition of this clause, under the influence of Augustinian theology, in the Roman Church is another cause of dissension between the East and West. The Church is "a community of men ordered by God, united by the orthodox faith, the divine law, the priesthood and the sacraments" (*Catechism of Philaret*); and is united with the heavenly Church by prayer to God and the Saints. The obedience due to the Church is to be learned from the Scriptures, the rules of the Apostles, the Œcumenical and local Councils, the Church Fathers and the Church ordinances. The Sacraments are seven in number—Baptism, Chrism (= Confirmation, but administered by any priest, and usually immediately after Baptism), the Lord's Supper, Confession, Ordination, Marriage, and Anointing. In baptism children are dipped in water three times in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the Evil Spirit is expelled by exorcism. Re-baptism, however, is not required on admission from any other Church. In the Lord's Supper the bread and wine are changed into the real and actual body and blood of Christ. After death the souls of the righteous remain in light, those of the wicked in darkness until the end of the world, when souls and bodies united shall appear for judgment to receive eternal joy or eternal pain.

The great body of the doctrinal and ethical teaching of the Russian Church is to be found in the Catechism of Peter Mogila, which was accepted by the Council of Jassy, and approved by the Eastern Patriarchs in 1643; or in the Catechism of Philaret, founded on that of Mogila (59th ed. in 1866).

(*e*) *Sects.*—Although Church and State are so intimately connected in Russia that schism is punished as treason, heresy and dissidence have existed from the twelfth century to the present day. Traces of the Bogomilian heresy found their way into Russia from the Bulgarian Church at an early date. At Pskof and Novgorod in the fourteenth century the Strigolniks wished to abolish the hierarchy and all sacraments. In the fifteenth century a party rose to great power, which made the Old Testament of equal value with the New, and rejected the belief in the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ. The greatest schism in the Church took place in the seventeenth century, when the Patriarch Nikon (1652–58), finding that the sacred liturgies and other books had become very corrupt in text, secured the appointment of a commission for their revision. Many of the clergy and laity had become attached to customs which were not primitive, and which were now abolished. These formed the party of Raskolniks or "Old Believers." Differing at first from the Church chiefly in matters of ritual, they have since broken up into sects of all shades of doctrine. The Popovtzi have priests of their own, but are bitterly opposed to the State Church. The Bezpopovtzi have no priests, but say that every Christian is a priest. The subdivisions of these are too numerous to mention, and the Russian government takes little notice of them, except when (as in the case of the Dukhobortzi) their religious beliefs interfere with the performance of their duties to the State, or when they attempt to proselytise.

Literature.—*The Ancient Chronicles* (in Slavonic), now being published by an archæological commission in Russia. Philaret, *Geschichte der Kirche Russlands*, Frankfurt, 1872. Boissard, *L'Église de Russie*, Paris, 1867. Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des Tsars et Les Russes*, vol. iii., Paris, 1889. Mouravieff, *A History of the Church of Russia*, Oxford, 1842. *Le Raskol*,

Historique et Critique sur les Sectes Re-es en Russie, Paris, 1859. A short and ient enumeration of the chief sects will ind in Herzog-Schaff's *Encyclopædia*, vol. 2082–84. *Cf.* also Palmer, *Notes of a Visit Russian Church*, London, 1882; and C. H. H. t, *The Service of the Mass in the Greek Roman Churches*. A translation of the *lox Confession of the Catholic and Apos-astern Church from the Version of Peter* s was republished in London by Thomas , 1898. A German version of Philaret's ism is contained in Philaret's *Geschichte*, . Some of the Russian services have ranslated by G. V. Shann, in the *Eucho-* Kidderminster, 1891, and *Book of Needs Holy Orthodox Church*, London, 1894. e complete edition has been edited (in ic and German) by Maltzev in Berlin.

[G. W. T.]

S

ATH, THE.—It has been admitted oughtful persons, not alone amongst s, in the commercial world, by lawyers, ians, and statesmen, that the observance nday has been one of the causes of rosperity and greatness of England. earned Blackstone says in his famous *ntaries*, "The keeping of one day in holy, as a time of relaxation and re-ent, as well as for public worship, is mirable service to a State, considered as a civil institution" (vol. iv. p. 63). Macaulay, in his speech on the Ten Bill, stated that "if we and our ancestors luring the last three centuries, worked s hard on the Sundays as on the week-we should have been at this moment rer people and a less civilised people re are; that there would have been less tion than there has been, that the of the labourer would have been lower they are, and that some other nation have been now making cotton stuffs oollen stuffs and cutlery for the whole" (*Speeches*, p. 450, also pp. 453, 454). st of the seventh day is beneficial to body, mind, and soul. The experiment ried during the French Revolution at d of the eighteenth century of abolish-s Sabbath, but the necessity of a day of ecame so apparent that it was decided serve one day in ten, and before long was made to one day in seven. It is ly not too much to say that the exist-f Christianity is bound up with respect e Lord's Day. The sanctity of the th is a bulwark against infidelity and m. If once the legal protection of the Sunday were withdrawn, worldliness and dissipation would largely reduce congregations of Christian worshippers, and a heavy blow be dealt at true religion.

Yet, while the Sunday may be better observed in England than it was a century ago, there are many who are endeavouring to alter the character of the Sunday, and instead of regarding it as a holy day, are trying to make it a mere holiday and day of pleasure. All pleasure resorts, besides being harmful, at least to many of those who enter them, necessarily involve the working of others on the day of rest.

Objections may be urged against the old-fashioned observance of the Sunday, which is stigmatised by the name of Sabbatarianism. (1) It is said, for instance, that "religion does not consist in keeping days and seasons." But no one who knows anything of human nature would fail to allow that the setting apart and observance of such days is a help towards true religion. (2) Higher ground is taken by other persons, who say that "every day ought to be holy," and so deprecate assigning any special sanctity to the first day of the week. But if this means that every day should be observed as a Lord's Day, the view is opposed to the dictates of common sense. As six days of the week are for worldly business, there ought to be one day of the week the business of which is religion. (3) The Roman Church, objecting to the Bible as the Rule of Faith, asserts that it cannot be proved from the Word of God that the day on which the Sabbath was to be observed was ever changed. This is not correct. The non-obligation of the *Jewish* Sabbath is evident from Col. ii. 16, and the apostolic observance of the first day of the week is shown by John xx. 19; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10. It is very possible that there is a reference to the change (Heb. iv. 9), in which "Sabbatism" is the peculiar word used for "rest." The reason is given in the next verse, 10, "For He (Christ) who is entered into His rest [after His conflict on the cross], He also hath ceased from His works [of *redemption*] as God did from His" (*τῶν ἰδίων*), those of *creation* which are spoken of as peculiar to God the Father in verse 4.

The duty of keeping holy one day in seven was not of temporary, but of permanent obligation. The Sabbath was given to Adam in his unfallen condition (Gen. ii. 3). To the Sabbath one whole commandment out of the Ten was devoted, and that the longest, fullest, and most minute (Exod. xx. 8–11). It is the only one which begins with the word "Remember," as though it was the commandment which man was most prone to forget. By the prophets of the Old Testament the breach of the Sabbath is placed alongside of the most

grievous transgressions of the moral law, and is referred to as one of the causes of the Captivity (Ezek. xx. 13, 16, 24; xxii. 8, 26; Nehem. xiii. 18; Jer. xvii. 19–27). In that fulfilling of the Law, which was part of our Saviour's mission (Matt. v. 17), while correcting the prevalent superstitions concerning it, He said nothing about abolishing its obligation or denying its holiness. Nay, He took its continuance for granted (see Matt. xxiv. 20). The Apostles in their writings acknowledge the authority of the whole moral law without distinction (Rom. vii. 12; xiii. 8; Eph. vi. 2; 1 Tim. i. 8; Jas. ii. 10; 1 John iii. 4), and in their practice kept one day of the week as a holy day (Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2). After the Resurrection of our Lord the rest-day appears to have been changed to the first day of the week, then entitled the Lord's Day (Rev. i. 10). No other sufficient cause than Christ's Resurrection has ever been assigned for the extraordinary change from the seventh to the first day of the week after thousands of years. The fact of Sunday observance, indeed, cannot be otherwise accounted for, and is itself a standing witness to the truth of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. [M. E. W. J.]

SABELLIANISM.—Properly this term is used to indicate the doctrine of the Godhead propounded by Sabellius; but it is commonly employed in a much wider sense, to cover all the varied types of doctrine which affirm that the names Father, Son, and Spirit simply express aspects successively assumed by the undifferentiated Deity, and do not correspond to "Personal" distinctions within the Godhead. It is not hard to see how this kind of theory arose. It could not, indeed, be harmonised with the New Testament, which clearly revealed that the Father was not the Son, and that the Spirit was distinct from both. But Christian theology developed for a time in large independence of the New Testament, and was powerfully affected in the way both of attraction and repulsion by non-Christian influences. It started from a lower level than the New Testament writers, whose teaching, as in the case of Paul, was often not at all understood, or was long in filtering down to the average Christian, as was the case with the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel. Those who entered the Church from Paganism came with popular or philosophical opinions, as part of their very mental constitution, and inevitably read through them their new beliefs. Yet they also displayed intense recoil not only from the vices but from the polytheism of Paganism. On the other hand, their religious instinct compelled them to confess their Saviour and Teacher as God. The problem, then, was to bring into a single harmonious conception the two propositions—God is One, and Jesus Christ is God. For a long time ordinary Christians held them together, unrelated and unreconciled. When thought began to move towards the position, ultimately reached as the goal of a long endeavour—the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity—many Christians, as Tertullian tells us, were much alarmed. If the Father is held to be distinct from the Son, yet both are confessed as God, is not that to assert the existence of two Gods, and does not Christianity thus become simply a new polytheism? This feeling found expression in the theological movement known as Modalist Monarchianism. This, in common with Dynamic or Adoptionist Monarchianism, insisted firmly that there is in God only a single principle, not a dual or a triple principle, and therefore denied with it any hypostatic distinctions within the Godhead. It differed from it, however, in that it firmly held the Deity of Christ, while the Adoptionist Monarchianism was practically Unitarian, and regarded Jesus as a man divinely endowed in a unique degree. The Modalist Monarchians, as the name suggests, saw in the terms Father, Son, and Spirit, simply modes in which the Divine Essence was manifested.

The history of the movement is very obscure, its chronology uncertain, and on many points we are most uncertainly informed. It seems to have emerged as a definite movement with Noëtus in Asia Minor, perhaps during the last two decades of the second century. It was introduced into Rome by Praxeas, in the episcopate of Victor, or perhaps that of Eleutherus. The Bishop of Rome favoured it, and if that bishop was Eleutherus, then four Bishops of Rome in succession — Eleutherus, Victor, Zephyrinus and Callistus — were Modalist Monarchians. After Praxeas had gone to Carthage, he was followed during the episcopate of Zephyrinus, by Epigonus, a pupil of Noëtus. He formed a party at Rome, to which the name Patripassians was given. This expressed the doctrine that the Father suffered on the cross (*cf.* Tertullian's gibe at Praxeas: "So Praxeas did two strokes of business for the devil in Rome: he expelled prophecy and introduced heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father"). Whether the Modalist Monarchians actually said in so many words that the Father was crucified is doubtful; they may simply have said, Jesus who suffered is the same as the Father. Epigonus was followed by Cleomenes, and he by Sabellius about A.D. 215. Personally favourable to them as both Zephyrinus and Callistus were, their main object was to repress strife. The latter constructed an obscure formula of concord, which was fairly charged

with combining elements of both types of Monarchianism. Hippolytus, who has given a detailed account of the controversy in his *Philosophumena*, marked by bitter hostility to Callistus, strongly affirmed, against Sabellius and the Roman bishops, the personal distinction of Father and Son, and was charged by them with Ditheism. When concord was seen to be impossible, Callistus excommunicated both Hippolytus and Sabellius. The sympathies of most Roman Christians were with the latter. Essentially his doctrine was identical with that of the earlier Patripassians. But he completed their teaching by clearly recognising that the threefold name represented successive stages in the life of God, and by assigning a definite place to His existence as the Holy Spirit. Down to the Incarnation, God was Father, inasmuch as He was the Creator and Sustainer of the world. From the Incarnation to the Ascension, God existed as Son, and since the Ascension as Holy Spirit. Thus, with Sabellius, the term Person retained its original sense of "mask," the one God appearing successively in three different aspects. Since Eastern theologians, from the beginning of the fourth century, classed all forms of Modalist Monarchianism under the name Sabellianism, it is probable that ecclesiastical writers have often attributed to Sabellius views which he did not hold, and even views which no Monarchians held, but which seemed to follow as inferences from their position. While Sabellianism gradually died out under the pressure of various forces, similar tendencies have frequently emerged, and there is probably to-day much conscious or unconscious Sabellianism. When we have statements such as, the Father is God in Nature, the Son God in Christ, the Spirit God in History, or in the Church, we have analogous tendencies. Their strength lies in the difficulty of asserting the Trinity without sacrificing the Unity of God. Loyalty to Monotheism gave the impulse to Monarchianism. Moreover, the apparent simplicity of it must always make it attractive to many minds. Its weakness lies partly in its incompatibility with the New Testament; partly in its application of formal logic to the deepest of all mysteries; above all, in its inability permanently to satisfy the religious, or even the philosophical, instinct. The Absolute must be the home of relations; in God, that there may be self-consciousness, there must be the distinction of the Self from the Other than Self. Such a distinction must exist within the Godhead itself, otherwise God's self-consciousness would arise only in contrast to something outside Himself, on which, for the realisation of His own Personality, He would thus depend. Once more, if God is Love, there must be within Him the Subject Loving and the Object Loved; if He is to be holy, ethical relations must be possible within His own Being. The doctrine of the Trinity secures alike the Personality of God, the ethical qualities of His Being, and the true Divinity of our Lord; while the assertion of the Unity safeguards Monotheism. That the doctrine is a mystery is no disproof of its truth; rather, we may be sure that if the element of mystery were eliminated, the doctrine could not be true. The interior life of God must be beyond our comprehension, and no human terms can be adequate to express it, since they are coined out of human experience, which does not embrace in its categories the life of the Infinite God. To believe the irrational is a crime against the God who gave us our reason; to believe in a mystery may be to obey the deepest impulse of our reason. [A. S. P.]

SACRAMENT.—(1) A thing or act that we see, which is a sign to us of another thing or act that we do not see. (2) An ordinance of the Christian Church, made up of an outward part signifying something, and an inward grace signified.

The two meanings of the word "sacrament" are often confused with the most unhappy results. An example will illustrate the necessity of keeping them apart. In the Lord's Supper the bread and the wine are signs or sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, and the eating and drinking of the bread and wine by the mouth are signs or sacraments of the soul's feeding on Christ, and deriving thence that spiritual strength and refreshment which is given to the body by eating and drinking bread and wine. So far we are dealing with the first meaning of the word "sacrament." But the appellation is also given to the whole ordinance. When we speak of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper we ordinarily mean, not only the outward sign as above, but also the inward grace—the visible act of eating and drinking the bread and wine (symbols of His body and blood), and the invisible grace which is signified, namely, the benefits received by the faithful from feeding on Christ in loving memory of His atoning sacrifice offered on Calvary.

The unhappy consequences following, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, from this double meaning of the word "sacrament," may be thus seen. We all acknowledge the presence of Christ at or in the sacrament in the second sense, that is, regarded as an ordinance, as we also believe in His presence, according to His promise, at the matin or evening prayer. But when this acknowledgment has been made, we are said or supposed,

by a too subtle or too dull controversialist, to have made it with respect to the sacrament in the other sense of the word, and we are told by Romanists and Ritualists that we have granted that Christ is present in the sacrament, that is, in the outward sign, the bread and the wine; and they tell us that there has thus been proved, and we must accept, the dogma of the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements, from which logically follow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the practice of Adoration of the Sacrament.

The Catechism uses the word in both senses. "What meanest thou by this word Sacrament? I mean an outward and visible sign *of* an inward and spiritual grace." Here the word is used in the first sense, for the outward part only. "How many parts are there in a Sacrament? Two, the outward and visible sign *and* the inward and spiritual grace." Here it is used in the second sense, for the ordinance. The term is rightly used in both senses, but whoever would have a clear understanding of the doctrine of Holy Communion will do well, when he finds it employed, to pause and ask himself in which sense it is being used. Such a person would not be cajoled into worshipping "the sacrament," meaning the bread, because Christ is present in "the sacrament," meaning the ordinance.

Cranmer distinguishes the double sense of the word with care: "Sometimes," he says, "by this word 'sacrament' I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the sacraments, either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ or the Holy Ghost be present in the sacraments, not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine—which be only the outward visible sacraments, but that in the due ministration of the sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and His Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same" (Answer to Gardiner). And Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, guarding against the "ambiguous meaning of the word Sacrament," says that it is "a word sometimes and more strictly applied to the sign or matter, sometimes to the *whole* sacred rite. Now it is in the former sense that the Church of Rome holds the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; it is in the latter that the real presence in the sacrament maintained by the Church of England must be sought" (Answer to Butler). See Tomlinson's *Misprinted Catechism*.

According to the sense that we attribute to the word, there may be a vast and indefinite number of sacraments, or only a definite number. We may, if we will, regard the eye as a sacrament of faith, and the act of seeing with the eye a sacrament of apprehending by faith. Thus regarded, there is an infinite number of sacraments, for "all things are double one against another" (Ecclus. xlii. 24). But if we regard sacraments as divinely appointed ordinances, consisting of an outward sign and an inward grace, we have to ask ourselves how many have been so appointed. And we find that there are only two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Other ordinances may be found having an outward sign and an inward grace, but only two that are divinely appointed; and these two were represented in the Old Dispensation by the institutions of Circumcision and the Feast of the Passover, and by the acts of passing through the waters of the Red Sea, and the feeding with manna (1 Cor. x. 1–4). In the twelfth century Peter Lombard added five other rites to these two—Confirmation, Ordination, Matrimony, Penitence, and Extreme Unction. But of these none have the qualification of a divine appointment, and only two of them approach in themselves to the character of sacramental rites.

In the Lord's Supper the idea of sacrament has been overlaid and almost destroyed by that of sacrifice. In a sacrament man receives a grace from God's hands; in a sacrifice man gives something of his own to God. It is true that the Lord's Supper may be regarded as a sacrifice, because in it we offer our praise and thanksgiving for Christ's redeeming work, and we offer ourselves in grateful return for His goodness; and it may be improperly so called because it commemorates the great sacrifice; but essentially and primarily it is a sacrament, in which by God's grace we receive the blessings and benefits derived from Christ's death in answer to our faith. The Roman and Ritualist view, which holds it to be above all a sacrifice—and *that* a sacrifice of Christ Himself, does away with the sacrament, for the appointed outward sign, on the Roman theory, is annihilated; and it makes men forget that the ordinance was instituted as a sacrament, which does not give to God, but receives from Him. See SEVEN SACRAMENTS. [F. M.]

SACRAMENT, CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED.—See RITUALISTIC SECRET SOCIETIES.

SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION. — The private confession of sin in the so-called "sacrament" of penance. See CONFESSION; PENANCE.

SACRAMENTAL GRACE.—See BAPTISM; LORD'S SUPPER; OPUS OPERATUM; SACRAMENTS.

SACRAMENTARIANS, SACRAMENTARIES.—Names of contumely for certain opinions on the Lord's Supper in the sixteenth century. At a time when current belief in the Church was that the sacred elements became by consecration the actual body and blood of Christ, requiring to be adored by unreserved bodily prostration, Zwingle, in 1525, printed at Zurich his *True and False Religion*,[1] arguing that what was received at the Lord's Supper was not the actual body and blood, but the *sacrament* of them, and that one word, prominent throughout the treatise, made all the difference between the new views and the old upon this subject. He referred (pp. 287, *seq.*) much to St. Augustine, more than once quoting his words afterwards made familiar to English Churchmen: "Eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing"—not the very thing itself.[2] This exposition was most opportune on the Continent, where the Reformation was then fast spreading, and town after town accepted it by a well-understood token, the service of the Lord's Supper, to which the laity flocked as to a great novelty, for a personal participation, they having usually before been satisfied with attendance at the altar without communicating. It was needful they should know what they were doing in this unwonted function. The Zurich pastor told his flock that he was not making any propitiation for them by an altar sacrifice, but they were all feeding together, he and they, on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The papalists, mortified by these celebrations, and repudiating the special stress laid by Zwingle on the one term "sacrament," which was not their "sacrament of the altar," or sacrifice of the mass, denounced him as a "Sacramentarian," and his exposition, which gave the death-blow to their notion of transubstantiation, as a heresy. John Foxe, living near that time, clearly saw this origin of the novel term when he defined Sacramentaries as so called originally for asserting that in the Lord's Supper the bread and wine were but the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, not the very body and blood themselves.[3]

Luther, who held that in a certain way, not by transubstantiation, the Lord's body and blood were present with the elements at the time of their reception (only then) by faithful Christians (only such), was extremely vexed at the Zwinglian exposition, which rivalled his own famous interpretation of *This is my body*, and greatly endangered it among the Reformed. If he was not the first to call the Zwinglians "Sacramentaries," he scrupled not to second the use of the term by the common enemy, his particular word for them being "enthusiasts" or "fanatics," as in 1527, in his tract against them entitled, *That these Words of Christ, This is My Body, Stand Firm against the Fanatics*, the concluding words being in Old German, *widder Schwermgeister;* in Latin (for controversial pieces often ran in both languages), *contra Fanaticos Sacramentariorum spiritus.*[4] The German for Sacramentary was *Sacramentirer;* but Luther's ordinary word, and a very frequent one, was *Schwermer*, Old German for *Schwärmer*, which in Latin almost became an appellative with a capital *Suermerus.*[5] In Zwingle's reply, *Friendly Exposition*, "sacramentarii," or "mens sacramentaria," is quoted every now and then;[6] but the harsher term is the most frequent. Substantially Luther was a sacramentary too, as shown at Augsburg in 1530, where the Lutheran princes and theologians (for Luther himself could not go there) refused to accompany Charles V. in the *Corpus Christi* procession, expressly on the ground that "the sacrament of Christ's body ought not to be worshipped."[7] In other words, the consecrated host was only the sacrament of the body, not the actual body, which if it had been, worship would have been appropriate.

The employment of such a severe word as fanatic by Luther against Zwingle can be accounted for by Luther choosing to identify Zwingle's view with that of Carlstadt, who had begun writing on the Lord's Supper long before Zwingle's book of 1525. Carlstadt was really fanatical on various points, greatly provoking Luther, whose standing term for him was fanatic, and this had become habitual with him when Zwingle came to adopt, as Luther *would* consider, substantially the same views. The sacramental dispute as between the reformers is related fully and discriminately in Milner's *Church of Christ.*[8]

This sacramentarian dispute abroad in 1525–27 made its mark very clearly in the liturgical language of Edward VI.'s Reformation. In

[1] *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, 12°, Zurich, March 1525, pp. 440, containing *De Sacramentis*, 194–307, *De Eucharistia*, 221–297.

[2] Sacramentum tantæ rei, Augustine, *Tractatus*, xxvi. § 18, on Joh. vi. *Works*, vol. iii. *Patrologia Lat.*, xxxv. 1614. Zwingle, *De Vera*, 288, 289; Eng. Article XXIX.

[3] *Acts and Monuments*, iii. 378, ed. 1843–49.

[4] In British Museum Catalogue, under headings *Dass diese Wort, Quod Verba Christi.*

[5] Zwingle complains, "Suermeros nos vocitas," *Works*, ii. 381 *b.*

[6] *Amica Exegesis*, Feb. 1527, *Works*, vol. ii. index.

[7] D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 163, ed. 1855, D. D. Scott.

[8] Vol. v. 154, with continuations, ed. 1827, Index under "Contest."

1548, when the question of lay communion in both kinds was prominent, the proposal was spoken of in Convocation as one for "taking the body of our Lord" under both kinds;[1] but in the printed Order of Communion the priest delivers "the sacrament of the bread," and then "the sacrament of the blood."[2] The Sarum Missal, directing the priest at consecration, says: *Ad corpus dicat, Ad sanguinem dicat; Hic sumat Corpus, Hic sumat sanguinem.*[3] In the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549, the language is, "When he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ," "delivering the sacrament of the blood."[4] In the XLII. and the XXXIX. Articles the Lord's Supper is the "Sacrament of our redemption" (XXVIII., XXIX.); "Transubstantiation overthroweth the nature of a sacrament" (*ibid.*), a statement which makes English Churchmen sacramentaries; "the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ," "the sign or sacrament of so great a thing" (XXIX.).

While Zwingle was a sacramentary fanatic to Luther, both alike were sacramentaries to the papalists by refusing adoration to the host. How very much was made of this point is shown in the controversy between Jewel and Harding in 1564, 1565. Harding had written in 1564: "If the blessed sacrament of the altar were no other than Master Jewel and the rest of the sacramentaries think of it, then were it not well done the people to bow down to it and to worship it with godly honour. For then were it but bare bread and wine, how honourably soever they speak of it, calling it symbolical, that is, tokening, and sacramental bread and wine."[5] Harding noted that "the sacramentaries of Zurich" admitted the bread and wine to be "sacramentally the body of Christ, though refusing to adore it."[6] Adoration of the bread and wine was a conspicuous external confession of belief in a transubstantiation of them, the process of which (even were it a fact) could only have been secret and invisible, without an outward indication of any sort. Refusal of adoration was an absolute disavowal of belief in transubstantiation, which, both as a fact and as a dogma, was of such primary importance in the Roman system. Hence, to a Roman, the sacramentary was one who declined adoration to the sacramental bread and wine, making Jewel's eighth Article, OF ADORATION, one of such vital importance in his Challenge Sermon of 1560, and in his Reply to Harding of 1565, which sprang out of it.[7] All who regard the Lord's Supper as a sacrament, without paying adoration to the bread and wine, are, in Roman view, sacramentaries. When in 1529 the term "Protestant" arose, conveniently embracing both branches of the Reformation, it gradually superseded, with Romanists, the earlier word "Sacramentary," which then, in the writings of Lutherans, designated their rivals in reform. In the Lutheran Schlüsselburg's *Catalogue of Heretics*, Sacramentaries are simply Zwinglians and Calvinists, mixed up with Anabaptists by being called profaners of Holy Baptism, &c.[8] [C. H.]

SACRAMENTARY. — Under the name of *saramentarium*, books were in use in the fourth and following centuries, books with forms of services suitable for use in the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The sacramentaries also contained forms for other services, regarded in those ages as having a sacramental character. The prayers in these comparatively early days were generally committed to memory, and consequently the books used were smaller than those in later times. The oldest of these books known is, perhaps, the Leonian or Veronese Sacramentary, supposed by Morinas to have been composed about 488. Other experts, however, from internal evidence, consider it belongs to a considerably older period. There are a considerable number of these sacramentaries extant. It is interesting to note the efforts made to obtain uniformity in such services. Charlemagne, at the instigation of Pope Hadrian, used his power to suppress and destroy the interesting Ambrosian Sacramentary. The Gallican books of a similar character were likewise then suppressed, and the Roman Sacramentary ordered to be used in their room. Latin Popes went further and attempted to root out all the ancient and national liturgies. See LITURGIES, ANCIENT; and Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*

The Mozarabic Liturgy falls partially under this head. It was so termed from the Arabic name of contempt given to the Christian congregations in Spain tolerated in the time of the Caliphs. That Liturgy appears to have been based on an old Sacramentary raised by Isidore of Seville, who was stirred up to raise and edit the work by the Council of Toledo in 633. The Mozarabic Liturgy was afterwards

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 74, 75.

[2] *Liturgical Services of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, pp. 7, 8.

[3] J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, part ii. pp. 189, 190.

[4] *Lit. Services of Ed. VI.*, p. 92.

[5] Jewel's *Works*, i. 514, Parker Society.

[6] *Ibid.* i. 531.

[7] Jewel's *Works*, i. 21, 514.

[8] *Hæreticorum Catalogus*, 13 books in 8 vols., 8vo, Frankfort, 1597–99. Lib. iii. p. 31, *De Secta Sacramentariorum*, is in vol. i.

suppressed by the Pope, as mentioned in article on LITURGIES. The modern Prayer Book of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Spain contains no few Mozarabic elements. See *The Revised Prayer Book of the Reformed Spanish Church*. With an Introduction by the Most Rev. Lord Plunket, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, London, Edinburgh, and New York, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889.

[C. H. H. W.]

SACRED HEART.—Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus is now, perhaps, the most popular cult in the Church of Rome. It is quite modern, having its origin in the hysterical delusions of a nun, Margaret Mary Alacoque, belonging to the French Order of the Visitation, and residing at Paray-le-Monial. Strange as it may seem, the real author of this devotion was a Puritan divine named Goodwin, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. Goodwin has left books in which he dwells much, and in mystical language, on the point that Christ's manhood remains still united to His Divinity, and that He still retains His human heart and human feelings. A Jesuit priest, called Colombiere, was chaplain at the Court of James II. of England, and might easily have made himself familiar with Goodwin's writings. There was then, as now, a great anxiety at Rome for the conversion of England to Romanism, and as the English made Christ the keystone of their religious edifice, Colombiere saw that devotion to the human heart of Christ was likely to catch the ear of the English. Now this same Jesuit was confessor to Sister Alacoque. All that Goodwin had said metaphorically concerning the human heart of the Saviour, was materialised and referred to that human organ in the Saviour's body. Sister Margaret Mary began to have visions, in one of which she saw our Lord's heart burning as in a furnace, and her own heart placed as a small spark of fire therein. Our Lord appeared to her, she said, and explained how dear devotion to His Sacred Heart was to Him. The Jesuits helped to spread the new discovery with all their might. Father Gallifet, S.J., published a book, *De Cultu SS. Cordis Jesu*, &c., and dedicated it to the Pope. The Congregation of Rites refused to sanction the feast of the Sacred Heart both in 1697 and 1729. The Jansenists vehemently attacked the new devotion, and called its patrons Nestorians, "Cardiolatræ" or "Cordicolæ." In the Nestorian controversy it was distinctly condemned to make any separation between our Lord's Godhead and His humanity. The Jesuits prevailed, however. In 1765, Clement XIII. permitted several churches to celebrate the feast of the Sacred Heart, and this permission was extended to the entire Church of Rome in 1856. The Jansenists were condemned in the famous bull *Auctorem Fidei*, A.D. 1794, and Sister Margaret Mary was "beatified" in 1864. The bull *Auctorem Fidei* purports to give an explanation of the principle on which a devotion, about which there is not so much as a whisper in the Bible, is supposed to rest. The faithful, we are told, worship with supreme adoration the physical heart of Christ, considered not as mere flesh, but as united to the Divinity. They adore it as the heart of the Person of the Word, to which it is inseparably united. As was to be expected, these principles were advanced another stage, and the world soon saw the spread of the devotion to the Heart of Mary Immaculate. A priest called John Eudes started the new cultus towards the close of the seventeenth century, and although the Congregation of Rites had refused to sanction the devotion in 1669, and again in 1726, the Eudists had their way, and the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was approved by Pius VI. in 1799, and had a proper Mass and offices assigned to it by Pius IX. in 1855. [T. C.]

SACRIFICE.—Implies death in the case of animals offered, or destruction in that of inanimate things. Oblation implies the surrender of what is offered.

There was nothing which so openly distinguished the practice of the first Christians from that of their heathen contemporaries as (1) their having no images to worship, (2) their offering no sacrifices, as the heathen understood the term. The sacrifices of the heathen, and also of the Jews, were of some material object, such as an animal or incense. Christians offered neither, and the heathen therefore reviled them as atheists. The Christians, in their turn, heaped scorn on the idea of sacrifice that was effected by the slaughter of animals or the burning of incense, or the presentation of any material thing to God, claiming at the same time that they did offer the only sacrifices which God would accept and were of any value under the religion of Christ, namely, the immaterial and spiritual sacrifices of prayer, praise, thanksgiving, and a humble and contrite heart.

Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, says that the only sacrifices offered by Christians and acceptable to God are prayers and thanksgivings; "for these are the only sacrifices that Christians have been taught to do, in remembrance both of their food and drink, and also in commemoration of the passion endured for their sake by the Son of God" (*Dial.*, 117). And again, "We worship the Creator of the universe not with blood, libations, and incense (which we are sufficiently taught He has no need of), but we exalt Him to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer

and thanksgiving in all the oblations that we render Him" (*Apol.*, i. 13).

Athenagoras, the Apologist, A.D. 170, states the doctrine of Christian sacrifice as follows: "Now as to our not sacrificing, the Creator and Father of all does not want blood or fat or sweet savour from flowers or incense, being Himself the perfection of sweet savour, wanting nothing, requiring nothing. But the greatest sacrifice that we can offer to Him is to know who stretched out the vault of heaven and fixed the central earth; who gathered the waters into the seas; who adorned the sky with the stars and made the earth produce seed; who made the animals and created man. When we apprehend the creative God as sustaining and watching over the universe with that wisdom and skill with which He ever works, and raise up holy hands to Him, what hecatomb is then wanted?" (*Leg.*, xiii.).

Irenæus, A.D. 180, affirms emphatically that God accepts no sacrifices except those of contrition, faith, and obedience, and righteousness, and he teaches that the Church's sacrifice in the Eucharist is a thank-offering to God for the fruits of the earth which preserve life, and a memorial of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. This is the New Oblation of the New Covenant taught by Christ (in contradistinction to the sacrifices of the Old Covenant); and God accepts it at our hands, not for His benefit but for ours, because it is good for us to show gratitude (*Adv. Hær.*, iv. 17, and *cf. Fragm. Secund.*).

Tertullian, A.D. 195, is equally decisive: "We do sacrifice," he says, "but in the way which God has commanded, that is, by prayer alone; for God the Creator of the universe does not need any incense or blood" (*Ad Scap.*, ii.). "I offer Him a rich and greater host, which He has commanded, that is, prayer from a chaste body, an innocent mind and a sanctified spirit, not pennyworths of incense" (*Apol.*, xxx.). "Prayer (with Psalmody) is the spiritual host which has done away with the ancient sacrifices. We (Christians) are the true worshippers, the true priests, who, praying in the spirit, in the spirit offer God's proper and acceptable sacrifice of prayer, which He has demanded and appointed for Himself; this it is that we must bring to the altar of God" (*De Orat.*, xxvii.). "God is to be served not with earthly but with spiritual sacrifices, as it is written: 'A broken and a contrite heart is the host which should be offered to God'" (*Adv. Jud.*, v.).

Origen, A.D. 200, "To praise God and to offer our vows of prayer to Him, is to sacrifice to God" (*In Num.*, Hom. xi.).

Lactantius, the Apologist, A.D. 260: "There are two things that must be offered—sacrifice and offering, both incorporeal. . . . Offering is uprightness of soul; sacrifice is praise and hymn" (*Instit.*, vi. 24).

St. Augustine, A.D. 354, pronounces visible sacrifices to be merely signs, sacraments, or adumbrations of invisible sacrifices, which are the only sacrifices of any value under the Christian dispensation, consisting of a humble and contrite heart, praise, charity, and mercy (*De Civ. Dei*, x. 5).

To counteract the force of the scriptural and Catholic truth that the Christian sacrifice is the offering of an immaterial thing, as above witnessed, the author of the *Ritual Reason Why* (No. 386) says that the sacrifice of "praise and thanksgiving" is not "a sacrifice of our praise and thanksgiving merely, but a sacrifice offered for thanksgiving" (Lev. vii. 12). This materialising gloss is condemned by the very passage of Scripture in which the expression "sacrifice of praise" occurs: "Let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, *that is, the fruit of our lips* giving thanks to His name" (Heb. xiii. 15).[1]

Romanists and many Ritualists, being asked if they have a sacrifice to offer, reply, Yes! it is the most essential characteristic of a Catholic; we have an altar in our churches, and upon that altar the priest sacrifices the

[1] The Revised Version of Heb. xiii. 15 is more accurate: "that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name." The A.V. may be explained in the same way, "that is, the fruit of [*our*] lips giving thanks to his name," but the word *fruit* does not in the Greek agree with "giving thanks," it is the *lips* only that "make confession" or "give thanks." Hence care must be taken to avoid the blunder, apparently at least, made by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in their lamentable *Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordinations*, p. 19, which defines in a note, "Sacrifice of praise, that is an Eucharistic sacrifice, a peace-offering, or thank-offering, the ritual peculiarity of which was that the man who offered was a partaker of the oblation with God." The Lord's Supper is not referred to in the most distant way in Heb. xiii. 15, and that text explains the language of our Liturgy, "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," in which there is no reference to the bread and wine partaken of in the Lord's Supper, but to the confession of praise and thanksgiving made in that holy ordinance. The Ritualistic contention is utterly overthrown by Heb. xiii. 15. Compare Hosea xiv. 2, the passage referred to in Heb. xiii. 15 in its Septuagint version. In the Hebrew text it is perfectly plain that the R.V. has given the true sense, "so will we render as bullocks [in place of such animal offerings] the offering of our lips."—C. H. H. W.

Son of God to the Father in the Holy Eucharist, this is the first function of a priest; without a sacrifice there is no priesthood, and without a priesthood there is no sacrifice, and without both priesthood and sacrifice there is no Church. The early Christian apologists and theologians, being asked the same question, Have you a sacrifice? replied, Yes! our sacrifice is the offering of prayer and praise and thanksgiving, and a humble heart, and our whole selves. We have no other sacrifice, and none other is acceptable to God. They never referred to the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice when answering this specific question. What is the cause of the difference of the answer of the primitive Churchmen, and modern Romanists and Ritualists, to the question, Have Christians a sacrifice? The cause is a change of doctrine. That change began in the ninth century (the commencement of the Middle Ages) and was consummated by Innocent III. in the thirteenth century. Those who accept the faith formulated by Innocent, will answer to the proposed question, Yes! the Holy Eucharist; those who hold the faith of the early Christians will reply, Yes! prayer, praise, thanksgiving, contrition, offered on the altar of the heart in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and at other times.

Nevertheless the Holy Communion may be regarded symbolically, and was regarded by the early Fathers, as a sacrifice, because it is in it that we specially offer our thanks for the grace of the redemption of the world by Christ, which in that rite we are commemorating, and also for His goodness in our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life. Christ instituted a sacrament in which we might receive *from* God; man has invented a sacrifice in which we give *to* God, and what we are supposed to give to God is so great a thing, namely, God's own Son, that its offering must supersede all other ideas connected with the rite. Bishop Cosin defines the sacrifice of the Eucharist, "as here we use in the Church of England," to be "the act of our praise and thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Christ once made for us on the Cross" (*Notes on the Prayer Book*, v. 348). [F. M.]

SACRILEGE.—The profaning of sacred things. Technically, larceny from a church. By 24 & 25 Vict. c. 96, any person who breaks into and enters any place of divine worship, and commits a felony therein, or breaks in with intent to commit a felony, or being in commits a felony, and breaks out, is liable to severe punishment (see secs. 50, 57). By cap. 97 of the same year any person who unlawfully and maliciously sets fire to any such place of worship is guilty of felony, as also, by cap. 96, is any person stealing, or cutting with intent to steal, anything made of metal or other material fixed in any burial-ground. By cap. 97, sec. 39, a person maliciously destroying or damaging any picture, statue, monument, painted glass, or other ornament or work of art in any place of worship, or in any churchyard or burial-ground, is guilty of a misdemeanour. By the post-Reformation Canon Law (see Canon 88 of 1604) no plays, feasts, temporal courts, or musters are allowed in a church, chapel, or churchyard. [B. W.]

SACRISTY.—The Romish name for a vestry, or place where the vestments, &c., belonging to the clergy and church are kept.

SAINT.—The expression "saints" (ἅγιοι, *hagioi*) is used by the Apostles not of a particular class, a spiritual aristocracy of the Church, but of all baptized and converted Christians without distinction. They are so called because they are separated from the world, consecrated to the service of God, washed from the guilt of sin by the blood of Christ. Notwithstanding all their remaining imperfections and sins, believers are spoken of as saints since they are called to a life which, if its ideal be reached, is one of perfect holiness. The Apostles address their epistles to the "saints," *i.e.* to the Christian believers "at Rome, Corinth, Ephesus," &c. It is worthy of notice that in the New Testament the word "saint" (which occurs sixty times) is never used as applied to members and office-bearers of the Church, except in the plural or in speaking of the Church as a body (Phil. iv. 21), and the word "holy," which is the meaning of saint, is, strictly speaking, only used as a *personal title* of the Three Persons of the Trinity (John xvii. 11; Acts iv. 27, 30; Matt. i. 18; and Rev. iv. 8). The practice of speaking of even the Apostles and Evangelists as "Saint Paul," "Saint Mark," is not derived from Scripture, and was apparently unknown to the writers of the first three centuries. It is almost needless to add that neither the letters "St." in the A.V. nor the letter "S" (which stands for the Latin *sanctus*) in the R.V. were in the original autographs. In the list of "Readings and Renderings preferred by the American Committee, recorded at their desire," at the end of the R.V. of the New Testament, at the head of all occurs the emendation, "Strike out 'S' (*i.e. Saint*) from the title of the Gospels and from the heading of pages."[1]

[1] Acting on the same principle, the American Committee record their desire to "strike out the word 'General' [Catholic] from the title of the Epistles of James, Peter, 1 John, and Jude." The word "Catholic" does not occur in the New Testament, nor is it part of the Apostolic text in the inscription of the above-mentioned epistles, but was added by transcribers.

The alleged restriction of the term "saint" a the close of the Apostolic Age has been asserted upon arguments founded on a wrong reading in Rev. xv. 3, which describes our Lord as "King of saints." No doubt, if this reading were the correct one, it would refer to saints as a title almost, if not exclusively, confined to martyrs—those who "had gotten the victory over the beast, and over the image, and over his mark." The true reading, however, in the passage, is either that given in the text of the R.V., viz., "King of the ages" (*αἰώνων*, *aiōnōn*), or, in the margin, "King of nations" (*ἐθνῶν*, *ethnōn*).

About the fourth century the name of "saint" began to be used of martyrs as especially their due, the dangerous opinion having been advanced that their martyrdom won for them immediate access to heaven, without passing through the intermediate state. Eucharistic commemoration of particular martyrs arose at an early date in the Church, and as the number of martyrs soon increased beyond the power of enumeration, a commemoration of the saints in general was added to that of those who were individually named. This habit soon developed into the festivals known as Saints' Days.

The Romish practice of formally designating particular persons as saints either by permission in the act of beatification, or by judicial pronouncement in the act of canonisation is, as Bishop Latimer terms it, "a judging of men before the Lord's judgment." From the canonisation, the worship of saints naturally follows. The Creed of Pope Pius IV. consequently affirms, "that the saints reigning with Christ are to be honoured and invocated, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated." See RELICS. Perhaps the saddest feature of beatification and canonisation is that the Church of Rome has delighted, even down to our day, to bestow the title of "saint" upon cruel persecutors and grossly immoral writers.

In the Church of England we commemorate certain saints or holy men, recorded in Scripture, by whose labours the Christian Church was mainly established. This custom is usually based upon the inferences to be drawn from the following passages of Holy Writ (1 Cor. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 17; Heb. vi. 12; xiii. 17). In the services appointed for Saints' Days, everything which might lend any countenance to invocation of saints and superstitious observances has been most rigorously excluded. The present endeavour to enforce their regular and uniform observance, we fear is not so much in some quarters with a desire to improve them by a suitable and scriptural application of sound doctrine, as to aid on mediæval tendencies towards saint-worship. A feeling of regret has often been expressed that there have been retained in the Calendar the names of other than scriptural personages.[1] The references here to them are, however, as indicating notes of time, not as festivals to be celebrated.

At the Reformation the Lutheran Church retained (in some sections) the feasts of the Virgin Mary, of the Apostles and Evangelists, and of All Saints; but they have gradually gone out of use (see Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, *Modern Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 493). [C. N.]

SALETTE, LA.—See REVELATIONS, MODERN.

SALT.—This is used in the Church of Rome in the composition of "holy" water, being itself, as well as the water, "exorcised." See EXORCISM.

SALUTATIONS.—Throughout the East the ordinary mode of showing submission to a superior is by kissing his hand. It may be observed when men or women come to ask a favour, or desire to make a lowly acknowledgment of their gratitude. A suppliant will seize the tips of the fingers of your right hand in both of his, and, bending down his head ("bowing down," or "doing obeisance"), will bring the back of your hand to his lips, impress a kiss, or kisses, upon it, and then raise it so as to touch his forehead. This is more than an ordinary respectful salutation. The latter, called the *teymeench*, throughout the East, consists in raising the right hand, with a slight inclination of the head—or "bowing down to the earth," and touching the ground with the right hand—and placing it in succession over heart, lips, and forehead. Kissing the hand of another in this way is the act of an inferior admitting, in a demonstrative manner, the authority of a superior or of a benefactor. Etiquette, it is true, ordinarily requires the superior to make a show of resistance, and endeavour to withdraw his hand; while, if he desires to appear gracious, he returns the salutation by pressing his lips on the forehead or cheek of the other. This mode of kissing is at times compulsory. When a Pasha, or any other person in authority, desires to exact a sign of submission, he presents his hand and obliges it to be kissed.

[1] As regards the "black-letter" saints in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI., 1549, their names were *wholly* omitted from the Calendar, only there was a day kept in honour of Mary Magdalene (July 22). In the Second Prayer Book of 1552, *four* "black-letter" days appear—St. George, Lammas, St. Lawrence, and St. Clement. In the Primer (1553), and again in Queen Elizabeth's Calendar of 1561, all but four appeared as we find them in the Calendar at this day. See Tomlinson's *Prayer Book Articles, &c.*, pp. 5, 6.

Sometimes, when an offended person of rank is approached with a view of obtaining his pardon, the suppliant will "kiss his feet." This is usually done by touching the feet of the superior with his right hand, then kissing the hand with which he has so touched, and placing it on his forehead. When the woman in the house of Simon the Pharisee "kissed" the feet of Christ at the time of anointing them, it is possible that the action was performed in this way (Luke vii. 37, 38, 45). The feet are, however, in some cases actually kissed in this lowliest form of greeting.

Allied with the last is the act of kissing the ground upon which a superior has trodden. It is apparently to this way of doing homage that the Psalmist refers, when speaking of the submission of the unconquered *Bedaween* Arabs during Messiah's millennial reign:—

"The dwellers in the desert shall bow *before Him*,
And *His enemies* shall lick *the dust*[1]—

a strong way of saying "they shall press their lips on the dusty ground which His steps have trodden."

The ground is often kissed by a man's stooping down and touching it with his right hand, and then kissing the hand with which he has so touched, and placing it upon his forehead. Another mode of showing servile submission is by taking hold of and kissing the end of the Eastern loose-flowing cloak, either the goat's or camel's hair sackcloth *abayeh* of the *Bedaween* and *Fellahheen*,[2] or the rich-coloured cloth *jibbeh*, or *beneesh*, worn by the *Belladeen*, or townspeople. This salutation necessitates stooping down in deep obeisance. When Saul, in an agony of despair, entreated Samuel to help him to seek Jehovah, as Samuel "turned about to go away," Saul "laid strong hold upon the wing of his outer robe"—that is, its "loose, flowing end"—in a humble and supplicating manner (1 Sam. xv. 27. See also Exod. xviii. 7; and Zech. viii. 23). A bold figure drawn from this custom occurs in the Messianic hymn where the kings and judges of the earth are called upon to serve "Jehovah's Anointed," the Son of God:

"Eagerly kiss the Son, lest He be angry,
And you perish [from, or as to, the] Way."[3]

This alludes to kissing the hand, or the feet or garment, for the only other kiss given by one man to another—namely, that upon the cheek or the forehead—is never offered to one of a superior rank. Our Blessed Lord claims the believer's surrender, supplication, and love; and all these—submission, dependence, and gratitude—are skilfully included in the command to pay homage to the Son by kissing His hand! It is interesting, and for Jews and objectors most important, to observe that faith in Jesus came, at its commencement, to be commonly called "the Way." In the R.V. the word "Way," in six passages of the Acts, is rightly printed with a capital W, as a proper name given to the way of salvation preached by the Apostles.[4] To the believer this name is the more suggestive, as Jesus declared Himself to be "the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" or, as this Hebrew form of Hendiadys should be rendered, "The *true* and *living* Way"; and added, "*no one* cometh unto the Father but by me" (John xiv. 6). This name given to the Gospel, "the Way," points to salvation being a living union with a Personal Saviour.

Commentators have represented the traitor Judas as delivering up Christ by kissing His cheek, and have dwelt upon the deep heinousness of such an act of familiarity. But was this really the case? Judas' approach was apparently a humble one. He addressed the Saviour as "Rabbi," or rather, as in Mark's more graphic Gospel, "Rabbi, Rabbi," a term of respect if used only once, but here much intensified by the Epizeuxis.[5] Two Evangelists record that "Judas kissed Him much or eagerly" (*κατεφίλησεν*, Matt. xxvi. 49; Mark xiv. 45), an expression which has occasioned difficulty to commentators. But to kiss the hand in this eager, ostentatious way was a

[1] Ps. lxxii. 9. See also Isa. xlix. 23. The words in this, and all the following quotations from Holy Scripture, which are printed in italics, are words which in the original are emphatic.

[2] The *ἱμάτιον*, or cloak, of the New Testament.

[3] Ps. ii. 12. The Hebrew verb "kiss," here, נַשְּׁקוּ, *nash-shĕ-koo*, being in the piel, or intensive, structure of the verb, is, as I have rendered it, "eagerly, or diligently, kiss."

[4] Acts ix. 2; xix. 9; xix. 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14 xxiv. 22. See R.V. Also notice Acts xvi. 17, and xviii. 25, 26, in which last verse "the Way of God" may be a Hebrew form for "the *great* Way," just as "a trembling of God" is "a *great* trembling," *i.e.* "an earthquake" (1 Sam. xiv. 15), "cedars of God" are "*great* cedars" (Ps. lxxx. 10), and "mountains of God" are "*great* mountains" (Ps. xxxvi. 6), "beautiful to God" is "very beautiful" (Acts vii. 20), "children of God" is "mighty children or persons" (Luke xx. 36), "prayer of God" is "mighty prayer" (Luke vi. 12), &c.

[5] Mark xiv. 45. Some authorities omit the second "Rabbi," but it is retained by Alford and many others. It would seem that Judas generally addressed the Lord as "Rabbi" (see Matt. xxvi. 25). Exod. xviii. 7, 1 Sam. x. 1, are instances of a similar reverential kissing of the hand.

sign of lowly submission, and was natural, and quite in keeping with the trembling and awe that may well have seized his soul. Just as in the words, "Kiss the Son," there is an allusion to kissing the hand and not the face, so, when Judas "eagerly kissed" Christ, it means that he paid Him publicly the homage of a disciple by seizing and repeatedly kissing His hand. This explanation in no way lessens the traitor's guilt, but it makes the scene, from an Eastern standpoint, far more lifelike.

The Apostolic injunction to believers to salute one another with a kiss is a command which has been almost universally misunderstood. It occurs first in Romans xvi. 16, "Salute one another with a holy kiss." Three times afterwards the Apostle Paul repeats the same command (1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26), varying it once, in writing a second time to the Church at Corinth, when, by inverting the order of the noun and adjective, he gives the well-known Greek emphasis, "a *holy* kiss" (2 Cor. xiii. 12). Possibly the stress on the word "*holy*" here is a gentle rebuke to the strife and party spirit by which the Corinthian Church was rent (1 Cor. i. 12–14; iii. 3, 4). Once again it occurs, in 1 Pet. v. 14, Peter agreeing with Paul in enforcing the same truth: "Salute one another with a *loving* kiss."

Two opposite errors have beset this subject; the one making the Apostles to mean *nothing*, and the other making them to mean *too much*. The latter is now beginning to revive in some quarters. It is impossible to doubt that the command to kiss, solemnly repeated five times, is, in its true meaning, binding upon the followers of Christ.

First, this command must have been addressed *to men with respect to men only, and to women with respect to women only*. At the time when all the Epistles were written worship would doubtless be conducted in accordance with the strict customs of the East, the men being separated from the women. The men met in one part of the building, or room, the women in another. The men saluted each other, and the women the same; but throughout the East it is altogether contrary to "chaste" usage (Phil. iv. 8) for a man and a woman to greet one another in public, even though members of the same family. Indeed, it is not allowed by Oriental etiquette to address a word to a woman whom one does not know. Hence the surprise of our Lord's disciples when they found Him in conversation with the stranger at Jacob's well; for "they marvelled that He was talking *with a woman!*" (John iv. 27, R.V.).

The same applies equally to all social gatherings. On such occasions, when guests assemble, the men are met and entertained by the host in one apartment, and the women by his wife, mother, or daughters in another, and these two companies are carefully kept apart. This is universal. The idea of men and women of different families, in the lands where the Epistles were written, meeting freely together in the way that we should do now, either in their homes or at assemblies, is one of those misconceptions which occur only to a Western mind. When, as disciples of Christ, women were placed in spiritual privileges on a level with men, and allowed to attend the meetings of the Church, it was still necessary, in that transition period, for them to be veiled as well as to keep to their own part of the room.

Such appears to be the natural meaning of the passage where the Apostle Paul says, "*Every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled* dishonours her head," and decides "let her be veiled."[1] Indeed, it would seem that it was partly because any such act would require her unveiling that the Apostle forbids a woman to speak in the public assemblies, saying, "Let *the women* [or *wives*] keep silence *in the Churches*" (1 Cor. xiv. 34). In the very next verse he cries, "It is *a shame* for a woman to speak in the Church," and this word "shame" (αἰσχρόν) is the very word he uses when he says, "*If it is a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven*, let her be veiled" (1 Cor. xi. 6). The difficult words that occur in the tenth verse, "the woman ought to have [a sign of] *authority* on her head, because of the angels," have been held to point in the same direction. They seem to be a figurative way of saying, "she ought to have a veil on her head as the sign of her husband's authority over her," because of "the messengers" or "angels," the ministers, who would, at that time, have been sadly disconcerted had they been called upon to preach to an assembly of unveiled women, which Dr. Thomson, in a very interesting passage, shows would be equally the case in Syria to-day.[2] It is important to observe that these words are addressed, not to a Church in Asia, nor to Hebrews only, but to the Church at Corinth, a Gentile Church in a Greek city. Thus, in the age of the Apostles, the Eastern customs with regard to the sexes at public worship prevailed also in the Western world.

It is out of the question, therefore, to suppose that the command to kiss has reference to other than the respective greetings of men with men, and of women with women. Every idea connected with the stringent proprieties

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 5, 6. See R.V. The word "*unveiled*" in this verse has an emphasis of its own above the rest.

[2] *The Land and the Book*, p. 31.

of a land like Palestine, owing to the seclusion of females and the separation of the sexes, requires this limitation, which there was no need whatever to specify in a Revelation addressed to Easterns, or to those accustomed to Eastern usages, and published about the midst of the first century. Had anything been intended so strange, nay, so monstrous to their notions, as the fact of all men indiscriminately kissing all women, and that, too, in a Church like the Corinthian, where such terrible impurity had crept in (1 Cor. v.), it must have been specially and distinctly stated, and that with restrictions to guard against its abuse. Indiscriminate salutation between men and women, commanded to take place at their secret meetings, would have formed a damaging charge sure to have been brought against the Church by the early Pagan and Jewish objectors. Anything so eminently contrary to "the things" that were "chaste" (ἁγνά) and "of good fame" (εὔφημα) (Phil. iv. 8) in the world of that day, would have been held up to scathing reprobation. Reckless and shameful charges were brought by unbelieving Jews and heathen against the Churches of Christ because of their secluded assemblies, especially for the administration of the Lord's Supper. But the command to kiss was never made the ground of any such charge, and that is, in itself, a proof that it was not taken to apply to a salutation between men and women.

The interpretation given above corresponds with the interpretation put upon the passage by the primitive Church. It is well known that this kiss was long practised amongst the followers of Christ. It was called "the kiss of greeting," and also "the kiss of peace"; indeed, we find it sometimes called simply "the peace," and this name implies that it was a kiss of ordinary friendly greeting. "Peace be to you" was from earliest times, and is to this hour, the usual spoken salutation throughout the East—the friendly "How do you do?" of English; the proper reply to it being, "*Upon you* be peace."[1] Justin Martyr tells us, in his *Apology*, that they so greeted one another during divine service before partaking of the Holy Communion. His words are: "Prayers being ended, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to that one of the brethren who was presiding, bread and a cup of wine."[2] Justin Martyr leaves it uncertain *by* and *to whom* such salutation was given. But in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, a work dating in part probably from the third century, where a fuller description of worship is found, the author says: "On the other side let the laics [the 'people,' or rather 'men'] sit with all silence and good order; and the women, let them sit also *separately*, keeping silence." After a lengthy account of the service following upon this, he adds: "Then let the men salute one another, and the women one another, with the kiss in the Lord."[3] Here, not only are the women to sit separately, as was universally the case in the early Church, but they are only "to kiss *one another*," while the men are limited to kissing men. This is made particularly plain in the Greek original, as, unlike English, the word "one another" is used in a masculine form where the men are spoken of, and in a feminine form in the case of the women.[4] This statement decides the point beyond the possibility of doubt, and the fact that, at a later period, "the kiss of peace" or "the *loving* kiss" gave rise to scandal, and was therefore discountenanced and fell into final disuse, only shows that it had come to be as much misunderstood amongst the Church of that day as it is generally amongst us.

The above explanation removes the principal difficulty that has hitherto been felt in the texts which tell us to "salute one another with a holy kiss"—namely, that such embrace was to be given indifferently to either sex. That it should have been lost sight of is not surprising, on two grounds. First, because the spread of the Gospel, by raising women, and bringing into the world a new purity, abolished in Western lands the state of things existing before. Secondly, because the words "salute one another with a holy kiss" are the figure of ellipsis; the words in this case omitted, but understood, being "men and women respectively." Ellipsis is common to all languages, but peculiar to the concise tongues of the East, and pre-eminent in Biblical Hebrew and Greek. Holy Scripture abounds with figurative language generally in a very high degree, probably beyond any other work. It may be truly said that almost every error that has crept into the Church has been founded on taking a figurative expression in a literal sense! The whole sub-

[1] Gen. xxix. 6; xliii. 23; Exod. xviii. 7; Jud. xix. 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 6, &c., &c.

[2] *The First Apology of Justin Martyr*, chap. lxv.

[3] *Apostolical Constitutions*, book ii. chap. lvii. This work probably assumed its present form in the fifth or sixth century, but Canon Westcott speaks of that part of it which describes worship in the second book as "in all likelihood as old as the third century." There is a somewhat similar statement in book viii., chap. xi., of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which is considered to be a much later addition to the first seven books.

[4] εἶτα καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀλλήλας αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ ἐν κυρίῳ φίλημα.

ject of figurative language, notwithstanding its immense importance to the Biblical student, has hitherto altogether failed to receive sufficient attention.[1]

There are two distinct kinds of kissing in connection with the customs of Eastern salutation. One is that already described, of inferiors in their character of dependants or suppliants—namely, the kissing of a superior's hand, varied sometimes by kissing his feet, the hem of his garment, or the dust on which he has trodden. The other is that which takes place in an exchange of greeting between two equals. When the latter are relatives, or old and dear friends, they embrace one another, especially after a long absence, in the following manner. Each, in turn, places his head, face downwards, upon the other's left shoulder,

[1] The writer of the article "Kiss," in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, declares that "no limitation is expressed or implied . . . nor is there any doubt that the primitive usage was for the 'holy kiss' to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus. . . . In the frequent allusions to the kiss of peace which occur in the early Christian worship, there is no reference to any restriction." But the fact is that the passage from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, book ii. chap. lvii., referred by Canon Westcott to the third century, expressly limits this kiss to the salutation of men with men only, and women with women only. This shows how cautious one has to be before accepting even the most confident statements in the best books of reference! The writer in question gives the words of Athenagoras, in his *Plea [or Embassy] for the Christians*, who, quoting apparently from some Apocryphal book, says: "For the Logos (the Word) again says to us, 'If any one kiss a second time because it has given him pleasure [he sins],'" and adds, "Therefore the kiss, or rather, the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life" (*Legat. pro Christian.*, chap. xxxii.). But all who, like myself, have lived in the East, or who know from the classics the nameless vice to which the heathen were, and still are, so awfully addicted, will at once perceive that this is not necessarily any reference at all to a salutation between the two sexes.

Again, he quotes from the *Instructor* (*Pædagogus*) of Clement of Alexandria a passage the chief point of which he appears to overlook. It is one on love and the need of its being genuine. Clement says: "If we are called to the kingdom of God, let us walk worthy of the kingdom, loving God and our neighbour. But love is not tested by a kiss, but by kindly feeling. But there are those that do nothing but make the churches resound with a kiss, not having love itself within. For this very thing, the shameless use of the kiss, which ought to be mystic, occasions foul suspicions and evil reports. The apostle calls the kiss holy" (*Pædagogus*, book iii. chap. xi.). Here the main object of Clement was to warn against insincere greetings. What is said as to their noisy, ostentatious character giving rise to "foul suspicions" is entirely met by the previous remarks. It can have nothing to do with an exchange of greeting between a man and a woman, as may be seen from the fact that Clement says in the same chapter, on the subject of going to church worship, "Let the woman observe this further. Let her be entirely covered unless she happen to be at home. . . . For this is the wish of the Word, since it is becoming for her to pray veiled." The writer of the article in Smith's Dictionary *entirely leaves out this important statement that the women's faces were not to be even seen during divine worship!*

That writer further adds that "the earliest example" of the distinction between the sexes is in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and proceeds to quote from the *eighth* book the following words: "Let the deacon say to all, 'Salute ye one another with the holy kiss;' and let the clergy salute the bishop, and the men of the laity salute the men, and the women the women" (*Apost. Const.*, book viii. chap. ii.). But the eighth book, which is of much later date than the first seven, probably came into existence considerably after the *real* "earliest example" given from the second book—namely, "Let the men salute one another, and the women one another, with the kiss in the Lord" (*Apost. Const.*, book ii. chap. lvii.), which the writer of the article in question has kept entirely out of sight. In the passage in book ii. there is nothing about any distinction between the clergy and laity, as in the subsequent times of greater priestly assumption when the eighth book was penned. No doubt the *Apostolical Constitutions* shows throughout the marks of later corruptions and interpolations, and is far from being a pure or scriptural production. But, such as it is, it affords the first and only explicit statement as to those by whom "the kiss of peace" was given and received; and that statement completely confirms the view here set forth. There is no occasion to refer to later authors, as the practice of the first three or four centuries is all that we require. Yet it may be well to state that I have diligently searched the whole of the Greek and Latin so-called Fathers, in Migne's series of 216 thick quarto volumes, and, still more carefully, the twenty-four volumes of Messrs. T. & T. Clark's series of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, without finding any other passage

and kisses him upon the right cheek, He then reverses the action, by placing his head similarly upon the other's right shoulder and kissing him upon the left cheek. This impressive and picturesque mode of embrace was the way in which Esau greeted Jacob, for we are told "he fell on his neck and kissed him"; in which Joseph and Benjamin acknowledged their blood relationship; and in which Joseph welcomed and reassured the whole of his troubled brethren. Such, also, was the warm and tender greeting given by the father in the parable to the Prodigal Son, and the affectionate parting salutation between Paul and the elders of the Ephesian Church.[1] Between the first and last mention of this custom there stretches a period of more than 1800 years! What wonder then that, after the

throwing light on the question. Tertullian has a short chapter on "the kiss of peace" in his treatise "On Prayer" (*De Oratione*, chap. xviii.); but it gives no hint of this kiss passing between the different sexes.

The only passage that seems doubtful is one in Tertullian's piece entitled *Ad Uxorem*, "To [my] Wife," where, warning her against the restraints and hindrances which a believing woman would encounter if married to a heathen, he asks, "For who would suffer his wife for the sake of visiting the brethren (*visitandorum fratrum*) to go round from street to street to others', and, indeed, to all the poorer, cottages? Who will willingly bear her being taken from his side by nocturnal convocations [evening services] if need be so? Who, finally, will, without anxiety, endure her spending a night out at the paschal solemnities? Who will, without some suspicion of his own, dismiss her to attend that Lord's feast (*convivium dominicum*) which they defame? Who will suffer her to creep into prison to kiss a martyr's bonds? Again, even to meet any one of the brethren to exchange the kiss? (*jam vero alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire*)." But here the word *fratrum*, "brethren," may, and probably should, be taken in the same general sense in which the word is used in the New Testament, to refer to believing women as well as men, and, in this particular instance, to mean women alone, the only portion of "the brethren" whom a pious married woman would, in the nature of things, be meeting to kiss. For surely a woman's going round to other houses "for the sake of visiting the brethren," would mean, for the sake of visiting other female members of the Church; and if this is the sense of "brethren" in one sentence, why not in another immediately following? The general drift of the whole passage is that a heathen husband would be impatient of his wife's having friends, pursuits, and engagements, all outside his own circle, and amongst the despised and hated "Christians."

The view taken of "the kiss of peace" in Fairbairn's excellent *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, is also incorrect. The writer of the article "Kiss" says: "In the early Church, and in consequence probably of the extraordinary outburst of affection called forth by the circumstances of the time, coupled with the fervid temperament of the East, the kiss came into use among the Christian brotherhood as a token of relationship and mutual endearment in a spiritual sense; hence the exhortations in some of the Epistles to salute one another with a holy kiss." So far, however, from this kiss being the mark of anything "extraordinary," or a special out-of-the-way token of "relationship in a spiritual sense," it was simply the ordinary social greeting among friends and equals, commanded to be exchanged by members of the Church in token of their true fellowship, and as a recognition of their equality in Christ. The terms "holy" and "loving," applied to this salutation, lift it, indeed, above the level of coldness and worldly formality, and imply that, among believers, it was to be a kind, sincere, hearty greeting. But the kiss itself was, as shown above, one of the ordinary usages of polite society.

The care that is needed in reading the most important works of reference may be still further seen from the fact that, under the article "Kiss" in the very large and valuable *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, edited by Messrs. J. M. M'Clintock and J. Strong, the following sentence occurs, "It was usual to kiss the mouth (Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. iv. 27, xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xx. 41; Prov. xxiv. 26);" yet, will the reader believe it! there is no hint in the original of the kiss being given on the mouth in any one of these five alleged proof texts! The Hebrew, in the case of the first four, is simply "kissed," and refers, as I am showing above, to kissing the cheek, and in one case the hand (Exod. xviii. 7); and the last alludes to greeting a document and not a person (see my *Salute One Another*, Simpkin, Marshall & Co., pp. 19, 20).

[1] Gen. xxxiii. 4; xlv. 14, 15; Luke xv. 20; Acts xx. 37. It should be noted that in these last two instances the word is καταφιλέω, "to kiss much or eagerly," that is, repeatedly, and with much warm expression of feeling. A precisely similar force is also given in the Hebrew of Gen. xlv. 15, which is "moreover he [Joseph, when making himself known] eagerly kissed all his brethren"—the verb "kiss" being in the *piel* structure, which gives the sense of doing a thing diligently, or forcibly, A beautiful touch is thus imparted to the picture of his magnanimous treatment of those poor, trembling, guilty brethren.

lapse of another 1800 years, we find it still the same in the changeless life of Bible lands.

When a kindly, but more formal and respectful, salutation passes between those of the same rank, they take hold of each other's beards and kiss them. Women also greet their husbands, and children their fathers, in like manner. It is an insult to take hold of a man's beard on any occasion but that of kissing it. Joab took advantage of that special form of embrace to assassinate the brother commander of whom he was jealous. Saluting him with the words, "'Art thou *well*, my brother?' . . Joab took hold of Amasa's beard [with the] right hand, to kiss him," that is, "to kiss his beard," and when the other was thus thrown off his guard by this friendly act, stabbed him by a left-handed thrust with a short sword (2 Sam. xx. 9, 10). There is, however, another common occasion of kissing amongst men. The salutation which passes in polite society between a host and those of his guests who are in a similar station of life consists in placing the right hand upon the other's left shoulder and kissing his right cheek, and then laying the left hand on his right shoulder, and kissing his left cheek. Thus Absalom saluted the people who came to kiss his hand, for, "it was so that when a man came nigh to do him obeisance he put forth his hand, and took hold of him, and kissed him." Absalom flattered the common people, whom he sought to draw into his conspiracy by treating them as friends and equals (2 Sam. xv. 5).

Simon the Pharisee, with whom our Lord went "to eat"—either to breakfast at midday or to dine at sunset—in addition to the other ordinary customs of reception at the houses of the wealthy, namely, having his guests' feet washed by one servant and their persons sprinkled with perfume by another, greeted them each, in this usual way, with a kiss on the cheek. But he did not care to appear too intimate with the lowly "Man of Sorrows," and our Blessed Lord gently upbraids him for his discourteous conduct in the words "Thou gavest *me* no *kiss*."[1] The neglectful reception accorded by the proud Pharisee was a gross breach of the laws of Eastern hospitality towards one whom he had specially invited, and stood out in striking contrast to the conduct of the humble outcast, who was in no way responsible for the honours of the house, but of whom the Master tells us, "*She, since the time I came in*, has not ceased to eagerly kiss *my* feet"[2]—the lowliest of all modes of grateful homage! No excuse can be alleged for Simon on the ground of his regarding Jesus as a prophet, or as a great Rabbi, and therefore feeling too much respect to treat Him as an equal. In that case, he ought to have reverently saluted Him as a superior, by kissing His hand, and seen to the washing of His feet and perfuming of His head.

There is another more formal mode of salutation between those of a similar station of life when meeting in the ordinary way. In this case they join their right hands, simply placing them one to the other, and then each kisses his own hand and puts it to his lips and forehead, sometimes to his forehead only, or over his heart, and at others over his heart, merely, without kissing it.[3] It was by laying either the hand or the head on the shoulder, and kissing the cheek, that Laban greeted his nephew Jacob; Aaron his brother Moses; David his friend Jonathan, his son Absalom, and his aged benefactor Barzillai.[4] There is a beautiful allegorical allusion to this kind of salutation, that well brings out its use as a figure of speech. The Psalmist, setting forth God's promised salvation, tells how the work of grace, through Christ's atonement, reconciles the Divine Righteousness to Peace, from which in a world of sin it had hitherto been estranged:—

> "*Mercy* and *Truth* are met together,
> *Righteousness* and *Peace* have kissed,"
> —Ps. lxxxv. 10.

or, as we should say, "have shaken hands," that is, have met as friends and equals on good terms with one another!

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[1] Luke vii. 45. As our Lord further points out Simon's neglect was so marked as even to leave His feet unwashed, and His head unsprinkled with perfumed oil.

[2] Luke vii. 45. The word here is καταφιλοῦσά, "kissing much or eagerly."

[3] Akin to this is the practice amongst the *fellahheen*, or villagers, of seizing each other's hands, often for a minute together, not shaking them as with us, but clasping them, so as each to place his fingers in turn over the other's thumb, repeating alternately *selamat*, "Peace," or, "How do you do?" and *teiyibeen*, "Are you well?" Sometimes this is done by clapping each other's hands very smartly twenty or thirty times instead of clasping them, while they repeat these words—a very hearty mode of salutation, confined to the *fellahheen* class.

[4] Gen. xxix. 13; Exod. iv. 27; 1 Sam. xx. 41; 2 Sam. xiv. 33; 2 Sam. xix. 39. In Gen xix. 13, the word "kissed" is in the *piel* structure, meaning "eagerly-kissed." On two other occasions referring to Laban (Gen. xxxi. 28, and xxxi. 55) the word is also in the *piel* structure, for Jacob's uncle appears to have been as demonstrative as he was deceitful.

One of these three latter greetings—namely, falling on the neck and kissing, kissing the beard, or laying the hand on the shoulder and kissing the cheek—most probably the last—must be the salutation intended in the apostolic injunction, "Salute one another with a holy kiss." Viewed in this light, the command becomes not only natural but pregnant with important meaning. It was intended to teach the Church of God that, as believers, all its members were to meet on a friendly and equal footing. All distinctions of caste and rank among the people of the Lord, when gathered together in the character of His people, should, therefore, be laid aside.

In the East, kissing the cheek answers exactly to our hearty shaking of hands between those of the same social station when meeting in familiar intercourse, and if the Holy Spirit had been writing in our age and clime, instead of 1800 years ago in the East, we may say, with all reverence, that He would have commanded believers to "salute one another with a holy shaking of hands," to meet, that is, as brethren of one rank before God, members of the same body, children of the same Father. "Let the brother who [is] low, glory in his exaltation; but the rich in his humiliation" (James i. 9, 10). Let it not be said that "*you* have dishonoured the poor man," or that "you have respect to persons" (James ii. 6, 9). This is the glorious truth contained in the words "salute one another with a holy kiss," which, like most of the deepest and strongest sayings of Scripture, convey instruction under a figurative rather than a literal form.

The main force here is in the word "one another." This may be well seen in the place in the Epistle to the Romans where the injunction first occurs. A number of salutations, or ordinary messages of greeting, are sent specially to certain men and women by name, and, at the close of these, the apostle adds, "salute one another," that is "*all of you*, men and women respectively, salute each other" with the sign of friendliness and social equality—"a kiss," not as a mere act of formal politeness, but rather with sincere respect and affection—"a *holy* kiss" (Rom. xvi. 16; and see 2 Cor. xiii. 12). This is the view taken by Chrysostom in his *Commentary on the Romans*. Commenting on Romans xvi. 16, "Salute one another with a holy kiss," he says: "To cast out of them, by this salutation, all arguing that confused them [that is, all strife and asperity], and all grounds for little pride; that neither the great might despise the little, nor the little grudge at the great, but that haughtiness and envy might be both driven away, when this kiss soothed down and levelled every one. And therefore he not only bids them salute in this way, but sends in like manner to them the greeting even of all the Churches. For 'there salute *you*,' he says, not this or that person individually, but 'the Churches of Christ.'"

[J. N.]

SALVE REGINA.—"Hail, O Queen," *i.e.* of Heaven. Antiphon and prayer in use in the worship of the Roman Church. In the *Catholic Dictionary* it is admitted that it is not earlier than the eleventh century.

SANCTIFICATION.—The employment of the term sanctification in Scripture and in the usual treatises of systematic theology is not precisely the same. In Scripture sanctification, when applied to men, may be broadly stated to mean: (1) a setting apart, a being separated from ordinary purposes to the service of God, the being brought into special or covenant relation with God; and (2) the being qualified rightly to discharge that service or to sustain that relation. In dogmatic theology sanctification is practically confined to the second of the foregoing scriptural uses.[1] It signifies subjective, not objective, sanctification; an internal state, not an external relation; the process and attainment of holiness, not the act of consecration or dedication. Had this fact been more carefully noted, much confusion of thought and bewilderment would have been avoided, and sounder views advocated. The intention of the writer in this article is to treat the doctrine in its scriptural aspect, which necessarily embraces the theological, and to present the subject in its true perspective, proportion, and development.

In the Holy Scriptures, as we have just indicated, there is a ritual or ceremonial, and there is a moral and spiritual holiness.[2] In

[1] In the strictly dogmatic sense Protestant writers use sanctification (the making us holy) in contrast with justification (the accounting us righteous).

[2] As illustrating the twofold use of holiness the following family group of words in our language deserves notice. *Holy* is the general term by which we mean the possessing of intrinsic moral purity, and, in the highest sense, absolute moral perfection. *Sacred* is used of things set apart and dedicated to God. *To hallow* is to consecrate by the mind of the individual, to regard as holy, or keep as holy. *To consecrate* is to hallow in a formal manner and with a purpose. *To dedicate* is to offer for specific acceptance, or, in a specific manner, for a certain use or to a certain person. *To devote* is earnestly or exclusively to give for a certain use or purpose,

the Old Testament prominence is given to the former, and in the New Testament to the latter. The conception, too, of holiness becomes deeper and broader in the progress of God's revelation of Himself to man. As examples of ceremonial sanctification we find "holy," or one of its equivalents, applied to *times*, as the Sabbath and the Hebrew festivals (Exod. xx. 8, 11; Lev. xxv. 12); to *things* used in the service of God, as incense and perfume (Exod. xxx. 22–25, 36), priestly vestments (Exod. xxviii. 2), the utensils (Exod. xxx. 27–36), the bread (Lev. xxi. 22), the altar (Exod. xxix. 37), and portions of the sacrifices (Lev. ii. 3; vi. 17); to *places*, as Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 1), "my mountain," *i.e.* Zion (Isa. lvi. 7), the Tabernacle (Ps. xi. 4), the Temple (Ps. lxxix. 1), the sanctuary (Lev. xvi. 33; *cf.* Exod. xxvi. 33), the ground around the burning bush where Moses stood (Exod. iii. 5; *cf.* Josh. v. 15); and to the *Convocation* (or the religious gathering together) of the people (Lev. xxiii. 4).

In the ceremonial sense *men* are said to be hallowed, as Aaron and his sons (1 Chron. xxiii. 13), the priests (Lev. xxi. 6–8), the Levites (2 Chron. xxxv. 3), the first-born (Exod. xiii. 2), and the whole nation of the Israelites (Exod. xix. 6; Lev. xx. 26; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 19; xxxiii. 3).

The conception of holiness in the ritual sense (taught in the above and numerous similar cases) is that things, persons, seasons, &c., are brought into special relation with God, set apart from secular to religious purposes, used at the bidding of God, employed to work out His purposes, and regarded with that veneration and inviolableness which belong to God's peculiar possessions (Exod. xix. 23). It is, however, to be observed that when "holy" is applied to men we find the ritual sense often implies the moral, and the former passes naturally into the latter. Thus, the priests and the people are said to sanctify themselves and some of their possessions (Exod. xix. 22; Lev. xi. 44; xxvii. 14). This was done by a voluntary surrender of themselves and their belongings to God, or by separation from all that was inconsistent with God's service (Lev. x. 9). Again, the Israelites were called "holy" because God selected them from the other nations to lead a life acceptable to Him, and to rejoice in His favour and protection[1] (Dan. vii. 18, 22).

Having thus dealt with the use of the word "holy" in the Old Testament sufficiently for present purposes,[2] we may pass to the examination of the two words in the Greek (ἁγιάζειν,[3]

and so implies a continuous dedication. Even when "holy" is applied to things, the ethical idea is frequently involved. For instance, when the Jewish offerings are termed "most holy" (Lev. vi. 17, 25; vii. 1), the meaning is that they are of a most solemn and sacred character, symbolical of spiritual truth, specially ordered by God, and to be strictly presented in the appointed manner and with becoming frame of mind and holiness of life (Lev. x. 1–3, 9).

[1] This appellation of "holy" (ἅγιοι, *hagioi*) is applied very often in the New Testament to believers whom God has both separated from the world (John xvii. 14, 16), and made meet for the partakers of the heavenly kingdom (Rom. i. 7; viii. 27; xii. 13; xvi. 15; 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2; Phil. iv. 21; Col. i. 12; Heb. vi. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Jude 3; Rev. v. 8). See SAINT.

[2] To sanctify is used frequently in the Old Testament in a figurative and extended sense for the *way* in which, or the purpose for which, a person or thing is set apart; or in the case of a person for *the condition* proper to him when set apart. Thus to sanctify means to prepare oneself ceremonially, to be in a proper condition to appear before God (Exod. xix. 10, 11, 22; Josh. iii. 5; 2 Chron. xxx. 3); to set a city apart as a city of refuge (Josh. xx. 7); to set oneself apart to the functions of the ministry (2 Chron. xxxi. 18); to devote something to God (Judg. xvii. 12); hence in one instance to forfeit something "by reason of past neglect" (Deut. xxii. 9); to consecrate as the punitive instruments of God (Jer. li. 27, 28); to proclaim war, professing it as done in the service of God (Mic. iii. 5); to sanctify also is used, when applied to God, of His being seen to be, or being held to be holy, or showing Himself holy, causing Himself to be regarded as His divine Majesty renders it necessary that He should be so regarded and honoured by His creatures. "The Lord of hosts is exalted in judgment, and God the Holy One is sanctified (*e.g.* seen to be holy, vindicated as to this claim to their allegiance) in righteousness," *i.e.* in His righteous punishment of them (Isa. v. 16; *cf.* Num. xx. 13); "Ye rebelled against my word . . . (bidding you) to sanctify me" (*i.e.* to act in such a way that I might be honoured) in the sight of the people (Num. xxvii. 14).

[3] Ἁγιάζειν means to hallow, consecrate, purify, and make holy. The logical sequence of thought in these significations of the word seems to be as follows: The first step is *mental*, something is regarded as venerable; the second step is *ritual*, things so regarded as venerable are separated, and set apart from profane to sacred purposes, consecrated to God and so rendered inviolable; the third step is *ethical*, and has to do with character, or state in reference to character, and belongs to persons, not things. Those set apart to the service of God should be pure and without blemish, and correspond as far as possible with the character of God.

hagiazein, and ἁγιάσμος, *hagiasmos*) used in the New Testament, and rendered in most cases respectively by our words "to sanctify" and "sanctification."

The verb Ἁγιάζειν (*hagiazein*) may be said to have two classes of meanings: (1) *Objective*, and (2) *Subjective*. Used subjectively the word itself does not always, or primarily, convey the idea of progressiveness in the operation of making holy. Consequently, though its use is identical in some cases with "to sanctify," it is frequently of wider application, and in a few instances (especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews) almost radically different from the dogmatic use of the term.

In three passages ἁγιάζειν is used in a *mental* (probably its original)[1] sense, to regard as holy: "*Hallowed* be thy name" (Matt. vi. 9; Luke xi. 2)—whensoever God is spoken of, or thought about, may it be with becoming reverence and holy awe; "*Sanctify* in your hearts Christ as Lord" (1 Pet. iii. 15; see Isa. viii. 12, 13; xxix. 23; Deut. xxxii. 51, LXX.) —give Christ a shrine of worship. Regard Him as most holy, awful in sanctity; serve Him with reverence and godly fear. This is little or nothing else than a declaration that Christ is divine, and the performance of the duty here inculcated would prove a means to support those to whom St. Peter wrote under the trial of persecution.

In several instances the word is used in a *ritual* sense, viz. of separating from ordinary to sacred purposes: "Whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that hath *sanctified* the gold?" *i.e.* that hath dedicated or devoted the golden vessels and ornamentations of the Temple for the purpose of public worship (Matt. xxiii. 17); "For whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that *sanctifieth* the gift" (laid upon it), setting it apart as something devoted to God (Matt. xxiii. 19).

The application of the word is not to things only, but to persons; "But ye were washed (the allusion being to baptism, the sacramental seal of regeneration), but ye were *sanctified* (set apart from the world, numbered among the saints), but ye are justified" (from condemnation, accounted righteous) (1 Cor. vi. 11); "He shall be a vessel unto honour, *sanctified* (consecrated to God), meet for the master's use, prepared unto every good work" (2 Tim. ii. 21); "*Sanctify* them (*i.e.* consecrate them, separate them from the rest of the world as for holy purposes) in (the atmosphere of, and by the aid of) the truth" (*i.e.* by making known to them the truth, and by their experiencing its power) (John xvii. 17). The word is applied in this sense to the Church, "That he might *sanctify* it (*i.e.* consecrate it to God), having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word (*i.e.* with the gospel of Jesus, through faith in whom alone we are saved), that he might present the church to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v. 26, 27).

In this sense the word is used of Christ Himself; "And for their sakes I *sanctify* (*i.e.* consecrate) myself (by undergoing death according to the Father's will), that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth" (*i.e.* to do the Father's will by separating themselves from the world and by the devotedness of their lives to His service) (John xvii. 19). "For both he that *sanctifieth* (*i.e.* consecrated Himself for them in His office of a suffering Saviour, see ver. 10) and they that are *sanctified* (*i.e.* consecrated unto God as a people for service) are all of (*i.e.* the children of) one" (divine Father) (Heb. ii. 11). God is also said to sanctify Christ (*i.e.* to have selected Him for His service, by committing unto Him the office of Messiah): "Say ye of him, whom the Father *sanctified* and sent into the world" (John x. 36).

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the word is used in an *expiatory* sense, and means to consecrate (*i.e.* to render worshippers acceptable by means of sacrifice, and to produce in them a fitness for serving God). "Now if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, *sanctify* unto the cleanness of the flesh" (*i.e.* ceremonially consecrate, purify, and render a Jewish worshipper fit to be admitted to the privileges of the temple services) (Heb. ix. 13). "By (the fulfilment of) which will (*i.e.* God's will concerning man's salvation) we have been *sanctified* (*i.e.* qualified or rendered fit as worshippers) through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all," which offering takes away the guilt, and, when realised, the consciousness of sin and the sense of alienation (Heb. x. 10, *cf.* 14). "Hath counted the blood of the covenant (which removes the guilt and purifies the conscience), wherewith he was *sanctified* (rendered fit as a worshipper), an unholy thing" (Heb. x. 29). "Wherefore Jesus also, that he might *sanctify* the people through his own blood" (Heb. xiii. 12; *cf.* ii. 11; ix. 13). Somewhat akin to this sense is the word used in two instances by St. Paul. "For every creature of God is good; . . . for it is *sanctified*" (*i.e.* hallowed from legal or ascetical supposed uncleanness) (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5). "For the unbelieving husband is *sanctified* (made constructively and potentially holy, *i.e.* withdrawn from the contamination of heathen

[1] The force of the root ἀγ-, in ἅγιος, ἄγος, ἄζομαι, κ.τ.λ., Sanscr. *jaj*, is "religious reverence or awe" (see Curtius, *Gr. Etym.* [E.T.], i. p. 199).

impiety and brought under saving influences) in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is *sanctified* in the brother" (1 Cor. vii. 14).

In a few instances the word is used in its *ethical* and *strictly dogmatic* sense, but even then the progressiveness of the character of Christian holiness is rather inferred than actually stated. "And the God of peace himself *sanctify* you (make you holy) wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 23.) "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, even them that are *sanctified* in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" (1 Cor. i. 2). "To give you the inheritance among all them that are *sanctified*" (ἡγιασμένοις, *hegiasmenois*) (Acts xx. 32). "That they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are *sanctified* by faith in me" (Acts xxvi. 18). "That the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being *sanctified* by the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xv. 16). The above passages, if they stood alone, would not enable us to decide whether sanctification was an act once for all accomplished, or, as we know it to be from other statements in the Scriptures, and from the symbolical use of קָדַשׁ (*kādash*) in the Old Testament, as well as from experience, one of a gradual and progressive character.

The noun ἁγιασμός (*hagiasmos*) occurs ten times in the New Testament, being used eight times in the Pauline Epistles, and once both in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the First Epistle of Peter. In the A.V. it is rendered five times by "sanctification" (1 Cor. i. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4; 2 Thess. ii. 13; 1 Pet. i. 2); and five times by "holiness" (Rom. vi. 19, 22; 1 Thess. iv. 7; 1 Tim. ii. 15; Heb. xii. 14). In the R.V. it is translated in every instance by the one word "sanctification." Some scholars consider that it might with equal or more propriety be rendered "consecration" in some (1 Cor. i. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 3; 1 Pet. i. 2), if not in all places where it has been rendered "sanctification" in the A.V. Although the primary idea of consecration is, perhaps, never entirely lost sight of in the Biblical idea of holiness, it is not the prevailing one in ἁγιασμός. This seems tolerably certain if we consider the formation of the word and the context in which it occurs. The translation of the Greek word, then, lies between the use (as in the A.V.) of "sanctification" in some cases, and "holiness" in others, or the use (as in the R.V.) of "sanctification" in all cases. Although "holiness" is a rendering which makes some passages easier of being understood by, and more grateful to the ear of, the ordinary English reader, yet the rendering "sanctification" brings out a deeper and truer meaning. Consequently, the revisers acted in the best interests of truth by using the word "sanctification" always to represent the Greek noun. When we examine the passages where ἁγιασμός occurs we find that there are two ideas[1] contained in the word, which need to be carefully noted. The first idea is that of holiness as an *act* or *process*, and the second that of holiness as a *state*, and that not naturally inherent in its subject, but produced by an external power, and progressive in its character. In fine, ἁγιασμός may be regarded as either "the making, or being made holy," or "the being holy" only in both cases, with the underlying idea of being (as the word-formation of ἁγιασμός requires) a process, or really, as taught elsewhere in Holy Scripture, a divine process. But of the gradual and progressive nature of sanctification, it will be found that in the passages, viewed by themselves, little is definitely stated. As illustrative of the above remarks, and also as useful in throwing further light upon the subject, we will now refer to the places in the New Testament in which ἁγιασμός occurs.

The word in its primary sense is found in the well-known passage in 1 Cor. i. 30, where St. Paul gives the grounds which warrant true boasting: "But of him (as the ultimate origin) are ye in (vital union with) Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God (since He displayed it to us in His life and work), and righteousness (since through faith in Him we are accounted righteous before God for His merits and death; *cf.* Rom. iii. 21–27) and *sanctification* (since He sends the Spirit who makes us holy), and "redemption" (since He has paid the price by which we are redeemed from the powers of death and hell).

It is used in the same signification in two

[1] "ἁγιασμός, as its termination shows, points primarily to the *process*, and thence with that gradual approach of the termination in —μος to that in —συνη, which is so characteristic of the New Testament, the state, frame of mind, or holy disposition in which the action of the verb is evinced and exemplified" (Ellicott on 1 Thess. iii. 13; iv. 3).

Bishop Westcott (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, note on x. 10, p. 347) remarks that "ἁγιασμός is prospective, and points forward to a future state not yet attained."

In the New Testament there are two other words signifying holiness, viz., ἁγιωσύνη (*hagiōsunē*), used three times (Rom. i. 4; 2 Cor. vii. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 13), which point to holiness as an *abstract quality*; and ἁγιότης (*hagiotēs*), used twice (2 Cor. i. 12, R.V.; Heb. xii. 10), which represent holiness as a *personal quality*. But these two words do not convey the deep theological ideas which are contained in ἁγιασμός.

passages in which the moral pre-condition of salvation is mentioned: "God chose you from the beginning unto salvation (experienced) in *sanctification* (*i.e.* in your being made holy) and belief (*i.e.* trustful acceptance) of the truth" (revealed by Christ; *cf.* John xvii. 17) (2 Thess. ii. 13). "The elect . . . according to the foreknowledge of God the Father (experienced), in *sanctification* (your being made holy) of (*i.e.* a work wrought by) the Spirit, unto (leading to) obedience and (the enjoyment of the daily) sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 1, 2).

The word is used in its secondary sense in the majority of the instances where it occurs. In the following passages it denotes the state of holiness in the widest sense of the word: "If they continue in faith and love and *sanctification* (*i.e.* a state of purity and active devotion to God) with sobriety" (1 Tim. ii. 15). "Follow after peace with all men, and the (imperatively necessary) *sanctification* (the continued life of purity and devoted service), without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. xii. 14). "Even so now present your members as servants to righteousness unto (the attainment and advancement of) *sanctification*" (*i.e.* such a course of separation from uncleanness and devotion to righteousness) (Rom. vi. 19). "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto (*i.e.* such as results in the furtherance of) *sanctification*" (*i.e.* a state of freedom from sin, and loyal and useful service to God) (Rom. vi. 22).

In the following passages the word is used in a more restrictive sense, and chiefly refers to one aspect of holiness: "This is the will of God, even (the manifestation of) your *sanctification* (*i.e.* your state of separation from your former evil course), that ye abstain from fornication: that each of you know how to possess himself of his own vessel (*i.e.* his wife) (living with her) in *sanctification* (*i.e.* in a state of chastity) and honour" (in an honourable way with regard both to his own wife and the wives of his neighbours) (1 Thess. iv. 3, 4). "God called us not to uncleanness, but in *sanctification*" in a state of holiness of which purity is an essential feature (1 Thess. iv. 7).

Having examined the Biblical idea of sanctification, we now purpose to restrict our point of observation to its theological aspect, viz. sanctification as contrasted with justification (see JUSTIFICATION, and RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD).[1] In dogmatic treatises sanctification is viewed chiefly on its divine side as an internal spiritual operation carried on by the Holy Spirit, whereby we are qualified for God's service here, and made meet to be "partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. i. 12). It is, in brief, the making holy of the sinner who is justified. In such a view of sanctification man's co-operation and the attainment of, and advance in, holiness in heart and life are regarded as its accompaniments and results.

The following particulars respecting sanctification, when thus considered in its strict dogmatic sense, deserve attention.

Sanctification is the *work* of God. This is plainly taught by the prayers of Christ (John xvii. 17) and of St. Paul (1 Thess. v. 23; *cf.* Phil. ii. 13; 2 Cor. iii. 5); and by the statement in Heb. xii. 10, which imply that our holiness is an overflow of God's holiness. Man can no more create himself than he can recreate himself. Man can no more sanctify himself than he can make his own atonement. By the Fall he lost original innocency, and the image of God in which he was made is marred. For our moral and spiritual recovery we need a power not our own, an external power dwelling in our souls, not evolved from within, but coming down from above us. God works in us the holiness which He requires of us, and which is necessary to our communion with Him.

The *agency* through which God effects the sanctification of the believer is the indwelling of the Spirit. The work of our being made holy, both in its commencement and in its progress, is due to the operation of the Divine Spirit (John xiv. 17, 18; Rom. viii. 9, 10; 2 Tim. i. 14; Rom. xv. 16; 1 Pet. i. 2). In this life sin is never entirely extirpated from the heart of man (Rom. vi. 12); the struggle between the flesh and the spirit (Gal.

[1] Sanctification is both an *act* and a *process*. It is *the spiritual and divine act* by which we are brought into special relation with God, set apart for His service and enabled to consecrate ourselves to Him. It is also *the spiritual and divine process* by which our nature and constitution are renewed, and we are enabled to die unto sin and live unto righteousness, and become fit to be inheritors of the saints in light.

"Sanctification" is used not only as an act or a process of making holy, but both of the state and condition of a person who is the subject of that act or process, and of the holiness which has been obtained, whether it be viewed as a holy principle, holy habits, or a holy course of life. For clearness of thought it is necessary that we should keep in mind which of these aspects is meant. It is deeply to be regretted that few theological authors seem to be fully conscious of all these aspects of sanctification, or if they are that they write without distinctly remembering them.

v. 17), and between "the old man" and "the new man" (Eph. iv. 22-24) continually exists, and the law of spiritual life is ceaseless progress (Phil. iii. 12-16). Consequently, we need an abiding presence and work of the Holy Spirit.

Union and communion with Christ, the Head of redeemed humanity, is the *source* of sanctification (John xv. 3-5; xvii. 21-23; Rom. vii. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45, 49; *cf.* John vi. 53, 56, 63; Rom. vi. 11; 1 Cor. i, 2, 30; x. 16, 17; Gal. ii. 20). Our personal holiness is the result of our spiritual contact with Christ, the Spirit being the Agent of it. The Holy Spirit imparts to us Christ's presence, and reproduces His life in us.

Truth is the *element* in which we are made holy, and the means of our purity (John xv. 3) and of our sanctification (xvii. 17). The Word of God puts before us an ideal of sanctity, inspiring doctrines, and most powerful motives to the pursuit of holiness. It is by faith we both become united to Christ, and also experience the sanctifying influences of the Word.

The *standard* of our holiness is the loftiest which the human mind can possess; it is the holiness of God. "Ye shall be holy; for I am holy" (1 Pet. i. 16; *cf.* Lev. xi. 44; xix. 2; xx. 7, 26). The holiness of God[1] is a difficult idea to grasp. The conception of it is best formed by studying its manifestations in His works, His providence, His grace, His Word, His law and ordinances, and, chiefly, in the life of our Lord, also by the experience obtained by submitting to the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul. In viewing God's holiness as the pattern for our imitation it is well to observe that in the Bible it is associated with mercy and love. In fact, holiness and love may be said to be the two *foci* of His attributes, and the one is but the supplement of the other. If the holiness of God be regarded as the assertion of His claim upon His creatures for loyal service and supreme devotion, then it is not only the standard of holiness, but also furnishes a powerful motive for its cultivation.

Sanctification is a *continuous process*. A statement to this effect is not, however (except with one single exception), expressly and unmistakably made in the New Testament. The explanation of this is twofold. First, the aim as well as the ideal of the Christian life is one of perfect purity and absolute devotion to God. Thus we read without any note of qualification such commands as, "That she may be holy both in body and in spirit" (1 Cor. vii. 34); "That it (the church) should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v. 27; *cf.* 1 Pet. i. 15, also 1 Thess. v. 23; Eph. v. 26, and note the use of the aorist). Secondly, the general teaching respecting the Christian life in other passages of Scripture, and the universal experience of believers, rendered it unnecessary to speak of holiness as a matter of gradual attainment. The following passages, however, may be taken as proof texts that sanctification is a gradual process, for they refer to the Christian life in which sanctification is clearly included as one of its leading ideas: "Being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil. i. 6); "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect (fully instructed), be thus minded: and if in anything ye are otherwise minded, even this shall God reveal unto you" (Phil. iii. 15); "As new-born babes, long for the spiritual milk which is without guile, that ye may grow thereby" (1 Pet. ii 2): "Lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man with his doings, and have put on the new man, which is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him" (Col. iii. 9, 10). Compare the expressions which imply a continuous work: "those that were being saved" (Acts ii. 47); "unto us which are being saved" (1 Cor. i. 18); "in them that are being saved" (2 Cor. ii. 15).

When we remember the formation of ἁγιασμός, and read the context in which it occurs (Rom. vi. 19, 22; 1 Cor. i. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4, 7; 2 Thess. ii. 13; 1 Tim. ii. 15; Heb. xii. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2) with the light thrown upon it by the above-cited passages, we cannot doubt that St. Paul, the writer to the Hebrews, and St. Peter all had in their own minds the conception (and assumed that their readers would have so, too), that the process of holiness was one gradual and continuous. In one passage degrees and growth in holiness seem to be definitely taught: "He that is righteous, let him do righteousness still (*i.e.* yet more, see margin of R.V.) (ἔτι, *eti*; *cf.* its use in Matt. xviii. 16; xxvi. 65) and he that is holy, let him be made holy still" (Rev. xxii. 11).[2] It is in the life to come that we look to

[1] It may be regarded as the separation from all evil, the purity and rectitude of His character, the consecration of all His high attributes to promote the highest good of the universe, and the assertion and maintenance of His claim to the absolute obedience, supreme devotion, and constant reverence of His creatures. Holiness is an essential attribute of God, and the glory, lustre, and harmony of all His other perfections (Exod. xv. 11); He could not be God without it (Deut. xxxii. 4).

[2] Attention has been drawn by some writers to the fact of the present participle being used in Heb. ii. 11; x. 14, when the sanctification of believers is spoken of. But as "sanctify" in both these passages refers not to personal holiness, we do not regard them as direct proof texts for sanctification being a *continuous* process.

sanctification both of the soul and of the body to be completed—that of the former at death, and that of the latter at the resurrection (Phil. iii. 21; Col. iii. 4; Heb. xii. 14, 23; 1 John iii. 2; Jude 24).

The *sphere* of sanctification is the whole man —body, soul, and spirit—the mind, the intellect, and the will. In 1 Thess. v. 23 we find that sanctification rests on two conditions, viz. that the Holy Spirit shall possess *each* of the three parts of our nature, and possess them entirely. If sanctification, as the work of God the Holy Spirit, is to reach its proper end, He must enter in and occupy each several part of man's nature, and sanctify that several part thoroughly. The Divine Spirit enters and dwells in our spirit first. From thence He gets the mastery over the desires of the mind, and lastly, over the desires of the flesh.

The *evidences* of sanctification are the believer's discovery and mortification of sinful desires (2 Cor. x. 5), and the bringing of the whole being into obedience to Christ and conformity to the law of God (Phil. iii. 12, 13). Futhermore, sanctified persons will hate sin and love righteousness, and diligently and persistently use the means appointed for Christian growth, such as the Word of God, prayer, association with other believers, and personal efforts for the conversion of the world. By nothing, perhaps, is a regular, advancing sanctification marked more than by a growing habit of instant and joyful obedience.

The *way* in which sanctification is carried on in the soul is a difficult psychological question which there is not sufficient space here to discuss. But it may be well to remark in passing that the old nature is never improved or made better. It always remains the same. The flesh lusts always contrary to the spirit. It is to be mortified, put down, kept under, treated as an ever-present and unconquered antagonist (1 Cor. ix. 26, 27). The renewal of man refers to the new nature: "Stir up (Gr., stir into a flame) the gift of God, which is in you" (2 Tim. i. 6); "Our inward man is renewed day by day" (2 Cor. iv. 16). In Romans vii. a distinction is drawn between the true self and the old self: "It is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me" (ver. 17).

Before leaving this part of our subject it may be well to emphasize the fact that though sanctification is the work of God, yet its divine, secret operation is accompanied by the intellectual and voluntary activity on the part of the believer. There is room left for man's operation in the process. We can obey and not resist the divine strivings within; we can yield ourselves to be influenced, swayed, possessed, and inspired by the Holy Spirit (Rom. vi. 13, 19; viii. 14; Gal. v. 16; 1 Thess. v. 19; *cf.* 2 Tim. i. 6); and we can exercise faith in the promise of sanctification which is implied in the command to "be holy" (1 Pet. i. 15, 16). In performing our part and duty it is necessary to guard against the idea that we can attain or advance in holiness by our own unaided strength, or by human devices (Gal. iii. 3; Rom. viii. 13). Still we must, relying upon divine strength (John xv. 5), give up all that is likely to prove a snare or a hindrance; practise self-discipline, put on the Christian armour and manfully fight the good fight of faith. Two cautions are especially necessary in working out our own salvation. First, we must avoid absurd and harmful self-torture, and seek to bring into subjection not merely one's sensual nature, but all the evil propensities and passions of the heart. See PENITENTIAL INSTRUMENTS. Secondly, we must remember that there is no meritoriousness in our efforts. We can only obtain self-mastery and labour aright in so far as God works in us for His good pleasure (Phil. ii. 12).

Having dealt with the chief particulars respecting sanctification, a few remarks seem called for concerning the place which it occupies in the scheme of salvation. In the application of Christ's redemption to man there are six spiritual facts which need to be clearly understood, viewed in their right order for theological clearness of thought, and studied in their relation to the whole redemptive plan. Though all six are capable of being viewed by the mind in logical order, yet they must not be conceived of as occurring in chronological order.[1] First, there is *Regeneration* (the "new birth," the being "born from above"). This may be regarded as the act of God by which the governing disposition of the soul is made holy, and by which the first holy exercise of this disposition is secured. Secondly, there is *Conversion*. This may be spoken of as the human aspect of the divine reality in regeneration. It is the voluntary change in the mind of the sinner which leads to repentance ("the turning from sin") and faith ("the turning to God in Christ"). See CONVERSION. Thirdly, there is *Justification*. This is the judicial act of God in which He declares the sinner to be no longer exposed to the penalty of the law, but to be restored to favour; the

[1] To this special feature respecting the spiritual events in redemption we have a parallel in facts connected with natural phenomena. For instance, the ray of light and the ray of heat enter at the same moment. Again, sensation and perception are sometimes not separated in time, although the former is the cause of the latter.

reversal of God's attitude towards the sinner because of the sinner's new relation to Christ. In this act is involved the pardon of sin, and by it the believer has his title to eternal life. Fourthly, there is *Sanctification*. This may be viewed as the continuous operation of the Holy Spirit, by which the holy disposition imparted in regeneration is maintained and strengthened. Fifthly, there is the *daily cleansing of sins* committed through the frailty of our mortal nature. This is included or implied in justification, and may be said to be its continual application and enjoyment. Sixthly, there is *Perseverance*. This may be styled the human aspect of the divine reality in sanctification. It is the voluntary continuance, on the part of the believer, in faith and well-doing. All these facts take place in living union with Christ, in connection with the sacraments of the Gospel, the preaching of the Word, and other means of grace. It has been well remarked that "union with Christ, in view of which God elects and to which God calls the sinner, is begun in regeneration, completed in conversion, declared in justification, and proved in sanctification and perseverance."

There are two opposite erroneous views respecting the doctrine of sanctification which must be noticed. On the one hand there is the view of the Antinomians, who hold that the law is not a rule of life to believers under the Gospel. They contend that since Christ's obedience and sufferings have satisfied the demands of the law, the believer is free from obligation to observe it. Some Antinomians have embraced a system which so perverts the doctrine of election and efficacious grace that it sets aside all moral obligation and destroys the accountability of man. Amsdorf (1559) said that "good works are hurtful to salvation." The answer to all such teaching is that "Faith alone justifies, but not the faith that is alone."[1] As to the doctrine of Christian freedom (Gal. v. 1), though Christ put an end to legalism, there are provisions against licence. We are free from the law as a system of curse and penalty (Gal. iii. 13; Col. ii. 14; Heb. ii. 15; *cf.* Rom. x. 4), as a method of salvation (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8, 9; Tit. iii. 5), and as an outward foreign compulsion (Rom. vii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 9). We are not under the necessity of trusting our salvation to an impossible future obedience. But believers, by union with Christ, become committed to His service, which is one of holiness and righteousness (Rom. vi. 18–20). They receive the spirit of obedience and sonship (Gal. iv. 6; Rom. vi. 4), and have the assistance of the Spirit by which alone the requirements of the law in their highest sense and to their full extent can be fulfilled. The lesson taught at baptism is death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness.

On the other hand, there is the opposite view of the Perfectionists, who teach that in this life a believer can be free from sin. No doubt that idea arose from the rebound of the pious mind from the influence of Antinomian principles. The theory has from time to time been presented in many ways. But Perfectionism in all its forms is occasioned by taking too low a view of sin and the law, and failing to fully recognise the imperfection of the human will occasioned by the Fall. The law is not a sliding scale of requirements graduated to the moral condition of creatures. It is the unchanging reflection of God's holiness. Sin consists not only in voluntary acts, but embraces those dispositions and states of the soul which are not conformed to the divine holiness. The depravity of man is such that we are not able to chose perfectly aright, and every moment to fulfil our duty. The form of Perfectionism which is commonest is that which regards sanctification as consisting in many instances of two distinct stages. The one stage is regarded as that in which the spiritual life is weak and the spiritual pulse intermittent, the Christian walk inconsistent, and holiness partial and defective. The second stage is viewed as one in which the believer perfectly consecrates himself, and henceforth leads a life practically free from sin, or at least from incurring the guilt of sin. The former of these stages is thought to be alluded to in Rom. vii. 14–24, and the latter in Rom. vii. 25; viii. 1. But the teaching of the New Testament, taken as a whole, gives no countenance, in fact is opposed, to such a theory (Phil. iii. 12–14; James iii. 2; 1 John i. 8; comp. 1 Kings viii. 46; Eccles. vii. 20). All Christians are required in Scripture to do acts which bespeak imperfect sanctification. They are to confess sin, seek forgiveness, assume penitential attitudes in prayer, mortify their members, and are to regard salvation, in the full meaning of the term, as a matter of hope, not of present experience (Rom. viii. 24). Some persons who profess to pass from the lower to the higher stage of sanctification possibly have mistaken their so-called second sanctification for their conversion. Of course there are certain periods in the Christian experience when we make more decided and rapid progress than at other times. But at none of these do we obtain complete sanctification. The progress made is different, not in kind, but merely in degree and measure. To the very end—and such is the experience of eminent saints in all ages—we need to be

[1] "Sola fides justificat, sed fides non est sola" (Melancthon).

'om the recurring defilements of daily
xiii. 10).

Scriptures have been quoted in
Perfectionism, and call for a pass-
. First, there are those passages
the word "perfect" is used of be-
but this word (τέλειος) is used rela-
t absolutely, in such phrases as:
we speak wisdom among the per-
full-grown) (1 Cor. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 15;
9). Again, there are two passages in
First Epistle in which mention is
ie sinlessness of the estate of fellow-
Christ. But these passages need to
ith others close beside them. For
'Whosoever abideth in him sinneth
soever sinneth hath not seen him,
oweth him" (1 John iii. 6) should be
with the following words: "If we say
ve no sin, we deceive ourselves, and
s not in us. If we confess our sins,
ful and righteous to forgive us our
"If we say that we have not sinned,
im a liar, and his word is not in us"
8–10). "My little children, these
ite I unto you, that ye may not sin.
ny man sin, we have an Advocate
'ather, Jesus Christ the righteous,"
n ii. 1, 2). Again, "We know that
is begotten of God sinneth not; but
as begotten of God (*i.e.* Christ the
sepeth him, and the evil one toucheth
(1 John v. 18) should be read with
almost immediately preceding this
any man see his brother sinning a
to death, he shall ask and God will
ife for them that sin not unto death"
16). The simple way of so reading the
sages as to make one set harmonise
other is to regard 1 John iii. 6 and
16 as referring to the *ideal* life of the
So far as one abides in Christ he
m all sin. The life of sin and the
d exclude one another, as darkness
As a believer is true to the prin-
power of the new life, as long as he
n Christ, he sinneth not. Another
tion of these two passages of St. John
sinneth" requires to be restricted to
luntarily and deliberately. However,
s the more satisfactory explanation.
admirably catches the drift of the
. the following words: "John recog-
ntermediate state, no gradations. He
n the radical point of difference. He
the two states in their essential nature
iples. It is either love or hate, light
ss, truth or a lie. The Christian life
ntial nature is the opposite of all sin.
e sin, it must be after the working of
ature." See SINLESS PERFECTION.

We have not touched upon Rome's confusion of justification with sanctification, as that is a subject dealt with elsewhere (JUSTIFICATION). But there is one remark, viz. that "justification is a divine act which conveys sanctifying grace," which is frequently found, in one form or another, in modern Roman Catholic Manuals, that calls for a word of special comment. Justification does convey only that which is in its own province, viz. forgiveness of sins, the righteousness of God, a title to eternal life. The grace of sanctification is conveyed direct from God, and sanctification is not the act of God the Father as in the case of justification, but the work of sanctification is that of God the Holy Ghost. Justification no more conveys the grace of sanctification, than sanctification conveys the grace of justification. These are accompanying facts, yet each is distinct in itself. One of the greatest blessings received from the Reformation was the clear stating of the distinction between justification and sanctification. For the promotion of holiness nothing is more important than to keep in our thoughts these two truths always distinct and separate, and to give them their rightful place in the redemptive plan. [C. N.]

SANCTUARY.—A holy place. A title given by Romanists and Ritualists to that part of the church in which the "altar" stands.

SANCTUS BELL, THE.—A bell which is rung to call the people's attention in the Mass Service of the Church of Rome. The bell is so called because it is rung at the words *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* (Holy, Holy, Holy). It is also rung at the elevation of the Host, and, in Roman Catholic churches in England, before the words of consecration. The use of the Sanctus bell in the Church of England was forbidden even under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

SARDICA, COUNCIL OF.—This Council, which met in 343, is of great importance in the history of the development of the papal pretensions. It was summoned through the influence of Julius, the Bishop of Rome, at a time when the strife between the Arian and Athanasian parties was especially bitter. Arianism was predominant in the East, Athanasian orthodoxy in the West; and the case of Athanasius himself, who had been deposed two years before at the Council of Antioch, was one of the first matters that fell to be decided. As Sardica was within the frontier of the Western Empire, the Western bishops were largely in the majority, with the result that it was resolved that Athanasius was entitled to a seat and a vote. Upon this the Eastern bishops withdrew to Philippopolis, and there held a separate Council, at which they passed

sentence of deposition upon both Athanasius and Julius.

Up to this point in the history of the Church, no mention had ever been made in the Canon Law of any legally defined action of the Bishop of Rome in other Churches. But owing to the fact that the Arian majority in the East had deposed several orthodox bishops, it was felt that it would be in the interests of orthodoxy that in such cases there should be a right of appeal to Julius, whose Trinitarianism was beyond suspicion. The Council of Sardica accordingly resolved that any bishop who felt himself aggrieved by a provincial judgment of his case might appeal to Julius if he thought fit. The decrees in which these resolutions were formulated are known in history as the Canons of Sardica.

With regard to these canons it has to be noted: (1) That they apply only to Julius, who is expressly named, and were probably meant to be no more than a temporary expedient to meet the difficulties of the existing situation. (2) That they give Julius only an appellate jurisdiction, but no right of his own accord to summon causes to Rome or set aside the judgment of Councils. (3) They show that even this power of appellate jurisdiction was not an original possession of the Roman See, but one granted at Sardica for the first time. (4) Above all, the power conferred on Julius was conferred by a body of Latin bishops, whose authority in the matter was afterwards steadily rejected by the African no less than by the Eastern Church, and was not generally acknowledged even in the West till after the fabrication of the so-called Isidorian Decretals. In spite of all this, however, the canons of Sardica soon became fateful instruments in helping forward the pretensions of the Papacy. Innocent I. (402–417) made them the basis of demands that all "greater causes" should be submitted for decision to the "Apostolic See." Zosimus, Innocent's successor, pressed the right of interference still more eagerly, and ascribed a much higher authority to the canons of Sardica by constantly quoting them as canons of the Council of Nicæa. In defence of Zosimus it is frequently urged that he was misled by the arrangement of his collection of canons, and ought not to be charged with conscious fraud; but it is at least significant that when an African Synod challenged the grounds on which he rested his claims, and resolved very wisely to send messengers of their own to the East to get correct copies of the canons of Nicæa, the papal legates, who were present, used every effort to persuade the synod to leave Zosimus to examine into this matter for himself.

The canons of Sardica thus served as one of the foundation stones for the edifice mediæval papal system. The Bishops originally possessed none of the prop butes of sovereignty, but these canons fu them with a convenient handle for t of usurpation, which was gradually but pushed on until the Pope became the monarch of a universal empire.

It is scarcely to be wondered at t atmosphere of fraud which clings ab whole history of the development of th Supremacy—the action of Zosimus in forming the canons of Sardica into ca Nice, the embodiment in the Canon Nicolas I. of the false Isidorian De the incorporation into the papal dogm Thomas Aquinas of the forgeries of a thir century Dominican monk—that all this have led to a suspicion that the S canons themselves may only have Roman forgery. But while it is true th canons are never mentioned in the act general Councils of Constantinople o cedon, and receive no notice whatev such Church historians as Socrates, S and Theodoret, even when they are rec the transactions of the Council of S modern scholars almost without except gard them as authentic. [J.

SARUM, USE OF.—We are all famili the sentence, retained from the First Book, that "whereas heretofore ther been great diversity in saying and within this realm; some following Sa use, some Hereford use, and some the Bangor, some of York, some of Lincol from henceforth all the whole realm sh but one use." That was in 1549; b before that, the tendency had been to unification of the Church services. "' of Sarum" does not mean any one bo even collection of books merely, but t customs and traditions which had g round their ministrations. The Saru were introduced into Wells, Exeter, St. and Lichfield, each of which had i "use," in the fourteenth and fifteenth ce and in 1542 Canterbury Convocation a the Sarum Breviary for the entire pr Its origin is popularly associated wi name of Osmund, but it is probable t merely edited some older use, and hi was improved and completed by Bisho (A.D. 1218). Wyclif (A.D. 1370) com of the Sarum ceremonial rules which, h "hinder much the gospel; for fools c it more important than the commandm God and to study and teach Christ's g The recitation of the Hours, he said, ma "weary and indisposed to study God's aching of heads."

"Ceremonial and ritual matters were hotly debated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; liturgical punctiliousness was strong in Wyclif's day, and was strongly denounced by him; and even the authority of the Canons of Salisbury could not satisfy a contentious Ritualist of the fifteenth century, such as Clement Maydeston, the author of the popular *Directorium Sacerdotum* and other ritual handbooks" (Frere).

These rabbinical disputes still infest the Church. One faction among the "Ritualists" profess to follow Sarum use as their guide, and claim on that account that it is unjust to accuse them of "Romanising" merely because they seek to restore worship to the condition in which it was in England before the Reformation. But to this another faction replies that nobody can be sure what the Sarum use exactly was. Mr. Percy Dearmer in his *Parson's Handbook* (fourth edit., pp. 91–92, 108, 217–220), tells us "the Prayer Book does not refer us to the diocese of Salisbury of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but to England of the sixteenth; and we know that though the Sarum books were adopted very generally in other dioceses, the Sarum ceremonial was not. No one knows what the Sarum use as to colours was for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Ascensiontide, Whitsuntide, or for Trinity Sunday; consequently the so-called Sarum uses are really one-half made up from the fancy of the nineteenth-century Ritualists. Those colours which have been commonly thought to be peculiarly Roman, were certainly included in the Sarum use." "It is impossible to tell how these colours were used at Salisbury, owing to the imperfect information of the books." These books "give a cathedral use, and we know that parish churches could not and did not adopt the customs of their cathedral churches. Indeed, we find that in the *Customary*, a book drawn up for parochial use, all directions as to lights are omitted."

In a doctrinal point of view it must be added that so far as Sarum differed from Rome, it differed for the worse.

Mr. Burbidge, in his work on the *Liturgies and Offices of the Church* (which was relied upon by Archbishop Benson in his *Lincoln Judgment*), says, "The common practice of regarding the forms which were in use in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as if they were the original sources of the Prayer Book, is fruitful in mischief. For in this way the origin of the English services is traced to a collection of devotions more deeply affected by mediæval developments of ritual and doctrine than those of any other country." Nay, more; the Sarum was worse than any other of the English uses above referred to. "Whilst they followed the same general plan and order of service as are found in the Sarum use, they gave far less prominence to the novelties of faith and practice which have been pointed out . . . the most peculiar features of the Sarum use were absent. But it is evident that the Sarum use was the popular form of service in England. And consequently it must be understood that, previous to the Reformation, our forefathers had been accustomed to a service which was farther removed from the simplicity of the ancient liturgies than any other service of ancient or modern times." He adds that the adulterations came in through France, beginning in the ninth century, when Eucharistic corruption spread darkness over the Western Church. He adds that even "the present Roman service is free from most of these very startling novelties, though it continues to follow the mediæval Church in the general view of sacrifice, as being propitiatory rather than Eucharistic."

The Rubrics especially added in the Sarum missal profess to offer sacrifice for sin, and an adoration of the Host (Burbidge, pp. vi, 89, 95, 96, 97, 101, 105). [J. T. T.]

SATISFACTION.—According to the teaching of the Church of Rome as set forth by the Council of Trent (Sess. xiv., *De Pœnit*, cap ix.), "So great is the largeness of the divine bounty, that we are able to make *satisfaction* to God the Father through Jesus Christ, not only by punishments undertaken voluntarily by us for the chastisement of sin, or imposed by the judgment of the priest according to the measure of the offence, but also, which is the greatest proof of love, by temporal strokes inflicted by God, and patiently borne by us." The Council proceeded in three canons to declare accursed any one denying this doctrine. The Romish theory is at the root of the doctrines of Indulgences and Purgatory. Such an idea of "satisfaction" is nowhere to be found in the Gospels or Epistles, and when Christ forgave sinners, He did so absolutely and freely (Matt. ix. 2; xviii. 32; Luke xv.). The texts adduced by Rome in proof of her teaching by no means affirm it. They are as follows: (1) Gen. iii. 16; but in the sentence of temporal punishment here recorded, no mention is made of pardon, the *hope* merely of which is held out in verse 15. When God's law is broken, the penalty must be paid, but the penalty is not "satisfaction," and forgiveness is of God's free grace and mercy, which is uninfluenced by the sinner's acts. (See Matt. xviii. 27, "moved with compassion," and verse 32, "because thou desirest me.") (2) The case of Miriam (Num. xii. 14). She, however, merely had to undergo the seven days' isolation legally required in all

cases of recovery from leprosy. (3) Moses' exclusion from the Promised Land was on account of his publicly committed sin (Num. xxi. 12 *ff.*). The penalty, however, did not in any way *earn* Moses' forgiveness, but was necessary in order that God's honour might be publicly vindicated. (4) The case of the death of David and Bathsheba's child (2 Sam. xii.). The reason for the penalty here is similar to that of the last case. (5) The repentance of the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 10). But their display of humiliation was merely expressive of their true repentance, and did not *procure* them God's forgiveness. (6) Col. i. 24. Paul, however, does not mean that his sufferings supplied something that was deficient in the sufferings of Christ, but merely that the Apostle's afflictions were part of Christ's sufferings, on the principle of Isa. lxiii. 9 and Acts ix. 4, a very different matter.

Now, according to the Church of England, as set forth in the Book of Homilies and in the Book of Common Prayer (both in harmony with the teaching of the Holy Scripture), the only "satisfaction" God requires of us is to cease to do evil and to do good, and if we have done any man wrong, to endeavour ourselves to make him amends. This was commonly the Penance the Church enjoined (see *Homily on Repentance*). Further, Christ alone, "by His one oblation of Himself once offered has made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world" (see *Communion Office*).

Further, the death of Christ, if we regard the persons for whom it was undergone, is a "sacrifice"; if we regard Him who offered it, it is a free "oblation"; if we consider Him to whom it was offered, it is a "satisfaction"; and in every one of these respects it is full, perfect, and sufficient; and particularly, it is a "full satisfaction," a "perfect oblation," and a "sufficient sacrifice"; not like the legal offerings for the sins of one kind, or the offences of one nation, or of one person, but for the sins of all the world. Let none therefore mistake, or imagine we are about to sacrifice Christ again, as the Roman Church falsely teacheth; for that is not only needless and impossible, but a plain contradiction to St. Paul, who affirms that Jesus Christ was offered only "once," and by that "one oblation He hath *perfected* for ever them that are sanctified" (see Dean Comber, *On the Book of Common Prayer*). Bishop Westcott (in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*) shows very clearly that our Blessed Saviour has met all our needs as sinners, and satisfied fully all claims on the threefold consequences of sin—"death, which requires forgiveness, the bondage which requires redemption, the alienation which requires reconciliation"—by "His one offering He has perfected for ever those who are sanctified."

Perceval, in his *Romish Schism*, shows that the passages cited by the authors of the Tridentine Decrees, being all taken from the Old Dispensation, cannot be pressed, because the analogy of God's dealings before and after the sufferings of our Lord will not altogether hold. Besides, they all relate to cases of open sin, in which, for the edification of others, temporal punishment was inflicted, from which no argument whatever can be adduced in behalf of vindictive penalties for secret sins, which have been repented of, confessed, and forsaken with faith in Christ. It would seem from certain expressions that they consider the practice of the virtues most opposed to the sins committed, among the vindictive penalties for sin. Again, the scriptural texts quoted are shown in detail to be utterly inapplicable to the doctrine of "satisfaction" by the Rev. Dr. C. H. H. Wright in his *Primer of Roman Catholicism* (pp. 92–95). Further, the Tridentine Catechism quotes St. Augustine's words in favour of their doctrine of "satisfaction": "Rightly are times of penance appointed by those who preside over the Church, that *satisfaction* may be made to the Church in which sins are remitted." To this there are two answers: (1) Primitive penance *preceded* absolution—the Romish "satisfaction" follows it; (2) The Primitive penance was a *satisfaction* to the Church, but the Romish penance is a *satisfaction* offered to God.

Hooker shows that this same doctrine of satisfaction "overthroweth the foundation of faith," for "he which giveth to any good work of ours the force of satisfying the wrath of God for sin, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly reward . . . pulleth up the doctrine of faith by the roots" (see Sermon III.). Again, he states, "the satisfaction" offered by Christ is alone "adequate" for all the soul's need (see *Eccl. Pol.*, VI. v. 1, Sermon II.).

All these attempts of Rome to make human merit satisfy for sin have necessarily two great evil effects. First, they detract from the Redeemer's glory by diminishing the value of His one Atonement on the Cross, by virtually making that Sacrifice to be insufficient for the forgiveness of the sins of the whole world. According to *A Catholic Dictionary* (p. 700) Bossuet, and all Catholics, teach that "we must not infer that Jesus Christ has failed to make entire satisfaction for us," but the practical effect of the doctrine of "satisfaction" as defined by the Council of Trent cannot but be to lower the conception of the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice. Secondly, the Roman doctrine of "satisfaction" substitutes to a great extent mere external acts for that genuine sorrow of

heart which, together with amendment of life, God desires to see in penitent sinners. The whole difference between Protestants and Romanists on this subject is summed up in the very different words Repentance and Penance. The doctrine of human "satisfaction" cannot be too strenuously opposed. [T. H. L. L.]

SCAPULAR.—A piece of woollen cloth worn under the clothes on the shoulders with various supposed effects, such as (1) saving from hell; (2) delivering from Purgatory; (3) earning Indulgences; (4) protecting from the devil.

1. The *Carmelite or Brown scapular* saves from hell. In 1251 St. Mary is related to have appeared to an Englishman, named Simon Stock, on Mount Carmel in Palestine, and to have assured him that whoever died wearing the Carmelite scapular, which she thereupon placed in his hands, should be saved from eternal damnation. The Roman Breviary tells us that she said to him, "Those who die piously with this habit on, shall not suffer eternal fire."

2. The same scapular delivers from Purgatory. S. Alfonso de' Liguori, the appointed teacher of the Roman Church, writes: "The promise made by our Blessed Lady to Pope John XXII. is well known. She appeared to him and ordered him to make known to all that on the Saturday after their death she would deliver from Purgatory all who wore the Carmelite scapular. This, as Father Crasset relates, was proclaimed by the same Pontiff in a Bull, which was afterwards confirmed by Alexander V., Clement VII., Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Paul V." (*Glories of Mary*, p. 196).

3. *The scapular of the Immaculate Conception* earns Indulgences. St. Alfonso assures us that "the Indulgences granted to any religious Order, any pious spot, or any person, are annexed to the scapular of the Immaculate Conception, which is blessed by the Theatines; and by reciting a *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Gloria* six times in honour of the most holy Trinity and Immaculate Mary, we can gain (*toties quoties*) each time all the Indulgences of Rome, of Portiuncula, of Jerusalem, and Galicia" (*Glories of Mary*, p. 333, ed. Duffy). The number of these Indulgences which may be earned by the wearer of the scapular every six minutes (for the required exercise occupies about that time) is "433 plenary Indulgences, besides Indulgences for different lengths of time, which are innumerable" (*ibid.*, p. 661, ed. Dunigan). As 4330 plenary Indulgences, besides an innumerable number of Indulgences for thousands of years, can be thus gained in the course of one hour, the scapular appears much more effective than the Jubilee, at which, however, we are told that a "most plenary" Indulgence can be earned. Does any one want more than 4330 plenary Indulgences an hour?

4. *The scapular of the Sorrows or Dolours of Mary* protects from the devil. The following instances are given by St. Alfonso. "A young man in Perugia promised the devil that if he would enable him to attain a sinful object, he would give him his soul; and he gave him a written contract to this effect, signed in his own blood. When the crime had been committed the devil demanded the performance of the promise, and for this purpose led him to the brink of a well, at the same time threatening that if he did not throw himself in, he would drag him, body and soul, to hell. The wretched youth, thinking that it would be impossible to escape from his hands, got on the little parapet to cast himself in; but, terrified at the idea of death, he told the devil that he had not the courage to take the leap, but that, if he was determined on his death, he must push him in. The young man wore a scapular of the Sorrows of Mary; the devil therefore said, 'Tear off that scapular, and then I will push thee in.' But the youth, discovering in the scapular the protection still vouchsafed to him by the divine Mother, refused to do so, and at length, after much altercation, the devil, filled with confusion, departed" (*Glories of Mary*, p. 421). Another instance is that of a young nobleman, who so hated God that he carried about a crucifix in order to beat it, and communicated sacrilegiously in order to get the sacred particle and trample it beneath his feet. This young man went into a church and made confession to a priest, who being a friend of St. Alfonso's told him about it. Surprised at his coming to him, "the father asked if he had ever practised any devotions towards the Blessed Virgin, for such conversions only come through the powerful hands of Mary. 'None, father—devotions indeed! I looked upon myself as damned.' 'But reflect again,' said the father. 'Father, I did nothing,' he repeated. But putting his hand to his breast to uncover it, he remembered that he wore the scapular of Mary's Sorrows. 'Ah, my son,' said the confessor, 'dost thou not see it is our Blessed Lady who has obtained thee so extraordinary a grace? And know,' he added, 'that to her this church is dedicated'" (*ibid.*, p. 346).

To make all safe and encourage others, St. Alfonso says that he wore himself different scapulars, "the scapular of Mount Carmel, the scapular of Mary in Sorrow, the scapular of Mary of Mercy, and particularly the scapular of the Conception." The last of these alone would provide him each time that he recited prayers occupying about six minutes, and also

on his death, with 433 plenary Indulgences, any one of which would be enough to keep him out of Purgatory, and should they all fail in this purpose, the scapular of Mount Carmel would bring him out of it on the first Saturday after he died, and would also secure him from hell. The scapular of St. Mary in Sorrow (or Mary's Sorrows) would also defend him from the devil, and beyond all this he had the scapular of Mary of Mercy to fall back upon, if he was not sufficiently protected by the others. [F. M.]

SCARF.—See STOLE.

SCHISM.—"The disposition to multiply essentials good Richard Baxter considered the bane of the Church, the prolific source of intolerance and divisions" (Fisher). 'Every division among Christians, from whatever cause it arises, is schism. The greatness of the sin of division in the sight of God can be comprehended only by realising how dear to Him is the unity of the Spirit among the members of the body of Jesus Christ. The example of our Lord and His disciples continuing to attend the services, not only of the Temple but also of the Jewish synagogues, till the fall of Jerusalem, should, one would think, have caused Christians to hesitate before they separated themselves from the Church of their fathers. There is no duty which is more constantly and earnestly insisted on by our Lord, the Apostles, and the Apostolic Fathers, than that of endeavouring to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace"; and there are few sins that are more strongly condemned by them than that of schism.

The sin of schism has, in many cases, lain at the door, not of the Separatists, but of those who, by priestly pride (as in Diotrephes), or by errors in doctrine and ritual (as at the Reformation), have driven others into Separation.

I. The first schism we hear of in the early Churches was caused by what has been a fruitful source of divisions in all ages, viz. *a factious spirit* (ἐριθεία), against which St. Paul so frequently warned his disciples (2 Cor. xii. 20; Gal. v. 20; Rom. ii. 8; Phil. i. 15; ii. 3): *i.e.* one party in a church separating from another through preference for some particular teacher. "Each of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ" (1 Cor. i. 12). St. Paul strives to cast out this factious spirit by indignantly asking. "Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" And he tells the Corinthians that as long as they harboured such a spirit, "I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ. For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk after the manner of men?" (1 Cor. iii. 1, 3). A strange fruit of this factious spirit was manifested in them, in that each member of a party transferred to himself the superiority which he fancied he saw in his own teacher; so that they were puffed up with spiritual pride, and thought themselves holier than the followers of other teachers (1 Cor. iv. 6).

A schism of the same nature appeared in the Corinthian Church towards the end of the first century. Though about this time the term "bishop" became distinct from "presbyter" in the Churches of Asia, the two terms were still synonymous in the Churches of Europe, and the Church in Corinth was ruled by a college of presbyters. A quarrel had rent both the presbyters and the Church into two factions. One of these was so much stronger in numbers than the other, that it arrogated to itself the right to take action as if it were the whole Church, and to depose the presbyters of the weaker faction from their office as ministers of God. The weaker party sent an embassage to the Church in Rome to complain of the unjust manner in which their presbyters had been treated. Whereupon the Church in Rome having, apparently, heard only one side of the quarrel, wrote a letter by the hand of St. Clement to the Church in Corinth. Though the party who had deposed the presbyters was so much more numerous than the other party that they are addressed by Clement as "the Church of God sojourning in Corinth—them that are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ"; and though their action is regarded as the action of the Church, yet he writes of it as "that shameful and detestable sedition, utterly abhorrent to the elect of God, which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally beloved, has suffered grievous injury." The whole Epistle is an earnest treatise on the sin of schism, and the duty of holding fast the unity of the Spirit, and as a means thereto, "being obedient to those who have the rule over you, and walking in the commandments of God, giving all fitting honour to the presbyters among you." He reminds them that "the blessed Apostle Paul, under the inspiration of the Spirit, wrote to you concerning himself, Cephas, and Apollos, because even then parties had been formed among you. But that inclination for one above another entailed less guilt upon you, inasmuch as your partialities were then shown towards Apostles, already of high reputation, and towards a man whom they had approved. But now reflect who those are that

have perverted you, and lessened the renown of your far-famed love. It is disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, that the most steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, on account of one or two persons, engage in sedition against its presbyters." As the Church in Jerusalem sent by the hands of "Judas called Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren," a letter to the Church in Antioch to heal the schism there (Acts xv. 22), so the Church in Rome chose Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus, and sent the letter of Clement by their hands to the Church in Corinth with an earnest request that they would "send back to us in peace and joy our messengers to you." Unfortunately, history is silent as to the result of the embassage, whether it was successful, or whether, perchance, when they heard both sides of the question, they altered their view of the respective guilt of the parties in the schism.

II. The schism from which the Church in Antioch was saved by the decrees of the Council in Jerusalem (Acts xv.) was of a different nature. The trouble there was caused by a party in the Church teaching doctrines contrary to the Word of God (*i.e.* by *heresy*). Though the Judaising teachers who sowed these first seeds of discord there failed at this time, they did not desist from their evil ways, and on a subsequent occasion we read that even Peter and Barnabas "were carried away by their dissimulation," and well-nigh caused a division in the Church by "withdrawing and separating themselves from those who did eat with the Gentiles." Much as St. Paul valued unity, he would not sacrifice one iota of the truth to attain to it, knowing that the unity of the Spirit must be based on the truth of God's holy Word. It was a brave act on the part of the great Apostle of the Gentiles to run the risk of a quarrel with Peter and Barnabas, and withstand them to the face for their dissimulation; and by doing so, he a second time saved the Church in Antioch from a schism.

The same false teachers followed St. Paul wherever he planted a Church, and especially in the Churches of Galatia succeeded in bewitching the "foolish Galatians." It is in his Epistle to these Churches, more than in any other of his Epistles, that the Holy Spirit has taught all ministers of the Gospel that, if they would promote unity among Christians, they must "be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word." "Though we," writes the Apostle, "or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be *anathema*." He warns them that they "which trouble you" are "false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage" (Gal. ii. 4, R.V.).

We cannot but think that it is this form of error that St. Paul designates as "the mystery of iniquity" (2 Thess. ii. 7). It is a many-headed Hydra, and manifests itself in many false doctrines and symbolic rites and ceremonies, which are all parts of one system of error. In our Lord's days it was "the leaven of the Pharisees," who "taught for doctrines the commandments of men," and who "made the Word of God of none effect by their traditions." In the last decade of the first century it troubled the seven Churches of Asia, and drew from our Lord the promise to the Church in Philadelphia, "Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship at thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee" (Rev. iii. 9). It caused bitter sorrow to the martyr Ignatius when, on his way to Rome, he wrote to one of the same Churches (A.D. 110–115), and describes the teachers of it as "treacherous wolves devouring the flock," "mad dogs biting by stealth," and "noxious herbs which are not the husbandry of Jesus Christ"; and exhorts them to "put away the leaven which hath waxed sour, not to live after the manner of Judaism." We know from St. Paul that it will not cease working till "the Lord shall consume it with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy it with the brightness of His coming."

III. The next cause of schism that we would mention is *Ecclesiastical pride and intolerance*, which ever goes hand in hand with "the mystery of iniquity." Ecclesiastical pride is the root and origin of sacerdotalism; it sets up a human priesthood in the place of the High Priesthood of the Risen Lord; it quenches the Spirit; it despises prophesyings; it abolishes the priesthood of the laity; it insists on the necessity of ordination to qualify a man for any spiritual work; it is the foe to missionary work, and the most fruitful source of schism in the Church. We have the first instance of a schism caused by it in the case of Diotrephes, of whom St. John, when recommending the missionaries of his day to the Church to which he writes, says: "Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and *casteth them out of the Church*."

The first great schism (as distinguished from heresy) that rent the whole Church, both Eastern

and Western, was of this nature, and was typical of all the great schisms of later years. It was a revolt of individuality against solidarity, of spirituality against the abuse of organisation, of the priesthood of the laity against the hierarchical claims of the local ministry. The standard of revolt against the increasing pride of bishops and presbyters, and against the growing conformity of the Church with the world, was raised by a presbyter named Montanus in the mountains of Phrygia. (See MONTANISM.) "There was no part of the world in which the gift of prophecy had been more freely given. . . . On the other hand, it was in that region that the threefold ministry had been first established. And it was there that the prophetic and local ministries first confronted each other," and the revolt which arose there spread through the Churches of Europe and Africa as well as through those of Asia. The Montanists were not heretics. They believed in all the articles of the Christian faith; theirs was not a revolt against Church organisation; they accepted the threefold ministry. "The distinctive features of Montanism, its appreciation of the Gospel as the new law, its refusal to entrust the local ministry with the restoration of those who had lapsed into grievous sins, unless on the recommendation of a prophet speaking in the Spirit, and its views about the near approach of the millennial kingdom of the Lord, were all characteristic of the earlier Christianity" (Lindsay). "The advanced party in the Church, which in the end triumphed, would subject the prophets to the official ministry. While the conservatives insisted that prophecy should be free as in the days of old, and specially free to interfere with and rebuke the growing desire for conformity with the world and for coming to terms with the state" (*ibid.*). See MONTANISM. The date of the appearance of Montanus as a prophet and Church reformer is uncertain, but it was probably about A.D. 156. He had no desire to form a separate sect, but "by the end of the year 170 several Synods, the first Synods regularly convened, had been held against the Montanists, the final result of which was their exclusion from the Catholic Church. Montanus now organised his followers into an independent community" (Kurtz).

To understand the great importance of this movement it is necessary to take a brief review of the relationship which had existed between the prophetic and local ministries in the days of the Apostles and Apostolic Fathers. The infant Church was brought forth on the Day of Pentecost, a living organism, every member filled with the Holy Spirit. It was the *beginning* of the fulfilment of Joel ii. 28-32: "I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall *prophesy*, . . . yea, and on My servants and on My handmaidens in those days will I pour forth of My Spirit, and they shall *prophesy*." "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." Some time afterwards the Spirit came upon them again, "the place was shaken wherein they were assembled together; and they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake the Word of God with boldness" (Acts iv. 31); in other words, they *prophesied*. St. Paul says that when Christ ascended on high, He "gave gifts unto men . . . some, apostles; and some, prophets; . . . and some, pastors and teachers" (Eph. iv. 11); and "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers" (1 Cor. xii. 28). For one hundred years at least, after the Day of Pentecost, these three orders of ministry, apostles, prophets, and teachers, existed, and were regarded by the Church as direct gifts from God, a ministry *from above*, not by human appointment (χειροτονία), nor by laying on of men's hands (χειροθεσία), but by the Spirit of God, and they were esteemed worthy of more honour than the local ministers, deacons, presbyters, and bishop.

This is made clear by the author of the *Didaché* as well as by other writers of the subapostolic age. The author of the *Didaché*, after prescribing a special form of thanksgiving to be used by the ordinary celebrant in the holy Eucharist, adds, "But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will" (§ x.). And again, "And every prophet who speaketh in the Spirit, ye shall not try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this shall not be forgiven" (§ xi.). "Now every prophet who wishes to take up his abode among you is worthy of his support. . . . All the first-fruits then of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep, thou shall take and give to the prophets, for they are your chief priests. But if ye have no prophet, ye shall give them to the poor" (§ xiii.). And of the local ministry he writes: "Now appoint for yourselves (χειροτονήσατε) bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not lovers of money, true men and proved; for they *render you the service of prophets and teachers*. Therefore neglect them not; for they are those who should be honoured by you, *along with the prophets and teachers*" (§ xv.).

The ideal ministry, and that which God gave to the earliest Churches, to the Church in Jerusalem (Acts i. to v.), and to that in Antioch (Acts xiii. 1), was apostles first, and afterwards "prophets," and "teachers," and no order of local ministers, except perhaps deacons, was needed. As the Churches became, some more

and some less, conformed to the world, the residence of prophet or teacher became problematical in each Church. No Church could be an organised body without officers, therefore every Church, after the example of the Apostles, had to appoint their own presbyters (bishops) and deacons, who rendered to them the service of prophets and teachers. But the former received no maintenance from the flock, whereas the latter did. The prophet was to be obeyed, not judged, for that was an unpardonable sin; he was to preside at the celebration of the Eucharist, for "the prophets," not the bishops, "are your chief priests."

The prominence given in the Epistles of Ignatius to the local orders of ministry prepare us for the great change which took place in the Churches about the middle of the second century, and the Montanist schism throws additional light upon it. It proves that the causes which led to the spread of the "gigantic figment" of the sacerdotal claims of the office-bearers of the Churches, of Apostolic Succession, and the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, were already at work in the Churches. The novel doctrine that "the spirits of the prophets are subject" not "to the prophets," nor to the Holy Spirit, but to the priests; that no man should exercise the gift of prophecy, or do any spiritual work in the congregation without authority derived from a priest; that the priests have a monopoly of the *charismata* of the Spirit; and that the gift of the Holy Spirit consists in a mysterious power to work miracles through the *opus operatum* of sacraments, without any change of character in the priest, and without faith in the recipient, was a denial of the liberty, not of the prophets only, but of the Holy Spirit by whom they were inspired. Montanism was a revolt against this Antichristian doctrine.

All that has been handed down by tradition of heretical doctrines and evil practices on the part of Montanus himself has been transmitted by his bitter enemies, and in no way affects the real origin and nature of the movement. The strenuous action of the Christians of Gaul and North Africa, and the encouragement they derived from it to resist the secularising tendencies of many Churches, speak volumes in its favour.

It is remarkable that Irenæus, who, though Bishop of Lyons, was an Asiatic, used his great influence on two occasions to persuade the Bishop of Rome not to cause a schism in the Eastern Churches. In the case of Victor excommunicating the whole of the Eastern Churches for differing from him as to the date on which the festival of Easter should be kept, Irenæus succeeded in hindering a schism. Though on this occasion he only wrote a letter to Victor, and though in the case of the Montanists he was sent by the Churches of Gaul as their ambassador, in order to prevail on the bishop to favour them, still, on the latter occasion he was not successful. Unfortunately, the heretic Praxeas, who was a bitter foe of Montanus, arrived in Rome from Asia at the same time, and the Bishop of Rome gave more heed to him than to Irenæus and the Christians of Gaul. Praxeas was a Patripassian, one who confounded the Persons of the Godhead, and said that God the Father was crucified in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. His influence with the Bishop of Rome elicited from Tertullian the sarcastic saying that, "Praxeas had effected two works of the devil at Rome; he drove out prophecy and brought in heresy; he put the Paraclete to flight and crucified the Father" (Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, ch. i). The separation between the so-called Catholic Church and the Montanists was now complete. In Phrygia, at least, the majority of the Christians formed themselves into a separate Church, and were ever afterwards persecuted by the Catholics. When Constantine recognised the Christian religion, the persecutions against them were intensified. At last, in the sixth century, the Emperor Justinian resolved to stamp them out, and so terrible were their sufferings that the historian Procopius tells us that with their wives and children they gathered themselves together into their churches, and setting fire to them, perished in the flames (Lindsay).

Most, if not all, of the great schisms of the dark ages, which, like that of the Montanists, were quenched (or nearly quenched) by the Romish Church in rivers of blood, arose from the same cause. See PERSECUTIONS. It was this that brought about the separation of the Protestant Churches from Rome at the Reformation; of the Nonconformists from the Church of England in the days of the Stuarts; and of the Wesleyans from the same Church in the eighteenth century. In all these cases it was not the Separatists, but those who drove them to it, who were guilty of the sin of schism. But God has never left Himself without witnesses; the Spirit of prophecy has never been wholly withdrawn from the Church; Pentecost was but the *beginning* of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, and the time is coming when "God will pour out His Spirit upon all flesh."

IV. There is another root of schism, perhaps the worst and most common of all, which is strongly condemned in the Word of God. "These be they who separate themselves, sensual, not having the Spirit" (Jude 19), of whom the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews writes, "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, *as the manner of some is*" (Heb.

x. 25). Where the spirit of unity is absent the spirit of schism is present. The Church is composed of churches, each under its pastors and teachers. To be practically a "member of Christ" every Christian should be a member of a congregation, and all members should be in submission one to another (Eph. v. 21); and "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account" (Heb. xiii. 17).

[R. B.]

SCHOOLMEN.—See THOMISTS AND SCOTISTS.

SCIENCE, CHRISTIAN.—The theory and practice represented by these words professes to be a new system of healing and a new system of religion. The scheme, if it may be so described, thus touches two of the vastest departments of human experience and of human thought. Suffering that needs healing, and religion that recognises the primary moral conceptions of humanity, are universal, age-long, and most varied. History has never recorded a tribe, nation, or race untouched by suffering, or atheistic. Christian Science is thus connected, hypothetically, with the largest range of human experience and of human sentiment. It is associated with the name of a remarkable woman, the Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy. In her early biography, entitled *Retrospection and Introspection*, she records the experiences which led her, in 1866, to the "Discovery" of the system which has made such way in America and in England. In 1862 she began to note and to circulate amongst her friends the results of her study of the Bible. She saw in this, her only text-book, that from the operation of divine principle, in the life of Christ, sin and disease "lose their reality in human consciousness, and so disappear as naturally and as necessarily as darkness gives place to light, and sin to reformation." Four years after this, in 1866, the authoress discovered the "Christ Science, the science of mind, and named it Christian Science." She claims for her discovery the solemnity and authority of a revelation, for which she further claims "finality," and even identity with the Holy Ghost (*Science and Health*, p. 579). Her first pamphlet on her discovery or revelation was copyrighted in 1870. It was not published till 1876, and for a reason which has, not uncharitably, provoked sharp animadversion: "She had learned that the science must be demonstrated by healing before a work on the subject could be profitably published." The word "profitably" is morally discoloured, and, unhappily, the stain is deepened by the fact that a heavy indictment was publicly laid against the system in 1899, when the mercenary reserve was found in the 138th edition of her book. Dr. Richardson of Toronto emphasized the lucrative selfishness of the caution that kept watch for a propitious season for publication. But the humiliating admission now accentuated receives sordid significance when read by the light of an article in the *C. S. Sentinel* of Feb. 16, 1899, in which it is alleged that "our Saviour received compensation for His healing of the sick."

The Bible of the new religion is a substantial and costly volume, entitled *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures, by Mary Baker G. Eddy, President of Massachusetts Metaphysical College*. It was first published in Boston in 1875, and it has run into hundreds of editions. The book is divided into seventeen chapters of unequal length, the last three being on "Genesis, Apocalypse, Glossary." It may be welcome to the curious reader to insert here the contents of each section. Chapter 1. Science, theology, medicine. 2. Physiology. 3. Footsteps of truth. 4. Creation. 5. Science of being. 6. Christian Science and Spiritualism. 7. Marriage. 8. Animal magnetism. 9. Some objections answered. 10. Prayer. 11. Atonement and Eucharist. 12. Christian Science practice. 13. Teaching Christian Science. 14. Recapitulation. There is also a very exhaustive index. There are passages of rare literary beauty in the work. The Holy Scriptures are very freely handled, and the misuse of the sacred text is both startling and eccentric. "When a new idea is borne to earth, the prophetic Scripture of Isaiah is renewedly fulfilled, 'Unto us a child is born . . . and his name shall be called Wonderful.'" "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear. He that feareth is not made perfect in love." "Here," says Mrs. Eddy, "is a definite and inspired proclamation of Christian Science." This magisterial opinion evidently assumes that "fear" is synonymous with disease, and that "love" is synonymous with what Christian Science terms Divine Principle. It would be at least most rash to assert that St. John believed either hypothesis. Christian Science is declared to be "the second coming of the Gospel of peace on earth and goodwill to men," and many other illustrations of the arbitrary misapplication of Holy Scripture may easily be seen in the pages of the text-book.

Christian Science, claiming to be a final revelation and an original discovery, should, *ex hypothesi*, be in accordance with Holy Scripture as the acknowledged publication of the will of God. There are at least three themes which touch, and vitally touch, the whole human race, and on each of these the revelation which God has given to us in these last days, as in that bestowed in the elementary economy, has spoken clearly. These are sin, disease, death.

Inspiration and experience show the universality of their range. They are the three realities which affect all moral and physical existence. Of these Christian Science avers: "Sin, sickness, and death are to be classified as effects of error" (p. 469). "The belief of sin, which has grown terrible in strength and influence, is an unconscious error in the beginning" (p. 81). "Man is incapable of sin, sickness, and death, inasmuch as he derives his essence from God" (p. 471). "Tumours, ulcers, tubercles, inflammation, pain, deformed spines, are all dream shadows, dark images of mortal thought, which will flee before the light" (p. 417). "Sickness is a dream" (p. 415). "The efficient cause and foundation of all sickness is error, arising either from ignorance or sin. It is always a false sense entertained, not resisted, which induces disease—an image of thought externalised" (p. 410). "Death will be found at length to be a mortal dream, which comes in darkness and disappears with the light" (p. 347). "In the illusion of death mortals wake to the knowledge of two facts: (1) that they are not dead; (2) that they have but passed the portals of a new belief" (p. 147). "Death is outdone." "Because of the wondrous glory which God bestows on manhood, temptation, sickness, and death had no terror for Jesus. Let men think they had killed the body! Afterwards He would show it to them unchanged" (p. 347). Sin, sickness, and death seem, in the estimate of the author of *Science and Health*, to be hallucinations. The bearing of her theory upon the mission and the miracles of our Lord is more easily imagined than described. The New Testament records three-and-thirty miracles wrought by the Lord Jesus Christ. Of these, four-and-twenty are miracles of healing. According to Christian Science, each of the afflicted subjects of the Redeemer's compassion was victimised by a delusion. They were all possessed of a hallucination. Of what value, then, were the miracles? Were they addressed to the imagination of the sufferers? And on such a hypothesis, what becomes of the Saviour's appeal to the sufferer's faith, and of His own appeal to the reality of His miracles as evidence of His power, of His relationship to the Father, and as vindicating the claims He made for the acceptance of His redemptive mission?

The principle that floats this new method of healing is the old doctrine of the influence of mind over body. It may be that in modern therapeutics this great truth has not received its proportionate prominence. But that proportion may be won for it without reducing the experience of the whole human family to fancy, to dreams, to illusions, and to deceits; without disregarding the authority or disparaging the example of Him who said, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick"; without denying what men of all creeds and races assert, that sin, sickness, and death are ubiquitous, connected, but remediable; without inventing a religion, called by the name of Christ, which denies His atonement, damages His character, and discredits those mighty works to which He appealed to support the claims He made. Such a scheme is neither scientific nor Christian. [W. L.]

SCOTTISH CHURCHES, THE.—The Scottish Churches may, for our purpose, be taken to be the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Congregational Churches have, indeed, indigenous elements; but their history, and to some extent the *personnel* of their ministry, connect them with communions outside of Scotland and make them less representative of the religious sentiment of the Scottish people. The early Scottish Church stood to some extent alone, independent of the Roman See; but long before the Reformation it was in full accord with Western Christendom. The modern history of the Scottish Churches begins with the Reformation.

From the Reformation downwards *the Church of Scotland* represents the main stream of Scottish Church history. In 1560, when the first General Assembly was held, the Confession of Faith of the Reformers was ratified by Parliament. In 1567 Parliament declared that there is no jurisdiction ecclesiastical within the realm but that of the Reformed Church. In 1592 an Act was passed which has been regarded as the Magna Charta of the Church. It ratified and approved all the liberties and privileges of the Church, also her four Courts, the Kirk Session, Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly, and the jurisdiction thereof. These Courts thereby became Courts of the realm, and their jurisdiction within their own province is acknowledged to be exclusive and absolute. The Kirk Session has the parish for its charge, the Presbytery is over all the Kirk Sessions and parishes within its bounds; the Synod, in like manner, is over Presbyteries, and the General Assembly is over all. At the annual meeting of the General Assembly the Crown is represented by a Lord High Commissioner, who opens and closes the Supreme Court concurrently with the Moderator; but he takes no part in the business of the Assembly, and his presence is not necessary to the validity of its decisions. The General Assembly possesses legislative as well as administrative and executive powers, and Acts of Assembly within the sphere of the Church have the same validity as Acts of Parliament.

Attempts were made by the Stuart sovereigns to encroach upon the spiritual independence of the Church and to transform its constitution, but these were only temporarily successful; and in 1690 the constitution of the Church, as now established by law, was finally settled. The legislation of 1690 ratified the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Westminster Assembly in 1646 and approved by the General Assembly of 1647, and generally confirmed the Act of 1592. In 1707 a statute was passed by the British Parliament called the Act of Security, which is inserted *verbatim* in the Treaty of Union as being a fundamental condition of the union of the two kingdoms. It enacts that every sovereign shall, on acceding to the throne, "inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of the true Protestant religion, with the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church." The first act of King Edward VII. on his accession was to take the oath thus prescribed. The reign of Queen Anne also witnessed the re-enactment, in 1712, of the law of Patronage, which had been repealed in 1690. It was in connection with the operation of this law that the most serious collisions between the Church Courts and the Civil Courts took place. It was the cause of the first secession under Ebenezer Erskine in 1733, and it was the chief cause of the Disruption in 1843. Since 1874, when the Act of Queen Anne was repealed, patronage has ceased in the Church of Scotland, and the election of ministers is vested in congregations, according to the view set forth by the Reformers in the First Book of Discipline in 1560: "It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister."

Popular election has, no doubt, drawbacks and abuses, but the abolition of patronage has enlarged the liberties of the Church and increased her popularity with the people of Scotland. Her national position, her parochial system, her well-secured spiritual freedom, her power of adapting herself to the needs of the times, and the faithful ministration of Word and Sacraments by her clergy, give the Church of Scotland a commanding influence and a splendid vantage-ground for the work of God in the land. The following figures give an idea of her present strength. The number of parishes is 1393, of which 426 are parishes *quoad sacra*, erected under Sir James Graham's Act of 1846. There are 231 non-parochial charges, and 206 preaching and mission stations. There are thus 1830 congregations, large and small, receiving the ministrations of the Church of Scotland. The communicants of the Church, as reported to the General Assembly of 1903, number 674,293.

As becomes a National Church, the Church of Scotland regards it as a primary duty to reach the whole population with Gospel ministrations. The parish, not the congregation, is her unit of organisation and work. Of recent years, when huge populations have become massed in the large cities, the carrying out of the parochial system has required the subdivision of parishes which have outgrown the energies of the ordinary ministry, by the erection of *quoad sacra* parishes. There has also been an increase of mission churches, a growing demand for licentiates and lay missionaries, and scope for the labours of deaconesses and parish sisters. The effort to cope with spiritual destitution has taxed the energies and resources of the Home Mission and the Endowment Scheme. Since the institution of the Endowment Scheme in 1846, a million and a half sterling have been contributed to secure the endowments alone, and another million may be added for the cost of the Church fabrics in *quoad sacra* parishes. The labours of the Christian Life and Work Committee, originally appointed in 1869, have developed new and valuable agencies, and have infused fresh life into the parochial organisation of the Church.

Whilst home claims have been honoured, the needs of the Empire and of the world at large have not been forgotten by the Church of Scotland. Her Colonial Mission, her Mission to the Jews of the Levant, and her missions to India, Africa, and China, are efficient and prosperous. There are 12,000 baptized converts from heathendom in her missions. Her missionary income of about £60,000 a year is, however, neither adequate to her opportunities, nor worthy of her position and resources. The standard of Christian liberality needs to be greatly raised within the Church, and efforts in this direction are being made. Nevertheless, the annual free-will offerings of her members amount to about half a million sterling—in 1901, £473,299, and in 1902, £445,582. The endowments, including stipend, manses, and glebes, amount to about £350,000 more. The Church of Scotland holds an honoured place among the great Evangelical Churches of Christendom. She stands loyally by the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Her relation to the Westminster Confession was set forth anew in 1903, when the General Assembly declared that "the Confession of Faith is to be regarded as an infallible rule of faith and worship in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture interpreted by the Holy Spirit." In the Church of Scotland there is no necessity for those party associations which have so greatly disturbed the peace of the Church of England. The Scottish Church Society, on

High Church lines, and the National Church Union, on Broad Church lines, have but a small membership, and have not achieved either influence or representative character.

The Church of Scotland, through her ministry has taken no mean place in the literary history of the country, and in theological literature her divines have borne a worthy part. In the critical questions at present occupying the minds of thoughtful people, her representatives for the most part take up a conservative position. As regards her relations with other Churches, union with the Scottish Episcopal Church, though desired by a few, is out of the question so long as the Scottish Episcopal Church declines to admit the validity of Presbyterian Orders, or to permit ministerial communion between Episcopalian and Presbyterian. A union with the other Presbyterian Churches is regarded with an open mind by a large body of her ministers, and would be welcomed by the mass of the people. But even to attain such a consummation there is no disposition to surrender her old endowments, or to sacrifice her position as a National Church.

The United Free Church is the result of the union of 1900, when the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church became one communion. The Free Church had, in 1876, received the Reformed Presbyterians; and the United Presbyterian Church had been formed by the union of the Relief Church and the Secession Church in 1847.

The United Presbyterian Church, now merged in the United Free Church, traces its origin back to 1733, when Ebenezer Erskine, with three other ministers, left the Church of Scotland mainly on account of the law of Patronage. They were joined by others, and the seceders gathered round them earnest and resolute followers. Splits, however, soon took place in the seceding body over questions relating to the province of the civil magistrate; and the Relief and the Secession Churches, the Burghers and the Anti-burghers, the Old Lights and the New Lights, represented the sections into which the seceders were broken up. In 1847 there was a union of these seceding Churches into the United Presbyterian Church, and the United Church had for more than half a century a prosperous career. When the larger union of 1900 took place, it had nearly 600 congregations and a membership of 200,000, after having, in 1875, transferred the congregations across the Border to the Presbyterian Church of England. It was in the Lowlands, especially in Glasgow and the West, that the United Presbyterian Church had its strength. The Voluntaryism of which it had become the exponent was distasteful to the people of the Highlands, and it was almost entirely unrepresented beyond the Highland line. By nothing was the United Presbyterian Church more distinguished than missionary enthusiasm and liberality. Its missions in Jamaica, Calabar, Kaffraria, India, and Manchuria have been remarkably successful. As preachers and champions of social reform, and as theologians and men of letters, its ministers rendered good service to their generation.

The Free Church of Scotland came into existence with the Disruption in 1843, which brought to a disastrous end the ecclesiastical struggle known as the Ten Years' Conflict. This struggle began with the passing of the Veto Act of 1834, an Act the aim of which was to secure that no pastor should be intruded upon a congregation through the operation of the law of patronage contrary to the wishes of the people. Instead of approaching Parliament to obtain the needed relief, the General Assembly dealt with the matter as one within the competency of the Church. In the face of a powerful minority the Veto Act was passed. A presentee who was disapproved under the Act, and refused institution to the living by the Presbytery, arraigned the legislation of the Assembly before the courts of law as an invasion of his civil rights. First the Court of Session, and then the House of Lords, found the Veto Act to be beyond the competency of the Church. There were other and cognate questions involved, and the cry was raised that the Crown rights of the Redeemer as Head of the Church were being trampled underfoot. When the crisis came, in May 1843, 474 ministers resigned their livings, gave up their manses, and left the Church of their fathers under convictions the sincerity of which is not open to question. Under Dr. Thomas Chalmers the Free Church organised itself for self-support, for the training of the ministry, and for missionary enterprise, with a self-sacrifice and devotion which have commanded the admiration of Christendom. In an incredibly short time the Disruption leaders covered the country with churches and schools for their adherents, and in the Highlands the Free Church had practically all its own way. The Free Church of the Disruption held fast by the Establishment principle. "Though we quit the Establishment," said Chalmers, "we go out on the Establishment principle. We quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. . . . We are the advocates of a national recognition and support of religion, and we are not Voluntaries." But the force of circumstances was too strong for the Free Church, and before a generation had passed a majority in the General Assembly

had declared for the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. It was natural that two non-established bodies, living side by side, should be drawn together, and in 1863 negotiations for union between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church were begun. The leaders of the constitutional party, however, were strong enough to offer a successful opposition to the movement, and it came to an end in 1873. As the constitutional leaders passed away, or gradually yielded to the pressure of opinion and circumstances, negotiations were resumed, and in 1900 the two Churches with their divergent testimonies became one. The United Presbyterian Church, unanimously, and the Free Church, by an overwhelming majority, entered into the Union.

The United Free Church, though in point of numbers considerably behind the Church of Scotland, and though weak in the Highlands because of the refusal of the Highland people, over wide districts, to join the Union, is a strong and vigorous Church. It has 1713 congregations, mission stations included, and the total number of communicants reported to the General Assembly of 1903 was 498,476. In missionary enterprise the United Church has gained strength by union. It has 15 mission fields; a total agency of 333 European missionaries, including 128 ordained and 49 medical missionaries; a total native agency of 2780; and native Christians in full communion, 41,867. The total Foreign Mission income of the United Free Church amounts to over £180,000.

In evangelical enterprise of every kind, as well as in temperance and social reform, the United Church takes a prominent part. With the critical movements affecting Holy Scripture, several of its leading ministers and professors, notably on the Free Church side of the Union, have been specially identified. Within the United Church there is a considerable body of opinion in favour of Disestablishment; but it is doubtful how far its Supreme Court is representative of lay opinion in this matter. There is reason to believe that there is a growing sentiment averse to the secularising of the ancient endowments; and there are many attached members who are opposed to the severance of the tie between Church and State. The present trend of opinion in Scotland is rather towards a union of all Presbyterians in a great National Presbyterian Church.

The Free Church of Scotland is the designation of the minority of the former Free Church who refused to enter the Union of 1900. In point of numbers it is by no means to be despised. It reckons 41,414 members and adherents, and it has 104 congregations in 11 Presbyteries and 5 Synods. The number of congregations having a settled pastor is 29; the remainder are ministered to by lay agents and others. The Church, small as it is, is resolved not to dwindle into a mere sect, for it keeps up the schemes of the Church, including the Jewish and Foreign Missions, and it maintains a Theological Hall to prepare an educated ministry. Its Christian liberality for 1902 amounted to £5422. It walks firmly in the old paths. It desires a reconstruction of the Presbyterianism of Scotland on the basis of an unswerving adherence to the Westminster Standards, and it testifies against political Voluntaryism, against the critical and ritualistic movements that are on foot, and against secularism in the education of the young. It is chiefly in the Highlands that its adherents are numerous. Its future will, no doubt, to a large extent be determined by the decision of the House of Lords in the appeal now pending with reference to the property of the old Free Church, which it claims.

Another section of the old Free Church is found in the *Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland*. It had its origin in a secession from the Church on account of the Declaratory Act of 1893, by which the Free Church, in the estimation of the seceding ministers, had departed from its ancient testimony. The number of ordained ministers in the Free Presbyterian Church is twelve, and there are over twenty sanctioned charges, with a number of mission stations besides. There are five students preparing for the ministry. It has a considerable body of adherents in different parts of the Highlands. Like the remanent Free Church, it holds fast by the Establishment principle, and is opposed to the use of hymns and organs in public worship. It cannot be believed that these divisions are wholesome or conducive to healthy religious life. In many parishes in the Highlands there are four different shades of Presbyterianism, the representatives of which stand aloof from one another and have no Christian fellowship. So far as the Highlands are concerned the religious outlook is far from bright. The fear is that people may drift away from all the Churches, and be lost to religion altogether.

There still remain to be mentioned the *Original Secession Church*, which has some thirty charges; and the *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, with ten charges in Scotland and a close alliance with the Reformed Presbyterian Churches of Ireland and America. Both communions are remnants from larger bodies which became united, and both have borne an unwavering testimony against all forms of Romanist error and prelatical assumption. [T. N.]

SCRIPTURE AND THE CHURCH.—That the Christian brotherhood, springing into public life at Pentecost, A.D. 33, preceded the writing of the New Testament is allowed, and the point has been made so much of that it must here be steadily kept in view. Yet it should not be overlooked that the Church did already possess a holy writ, dealing not only with Israel's historic past, but in a sense with its own present. The Psalms, the Prophets, never out of their hands, were in some places almost a mirror of the apostolic actions. The conclusions of our gospels, the beginning of the Acts, forcibly suggest that the recording of incidents began from the first moment. The idea sketched by Dr. Westcott of the steps by which the gospel memoirs might have taken their rise, seems safe and reasonable.[1] A collection of representative sayings and deeds of our Lord was, he imagines, made by an authoritative body, such as the Twelve, at a very early date, and this gaining exclusive currency would form the basis of addresses to the people. Westcott argues that this Apostolic Gospel, as he names it, dates unquestionably from the very beginning of Christian society, and he considers, therefore, that the substance of the "synoptic Gospels," as the first three are called, is clearly carried up to the age of the Apostles, and these three, he holds, reflect "the primitive apostolic message."[2] Westcott has no doubt that the history which we have received from the synoptic Gospels is that on which the Christian Church was founded, giving the Apostolic Gospel, and in a form certainly purer than what could have been found in any other document of very early date.[3] If we may go so far, there is almost no room for a purely oral interregnum, while there is much to make the idea otherwise suspicious, as lending itself so readily to the purposes of later controversy.

The sway which canonical Scripture came to hold over the early Church members, due primarily to the venerable authority of the ancient Bible, was supported by the character and office of the Apostles, until the Gospels, Acts, Epistles they were writing and superintending should be ready. Strong men of martyr fibre, invested with awe-inspiring powers, preachers of the Old Scriptures, incessantly proclaiming things they had seen, they must have vigilantly employed the whole weight of their collegiate position at Jerusalem, lasting several years, to secure the undisputed and exclusive acceptance among believers of the documents they were preparing. Of one thing especially may we feel certain: they would set their face against the first signal of that pernicious growth, oral tradition, which would desolate the paradise of truth they were preparing for the world. That they would ever foster such a plant, or consent to its parallel standing with their own authentic teaching, is inconceivable. Their Master's warning against "tradition," their own knowledge of the havoc it had played with the religion of Moses, leading to the national rejection of Messiah Himself, would have assured them of its being the root of all heresy, to be eradicated at every opportunity. Turning from headquarters to the leaders and the led on campaign, we feel the same assurance that "tradition" could not thrive in the plans they were working on. The picked independent men of the middle class we see on the one hand, visited by messengers of Paul's calibre on the other, show a sinew in the Apostolic Church that was bearing it safe through the days of transition from the spoken Word to the written. The older Scriptures were searched (Acts xvii. 11) by men intending to assert a judgment of their own, encouraged so to do by their guides; taking the message as divine from such only as could show divine credentials in flesh and blood before the pen and ink were forthcoming (1 Thess. i. 9; ii. 13), an invigorating scene this of races of men that were going to win in the world, not flocks of weaklings bowing the ear to undiscoverable dictators. Scripture and its converts, vastly more than the Church and its adherents, have furnished their testimony to Christ, who is the Truth.

As Apostles began to recede in the distance, men arose in the Church who, dissatisfied with the written Christianity descending from them, made out their own version of it, grounded, as they said, on an oral tradition more trustworthy. Irenæus, in his famous work *Against Heresies* (*cir.* A.D. 180), relates that false teachers, when reproved from the Scriptures, charge them with ambiguity, asserting that the truth, having been originally delivered not in writing but orally, cannot be delivered by those ignorant of tradition.[4] Irenæus held that what the Apostles delivered orally became embodied in Scripture and must be sought for in Scripture, saying that what those inspired men first preached was delivered to us in the Scripture to be the foundation and pillar of our faith.[5]

[1] Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, p. xxxvi, 7th ed. 1896.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

[4] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii. c. 2, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. vii. col. 846 A., quoted in Goode's *Sermon*, 1862, note A. p. 21.

[5] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, iii. 1; *Pat. Gr.*, vii. 844 A., quoted in Goode's *Sermon*, p. 6.

If we may be guided by this early Father, oral tradition is to be reckoned only a new way to a new Gospel.

Dr. Westcott, commenting on the period A.D. 303–340, remarks that down to then the books of the Bible were received as a heritage secured by prescription, common consent having allowed their authority. For with the exception of a single doubtful allusion in Tertullian (*cir.* 200), there is nothing to show that any debate was ever held on the canon of Scripture in Church Synods. Therefore the books admitted were without further inquiry acknowledged[1] everywhere. The earliest alleged judgment in the Roman Church was in 405.[2] Westcott observes that it is impossible to point to any period marking the date at which our present canon was determined.[3] It has been handed down in and by the Church, but authoritatively fixed by usage rather than by any positive law.

In 1452 the German Cardinal Cusanus, a busy controversialist, was contesting the claim of the Bohemians to the cup at Holy Communion. Their appeal to the Gospel history was most dangerous for the papal system, as the age rang with reform cries, and if the decision of Scripture was once admitted on principle the way lay open for doctrinal innovations to any amount. Cusanus boldly asserted that the Church was of higher authority than the Scriptures, having had a prior existence.[4]

The most popular external novelties signalising the Reformation were the Lord's Supper in worship, Holy Scripture in teaching. As to the latter, the Bohemian Confession in 1535 regarded the Canonical Scriptures as of absolute and unshaken veracity; in 1536 the Earlier Helvetic said Canonical Scripture was the Word of God;[5] both documents passed over unwritten tradition and the Church. Against this approaching tide of Biblical autocracy papal advocates produced more or less literally the rule of Cusanus. On April 8, 1546, in the fourth session at Trent, it was laid down that those unwritten traditions received by the Apostles from Christ and the Holy Spirit, handed down within the Catholic Church, were of equal authority with Canonical Scripture, the books of which the decree enumerated, including among them most of those deemed by the English Church apocryphal.[6] It was also enacted that the Church was the sole judge of the sense of Scripture, which no one dare presume to interpret otherwise than she lays down.[7] This ruling might be thought putting the Church above Scripture, but Dr. Whitaker hesitates to say so much, as Trent has no decree expressly to that effect; he therefore searches the writings of individual papalists. These, he reports, in terms disavow the charge of placing the Church above Scripture; yet, as they make the authority of Scripture to depend on the Church, Whitaker regards the distinction as one to no purpose, and makes them responsible for the tenet that Scripture is below the Church. The various writers, Bellarmine among them, are quoted and their statements discussed.[8] How prominent this subject had become at the period of the Council of Trent, and how decisively the Churches of the Reformation continued to express themselves upon it, will now further appear.

In 1553 the Church of England in the Vth of her XLII. Articles (the VIth of her XXXIX.), contrary to what Rome had decreed, made the Canonical Scriptures alone, as received by herself, the ultimate judge of whatever is pressed on man as necessary to salvation. In 1559 the French Confession regarded the Canonical Books as a sure rule of faith, not so much from the consent of the Church as from the testimony of the Holy Spirit, the Apocrypha having much inferior authority. In 1560 the Scottish Confession declared the Canonical Books to contain the written Word of God.[9] When, on December 4, 1564, the Council of Trent rose, Rome found herself alone holding the triple rule of faith composed of unwritten tradition, the Canonical Books and the Apocryphal, all alike depending for their authority on herself in the person of the pontiff.

In 1563 Scripture in relation to the Church came into the dispute which Bishop Jewel was carrying on with Harding in the *Apology*. For the Roman view—Church above Scripture—Jewel brought forward Cusanus. Harding said Cusanus had been misunderstood, but Jewel maintained the point at some length.[10] Scrip-

[1] Westcott, *The Bible in the Church*, 1864, p. 142.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195, referring to an epistle of Innocent I. to Bishop Exuperius, sec. vii. See Mansi, iii. 1040.

[3] Westcott, *Canon of New Testament*, p. 509.

[4] Cusanus, *Epp.*, ii. vii.; *Ad Bohem.*, *Op.*, Basil, 1565, tom. ii. pp. 833 (bottom), 858 (top).

[5] The Confessions in brief in Dr. Charteris's *Canonicity*, 1880, pp. 37, 39.

[6] *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (authorised edition), Latin, 12mo, 1837, Leipsig, p. 19. Much of Sess. IV. is given in Charteris's *Canonicity*, 1880, pp. 30, 31.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

[8] Dr. W. Whitaker, *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura*, 4to, Cantab. 1588, Eng. edition, Parker Society, pp. 275, 276.

[9] Charteris's *Canonicity*, pp. 38, 39.

[10] Jewel, *Defence of the Apology*, *Works* iii. 223; iv. 1010–13, Parker Society

ture was then become most distasteful and repellent to the Roman side, and it is plain was intensely feared. Their scoffs (for which references are all given) are quoted by Jewel, such as, "The Church is the lively breast of Christ, but Scripture is dead ink"; "a dead and dumb thing"; "dumb judges and cannot speak"; "the black gospel, an inken divinity";[1] "a nose of wax,"[2] to be set any way. Jewel asks his opponent, "How is it meet to call those which fear the judgment of the Holy Scriptures?"[3] In 1566 the Later Helvetic Confession held that the Canonical Scriptures have sufficient authority from themselves, not from men.[4]

All Elizabeth's reign this doctrine was being vigorously taught in the Church of England, especially by two heads of houses at Cambridge, Dr. William Fulke of Pembroke, and Dr. William Whitaker of St. John's, Regius Professor of Divinity. The Scripture, said the latter, hath all its authority and credit from itself; it is *αὐτόπιστος*,[5] whereas the papalists, as Fulke reports, were teaching their Church's authority "to be above the Holy Scriptures."[6] Cranmer's *Confutation*[7] of the papalist "Unwritten Verities" was also in circulation.

In modern days the Roman doctrine remains as it was, that the canon of Scripture descends to us "only from the Church," and that "from her authority is Scripture received."[8] Among English Churchmen at Oxford a marked change began with Keble's *Sermon on Primitive Tradition*, 1836, which, with other writings by Newman and Pusey, called forth William Goode,[9] who, after a searching analysis, thus summarised their position: The office of the Church is authoritatively to promulge the interpretation of Scripture given by Catholic tradition, and she is divinely guided to tell us truly and infallibly, in the fundamentals of faith, what that interpretation is.[10] This teaching Goode treated as completely consistent with the Roman maxim, "Church above Scripture." Goode noted the stress laid by the Tractarians equally with the Romanists on the fact of the Christian Church having begun before the appearance of the New Testament, both of them alike deducing from it the doctrine of oral tradition. He answers the argument as Jewel and Irenæus had done,[11] that what the Apostles had taught orally is to be sought for in Scripture and nowhere else.

[C. H.]

SEAL OF CONFESSION.—By this phrase is meant the absolute secrecy which the Roman and Greek Churches enjoin on their priests with regard to all confessions of sins made in the confessional. The Roman Church adopts this principle to its fullest extent, not only by excepting such confessions from the general rules of evidence, but by punishing the priest who reveals them, and even allowing a priest who has heard a confession, as such, when appearing as a witness in his private character, to swear he knows nothing of the subject; the confession being deemed to be made not so much to the priest as to the Deity he represents (Taylor, *On Evidence*, 1895 ed., p. 596).

The rule of law in England is thus stated by a leading text writer: "By the common law of England no distinction is recognised between clergymen and laymen, and all confessions and other matters not confided to legal counsel must be disclosed when required for the purposes of justice. By it neither penitential confessions made to the minister, or to members of the party's own Church, nor even secrets confided to a Roman Catholic priest in the course of confession are privileged" (Taylor, p. 596). Mr. Justice Stephen, in his *Digest of the Law of Evidence*, states the law in similar terms. He says, "I think the modern law of evidence is not so old as the Reformation. It came into existence at a time when exceptions in favour of auricular confessions to Roman Catholic priests were not likely to be made. The general rule is that every person must testify to what he knows. An exception to the general rule has been established with regard to legal advisers, but there is nothing to show that it extends to clergymen, and it is usually so stated as not to include them."

The principal argument in favour of the seal of confession is that, in its absence, criminals look upon the clergy as possible informers, and that they are thereby deterred from frequenting the confessional and confessing their crimes, to the detriment of their souls' health. This, however, involves the position that the confessional is beneficial, which Protestants deny. In England the State seems never to

[1] Jewel's *Works*, iv. 758, 773. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 759.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 58.
[4] Charteris's *Canonicity*, p. 38.
[5] *Disputation on Scripture*, 279.
[6] Fulke's *Defence of Translations*, p. 9. Parker Society.
[7] In Cranmer's *Remains*, pp. 19–67; esp. cap. viii. p. 52. Par. Soc.
[8] Addis and Arnold, *Cath. Dict.*, art. CANON.
[9] Author of *Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, 1842, 2 vols.; 2nd ed. 1853, 3 vols. *Sermon on Scripture the Sole Authoritative Expositor*, Acts xvii. 11, 12, Ripon Cathedral, March 30, 1862.
[10] Goode, *Divine Rule*, 1853, i. 42.
[11] *Sermon*, note A. p. 20.

have adopted the Roman Catholic rule of absolute privilege for everything revealed in the confessional. Very great crimes have always been excepted; thus, in pre-Reformation times the crime of high treason was not considered by the Courts to be covered by the seal of confession. Also, by Canon 113 of 1603-4, which marks a transition period between the pre-Reformation rule and that of the common law as it exists at present, a minister of the Church of England is allowed to "present" and reveal such crimes confided to him, "as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called in question for concealing the same." The canon evidently considers that the clergyman might, in many cases, be liable as (what is now known as) an "accessory after the fact," and death penalties were numerous in those days.

Several judges have, as Mr. Justice Stephen says, "for obvious reasons expressed the strongest disinclination to compel" a disclosure from clergymen, and the most modern arguments of those who maintain that the seal of confession should be preserved are well set out in *Best on Evidence*, 1902 ed. The privilege, if accorded at all, should be granted to ministers of all denominations, as is the case in many of the American States, where confessions made to a priest, or other minister of religion in that capacity, are rendered privileged by express statutory enactment. In France a similar rule prevails. In Scotland the confession of a prisoner in custody, while preparing for his trial, in order to obtain spiritual advice and comfort, is privileged, but communications made confidentially to clergymen in the ordinary course of their duty are not (Taylor, p. 596). [B. W.]

SECRETA.—Two meanings are given by Roman liturgical authorities for this word. It is used (1) as neuter plural, meaning secret things, or (2) in agreement with *oratio* (*secreta oratio*), *i.e.* a prayer or prayers said by the celebrant of the mass in a tone of voice which cannot be heard except by himself. The Reformers, as well as Liberal Roman Catholics, strongly objected to the practice of saying the Secreta and nearly all the canon of the mass secretly, and there was a prolonged dispute about the matter in France in the eighteenth century. Many priests began to say the Secreta and canon aloud, but that was not favoured by the Roman authorities. The Council of Trent, in its twenty-second session, approves the custom of saying parts of the mass in a "more elevated" and others in a low voice. In the General Rubrics of the Missal the priest is instructed to say the secret prayers so low as not to be heard by those around. Cardinal Bona holds that the Secreta and canon were said audibly until the tenth century, and that the faithful used to answer "Amen" after the words of consecration. The faithful do not at present hear the words of consecration.

[T. C.]

Inasmuch as such is the practice of the Roman Church, it is of importance that our clergy should remember that the English service is from beginning to end a service to be joined in by all—"common prayer" in the true sense of the word. The too common habit of the officiating clergyman altering the words of administration of the Holy Communion when addressing himself is objectionable, for they need no alteration. It is still worse to repeat those words in such a low voice as not to be heard by the congregation.

[C. H. H. W.]

SECULAR CLERGY.—By Secular Clergy is meant those who live in the world, as distinguished from those who live by rule (*regula*), and are called Regulars. The word secular is derived from *sæculum*, the world. In His last prayer for His disciples our Lord said, "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from evil" (John xvii. 15). But when the anchorite or monastic spirit took hold upon the Church, it began to be regarded as a note of sanctity to fly from the world and live a life of asceticism. Honorius II. (1125) seems to have been the first to use the term "secular" in reference to clergy living outside monasteries. When friars began to be multiplied in the Middle Ages, a bitter feud soon sprang up between themselves and the parochial clergy. John Wycliffe was in constant conflict with the friars. Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote as strongly against the friars as Wycliffe. The Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, and, later, the Jesuits, spread themselves over the country, making loud professions of poverty, but amassing great wealth. The Generals of the Regulars resided in Rome, and, having the ear of the Pope, as well as understanding how to influence the various congregations, they generally managed to get the better of the bishops. From the time when the Jesuits came into England, in the reign of Elizabeth, down to a recent period, there was bitter contention and rivalry between the Seculars and Regulars. By secularisation is understood the extinction of the title by which property was held by the Church, and the placing of such property at the disposal of the secular or civil power.

[T. C.]

SEDILIA.—The Latin word for seats, benches, or chairs. Certain seats within the communion rails, used by clergy during the preaching of the sermon.

SEMI-PELAGIANISM.—See PELAGIANISM.

SEPTUAGESIMA.—A name given to the third Sunday before Lent. Together with "Sexagesima," the second Sunday before Lent, and "Quinquagesima," the Sunday before Lent, the name seems to have been formed incorrectly on the analogy of Quadragesima. See QUINQUAGESIMA.

SEPTUAGINT, THE.—The Septuagint is the title by which the Greek version of the Old Testament has been known from the beginning. It is, so far as is known, the earliest translation of any important work in the literary history of the world. It had much to do in the moulding of Hellenistic Judaism and the literature belonging to it. In the history of redemption it occupies an important place. It was not through the original Hebrew, but through the Septuagint translation that the great truths of revelation first became widely known to the Greek and Roman world. It was owing to the diffusion of this version in the Greek-speaking countries that the persuasion became general throughout the East (*percrebuerat oriente toto*) of the approaching advent of a Redeemer. And when the world's Redeemer appeared in the flesh, the Septuagint was His Bible, and that of His Apostles and first disciples. The works of the New Testament writers exhibit acquaintance with nearly all the Old Testament books, and Old Testament quotations in the New Testament reveal the use of the Septuagint version. In St. Paul's Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews there are over a hundred quotations from the Septuagint. The Apocalypse is saturated with its phraseology, though it does not have a single direct quotation. Its abiding value for Biblical criticism is very great. It is an independent, though an indirect, witness to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament books. For exegetical purposes it is an important authority. It is not merely that the Septuagint and the New Testament are the two best known monuments of Hellenistic Greek, they have both come to us with a Semitic impress, the Septuagint translators and the New Testament writers (with the one exception of St. Luke) being all of Jewish race, and versed in the Hebrew tongue. While the commentator may often obtain help in the elucidation of New Testament words and idioms from classical literature, he will be careful not to overlook the Septuagint with its vastly closer affinities and its still more direct illustrative parallels. There are also questions affecting the Canon of Old Testament Scripture in the settlement of which the Septuagint has evidence to give.

When it is remembered that the earlier history of our English Bible runs occasionally through a dark tunnel, it need not be wondered that the origin of the Septuagint version is wrapt in considerable obscurity. We can, however, be certain that it did not spring into existence all at once, but was produced in divers portions and by divers hands. Its origin carries us back to an interesting epoch in the history of the Jewish people, and, indeed, to a new era in the history of human culture. It was one of the first and most enduring creations of that world which came into being with the conquests of Alexander the Great. It is interesting to observe that the book which, next to the Bible, has been oftenest translated, and, we might say, next to the Bible, is most widely known—viz. Euclid's *Elements*—has come down to us from the city of Alexandria and from the same century and reign. Hellenism began its career with Alexander, and in the Septuagint, Hellenism and Judaism are wedded in a union which has been fraught with momentous consequences. No sooner had Alexander taken possession of Egypt than he founded the city which has borne his name for more than two millenniums, and flourishes to this day. There were Jewish settlements in Egypt continuously, perhaps, from the days of Jeremiah, and the Jews appear to have given a welcome to the Macedonian conqueror. When he founded his city, Alexander conferred upon the Jews rights of citizenship, and set them in a quarter of the city by themselves. Ptolemy I., whose reign saw the foundation of the famous Library, to whom Egypt fell among the Diadochi, or successors of Alexander, made repeated expeditions into Palestine, and whether by compulsory deportation or by the encouragement of Jews as settlers, increased the Jewish colony in Alexandria, at the same time ratifying their former privileges. The question has been raised whether too much has not been made of a Jewish community in Alexandria so early, and it has been asserted that we can scarcely speak of a Jewish Dispersion anywhere before the Maccabean period in the second half of the second century. The evidence, however, points plainly to the existence of a Jewish community in Egypt much earlier than this. Papyri prove unmistakably the presence of Jews in Egypt under the earlier Ptolemies, and quite recently a remarkable inscription has come to light showing that at Schedia, some twenty miles from Alexandria, there existed a Jewish community which had built a synagogue and dedicated it to the honour of Ptolemy III., Euergetes, and his queen Berenice, some time between 247 and 222 B.C. If such a community was formed in the little town of Schedia at that date, we can well believe the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria to have had a considerable Jewish community at a still earlier date.

It is to the reign of Ptolemy II. (284–247 B.C.) that tradition assigns the first instalment of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The story has come down to us circumstantially in the famous letter of Aristeas. The Greek text of this letter is given in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, and a useful translation of it appears in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for April 1903. Though the letter is no longer regarded as genuine, there is a general concurrence of opinion among scholars that there is a historical element in it. It professes to be written by an officer in high place at the court of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, though internal evidence shows that the writer is a Jew bent on glorifying the people, the country, and the Divine Law of Israel. The writer tells his brother Philocrates how Demetrius of Phalerum, who is described as the Royal Librarian, had represented to Philadelphus the desirability of procuring for the famous Library a copy of the Jewish Law in an accessible translation. The king adopted the suggestion, and despatched Aristeas and Andreas, the captain of the bodyguard, to Jerusalem with presents and a letter to Eleazar the high-priest, requesting his countenance and aid in carrying out the project. In due course seventy-two elders, six out of each tribe, came down to Egypt bringing with them a copy of the Law written in golden letters. For seven days they had daily audience of the king, who provided entertainment for them in accordance with their customs, and they excited the admiration of the entire court by the wisdom with which they answered, on the spur of the moment, the difficult questions proposed to them in philosophy, politics, and ethics. Thereafter they were conveyed to the island of Pharos, where, in a residence by the seashore, "in a situation of perfect stillness," they devoted themselves to the work of translating the Law. Every day they all translated, each one by himself, a portion of the Law, and then, after a comparison of the various renderings, agreed upon a common text. In seventy-two days the work was completed. The Alexandrian Jews whom Demetrius assembled to hear the translation, received it with acclamation, and begged that a copy should be given to their rulers. They added that as it had been executed with such perfect accuracy it ought to be preserved unaltered, and a curse was pronounced upon any one who should attempt its revision. Such is the story told in the letter of Aristeas, which has become the subject of considerable literature. The story was improved upon by the early Fathers of the Church, who represented, as a proof of the divine inspiration of the LXX. version, that when the seventy-two translators compared their respective renderings, they all agreed to the letter. This version of the story implied that the translators had each separately devoted himself to the translation of the whole Law, and Justin Martyr, or whoever was the author of the work entitled *Cohortatio ad Græcos* attributed to him, declared that he had been shown at Alexandria the remains of the seventy-two cells in which the translators worked; while Epiphanius, two centuries later, recorded that they had occupied the cells in pairs.

It is not an easy task to separate the kernel of truth in this story from the admittedly fictitious narrative. Recent criticism tends to confirm its descriptions of the life and customs of Egypt at the time. "The Papyri prove," says a learned writer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (April 1903, p. 338), "that the writer employs the titles of court officials and the technical terms connected with royal decrees and court usage with strict accuracy. The information which he gives with regard to Alexandria and the customs and institutions of the Ptolemies may be accepted as trustworthy, and may sometimes be used to supplement the information supplied by the papyri." On the other hand, recent research has shown that Demetrius of Phalerum never was Royal Librarian. There are also points of detail which have a suspicious look, such as the selection of six men from each tribe, the names given to the Seventy-two, and the recurrence of this number in connection with the translations. The letters represented as having passed between Philadelphus and the Jewish high-priest are clearly imaginary. Meanwhile, Schürer, one of the greatest authorities on the period and its literature, places the letter about 200 B.C., little more than half a century after the time when the translation is said to have been made.

The probabilities of the case are these. The tradition which assigns the Alexandrian translation of the Jewish Law—for it is of the Law contained in the Pentateuch that the letter of Aristeas speaks—to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus need not be questioned. The literary tastes of this Ptolemy may well have awakened in him and the circle of scholars gathered round the Library an interest in the ancient Law of his Jewish subjects, and a desire to obtain it for his great collection. Whether the royal interest would have led to such an unprecedented effort as a translation of a work from another tongue may be doubted. Internal evidence is against the idea that the translation was executed for literary purposes, or that it was accomplished by scholars expert in the Hebrew tongue, as were the Palestinian Jews. It bears rather the marks of popular origin, and it is, on the whole, more likely that it arose

out of a deeply felt need on the part of the Jews in Egypt, whose decreasing familiarity with their own Hebrew tongue placed an adequate knowledge of their religious books, and especially of their Law, beyond ordinary reach. So while, on the one hand, Greek scholars began to evince an interest in Jewish history and in Judaism, the Jews, on the other hand, felt the necessity of adopting the outward forms of Greek literature alike for purposes of personal edification and of the propagation of their divinely given faith. It was most likely from this condition of things that the Septuagint took its origin. The religious requirements of the Jews of the Dispersion, not only in Alexandria, but in the cities of the Greek-speaking world, demanded a version of the Law to begin with, which could be "understanded of the common people." Confirmation of this view is afforded by Deissmann's collection of peculiar words and forms, many of which are common to the LXX. and the papyri, and point very decisively to the Egyptian and popular origin of the translation. From the tradition of its origin the translation received the title of Septuagint, and it is quoted by Greek commentators under the symbol *οἱ Ο′* or *οἱ Οβ′*, the Greek for 70 or 72.

The Greek-speaking Jews, we may be sure, were not long content to possess a translation of the Law. In due time there followed versions of the Prophets and the Hagiographa. The question of the Book of Daniel and some of the Psalms involves an inquiry into the formation of the Hebrew Canon which is beyond the scope of this article. But that all the translations were the work of Jewish hands is clear from the characteristics of the versions themselves. That many hands were at work is clear from the differences of idiom and style. Some of the books of the Old Testament are rendered in a free translation, whilst others are given in a version almost unintelligibly literal, which is the case with Ezekiel, Chronicles, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes. The translation of the Pentateuch takes the first place in point of excellence, but Isaiah and some of the other prophetical books are very inadequately translated. But from first to last the LXX. translation teems with peculiarities and idioms unknown to classical Greek. It has been the custom to set these down as Hebraisms, but the study of the Greek papyri recovered from the soil of Egypt rather leads scholars now to ascribe them to the vulgar Egyptian Greek familiar to the translators and the readers for whom they laboured.

As an independent witness to the text of Old Testament Scripture as it came from the pen of the inspired writers, the Septuagint, as we have seen, is of the greatest value. The Hebrew text lying before the Septuagint translators is earlier than the Massoretic text which is now the standard text of the Hebrew Bible. In some books, notably in the Book of the prophet Jeremiah, there is a different arrangement of the prophecies, and there are even differences in the actual contents. It has to be borne in mind, also, that the Septuagint version includes the Old Testament Apocrypha, which have been the occasion in the past of great controversy, and still form a serious difficulty to the Bible Societies whose principle it is to circulate the Scriptures without note or comment. The subject is one of the greatest interest, but the prosecution of it lies outside of our present purpose.

Although the Jews welcomed the new version, and pronounced it a translation never to be tampered with or changed, this attitude did not permanently prevail. As Christianity spread, and as the first preachers fell back upon the LXX. version of the Old Testament in their references to Israel's history when disputing with the Jews, the Septuagint fell into disfavour with the Jews and was rejected as an authoritative version. First, the proselyte to Judaism, Aquila of Pontus, produced another version, and others followed which the Jews regarded as more accurate. These are all now of the utmost value in the settlement of textual questions. But the LXX. held the field, and more than any of them influenced the great Christian writers of the early Church, and notably the great national versions of the Christian Scriptures—the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Coptic, the Ethiopic, and the Gothic. "It created a language of religion," says Professor Swete, "which lent itself readily to the service of Christianity and became one of the most important allies of the Gospel. It provided the Greek-speaking Church with an authorised translation of the Old Testament, and when Christian missions advanced beyond the limits of Hellenism, it served as a basis for fresh translations into the vernacular" (*Introd. to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 433).

[T. N.]

SEPULCHRE.—A name given in the Roman Church to a place where the consecrated wafer is deposited from the Mass on Holy Thursday till the Office on Good Friday. See RESERVATION.

SEPULCHRES (CATACOMBS).—The special subject, under this general heading, which this article professes to treat, is the Roman Catacombs. The origin of the term "catacomb," applied so universally, though not exclusively, to the underground cemeteries of the Campagna, is not certain. According to De Rossi, the derivation is partly Greek and partly Latin, and in that case would answer

walls of these subterranean cemeteries." To this there has to be added the fact that special care was taken in selecting the areas suitable for such a purpose. The higher sites were preferred, with more or less deep depressions around them, so as to admit of such drainage as was available in the all too flat Campagna. The remarkable freedom of even the lower galleries from water is a proof of the wisdom shown in the selection, as well as of the existence of unsuspected depressions in the wide expanse of the Campagna.

The *arenaria*, or "sand-pits," are only found in the granular tufa, and are met with in isolated beds of limited extent. It has now been definitely established that the strata abounding in pozzolano were almost invariably avoided by the catacomb excavators. Where a sand-pit occurred, too much labour and expense were required to make it suitable for burial purposes. In the Catacomb of Priscilla there is a notable example of this, which has had the effect of preserving intact the graves at first scooped out of the sides of the pit, which had afterwards to be held up with brick walls. Such cases, however, are rare, and give no ground for the mistaken idea that the catacombs were originally sand-pits, partly found ready for graves, and partly cleared of the sand that had filled them. The most cursory glance at these galleries should have been enough to set aside that now exploded theory. On all sides the very marks of the fossor's pick can be seen, and the fact is made plain that each gallery was excavated or extended, as it was needed, out of the tufa. One purpose can be seen running through every gallery with its narrow passage, its regularly cut graves, its low ceiling—to economise every inch of space for burial. Even the short spaces in the walls, which did not admit of graves of full length, were turned into children's graves. Gallery was run behind gallery, until there was left of the original tufa only enough to support the weight above it. When the whole available space on one level was used up, gallery was laid out under gallery, until there were three, four, five, or even seven different storeys. Thus a very limited area could be made to provide a great many graves.

The question naturally occurs here, how were the diggers able to dispose of such an amount of material as these countless galleries must have yielded? Part of it was used to fill up vacant sand-pits, wherever they were within reach, of which we have distinct evidence. By far the greater part was brought to the surface and easily disposed of, as during most of the time when the catacombs were in use the Christian places of burial were fully protected by Roman law. In the times of sorest persecution no expedient was left them but to fill up with fresh excavations the galleries already lined with dead. Though there are evidences here and there both of pagan inscriptions and pagan tombs, these must be held to be foreign to their original destination. The inscriptions of this character are easily explained by the manifest fact that the pagan slab was simply reversed and used for a Christian purpose. The presence of pagan tombs is more difficult to account for. This was owing, it has been supposed, to the laxity of the Church authorities of the period to which they belong. Very possibly, also, during the time of confiscation of the Christian cemeteries advantage was taken of them for pagan burials. Such cases, however, are so limited in number that no great importance can be attached to them, and they do not affect the general position that the catacombs were intended for Christian burial.

Did they also serve for Christian worship? Chapels, certainly, are frequently met with, intended only at the first for family tombs, with their "arcosolium," or arched tomb, opposite to the entrance, and ordinary "loculi" lining the sides. There it was possible for a very limited number of persons to gather for acts of worship, but the very restricted space in even the largest of them, shuts out the possibility of the public services of the Church having been held in them. The old theory about the sand-pits lent itself far more easily to the idea of Church gatherings in the catacombs. Now that the theory has been set aside, a far more just conception of the kind of religious services held in the catacombs has come to be formed. On the occasion of the deposition of a body, and again on the anniversary of the death from year to year, it was customary for the friends of the deceased to hold a special festival. These feasts for the dead were occasionally accompanied with the observance of the Lord's Supper. Distinct evidence of this is found in the celebrated fresco of the Cappella Greca of the Priscilla Catacomb, said to belong to the first half of the second century. On the wall over the arch there are seen seven persons seated round a table with a woman among them, on the left of him who is in the act of breaking the bread. On this account it has been called the fresco of the *fractio panis*. In the centre of the table there can be seen the unusual object, a simple wine-cup with double handle, in addition to the platters with the bread and fish. On the wall, both to right and left, there are seen the baskets filled with loaves, reminding us so forcibly of the miracle of the loaves. Whether we take this scene as representing the funeral feast only, or the Eucharistic

service following it, the intention of the artist is to convey the fact that in that early crypt such a scene was witnessed. The very bench is there on which the guests sat. The wooden table has only to be placed in front of it to make it ready for them. The chapel might, as is alleged, have contained the remains of the members of the family of Pudens. Most certainly the figures on the arched wall have all the appearance of being intended for portraits. The impression conveyed is that it was the family chapel of noted persons in the Christian community. It is out of the question however, to suppose that every tomb with an arcosolium served the purpose of a Eucharistic observance, just as it is now held to have been quite disproved that every such tomb was that of a martyr. The very phials that were once supposed to contain the remains of the blood of the martyrs, from the reddish deposit found in them, are now judged to have been used for holding the wine of the funeral feasts. When the "cult" of the martyrs began to develop, no doubt some of the arcosolia were used for the celebration of the Eucharist. Their marked frequency is more naturally explained by the fact that many a family was able to pay for an arcosolium when the chapel would have been beyond its means, and yet something more than the "loculus," even with its two or three breadths, was an object of desire. Where family triclinia, such as the Cappella Greca, which we have described, were not available for the funeral feasts, special facilities were provided in the triclinia at the entrance to the catacombs. A remarkable illustration of this is found in front of Domitilla's tomb. The triclinium with its bench of tufa running along two of its sides, the space for the table, the side chambers, and the draw-well are all well preserved to this day. For the great majority of the mourners this arrangement must have been far more convenient than the celebration of the feast within the catacomb, where there was little room and less light, besides too close contact with the many graves.

The sanctity attaching to the catacombs is specially worthy of note. All places of burial, whether pagan or Christian, were held peculiarly sacred by the Romans, and were placed under the protection of special laws. Burial societies were regularly instituted, and enjoyed peculiar privileges. There was no need, therefore, to conceal the very existence of these subterranean burial-places. On the contrary, there were prominent structures at their entrance which could be well seen from the public highways. It was only from the time of Septimius Severus that new entrances and secret stairs began to be constructed. The history of the times supplies us with well-authenticated cases of concealment, and even of martyrdom, among their tortuous windings, but such were by no means common. In no respect were the catacombs suited for places of refuge for long periods. The most striking feature about them is the extraordinary number of graves that are found in them. If it be even approximately true that no fewer than 3,831,000 persons have been buried in them, what a marvellous testimony is this to the power of Christianity in those early times! Even at the close of the second century Tertullian could well write: "We are but of yesterday, yet we fill every city, town, and island of the Empire. We abound in the very camps and castles, in the council chamber and the palace, in the senate and the forum; only your temples and your theatres are left."

An important place must yet be given in our article to what the catacombs tell us of the beliefs and hopes of these early Christians. In estimating that testimony certain great principles should guide us, such as admit of general acceptance. The first place must always belong to the testimony of Scripture. Where there is manifest divergence between the teaching of the written Word and that of the fresco or sculpture, there should be no hesitation as to which we are to accept. Room for the evolution of truth, which has been no more than hinted at, is admissible; but only within the lines of the analogy of faith. Further, the evidence from the catacombs must be weighed according to its age and clearness. The catacomb testimony is one that has many blanks in it. Only dated inscriptions can be held to be of real value in settling when a doctrine or a custom came into use. All, who are familiar with the history of the Church in the first centuries, know what a vast difference it makes whether a doctrine or usage belonged to the first three centuries or to those that followed. Of the 11,000 inscriptions reported on by De Rossi, of which 6000 are from the catacombs, one only with a fixed date belongs to the first century, two to the second, and twenty-three to the third. It will also be admitted that we are not to expect the testimony to range over the entire circle of truth. It will naturally limit itself to the subjects that bear most directly on death and the deliverance from it, as well as the Deliverer.

For the oldest epitaph *with a date* bearing on the condition of those who have "fallen asleep in Christ," we have to come down to A.D. 217. It is found on a large sarcophagus prepared for one who had a high position in the imperial household. After giving his various titles, it concludes with the words, "For him well-deserving his freedom * * * provided this sarcophagus at their own cost." On the

back of it, in smaller characters, are found the words, "Prozenes received to God on the 5th day before the nones of ——." Brief as the expression "received to God" is, it is enough to show how entirely opposed it is to the dogma of purgatorial fires after death. Another epitaph of A.D. 235 is in memory of a maiden of fifteen years and four months, who is spoken of as having "retired from the world." There we have the suggestion of a life continued in other conditions. And if we want to know what these are, we have such expressions as, "May you live among the holy ones," of A.D. 268, on the tomb of a boy of twelve years and eleven months. The state after death is there referred to as one "among the holy," reminding us of the words of Scripture, "the spirits of the just made perfect." The last dated inscription prior to the close of the third century, A.D. 291, closes with the words, "Refresh thyself among the holy spirits." There, certainly, we have evidence of the belief that the spirit of the departed had passed into a state of comfort and enjoyment such as it is impossible to apply to the mildest form of purgatorial fire. There is no need to insist on the many allusions to "sleep" and "peace," which confirm the same view, though they are less indicative of a conscious life of bliss. The definite conclusion, to which the dated inscriptions of the first three centuries entitle us to come, is that there is nothing in them to support the dogma of the middle state with its fires of purification. The evidence of later date is yet stronger in favour of the true scriptural doctrine as taught by the Apostles, that "to be absent from the body" is "to be present with the Lord."

As to *prayers for the dead*, a notable difference has to be marked between one class of inscriptions and another. While there are those which affirm some belief as to the blissful state of the departed, there are others which imply a wish or a desire, akin to prayer for them. Such as these occur: "May you live in God," "May you live among the holy ones," "May you sleep among the just," "God give thy soul rest in the tents of the holy." None of these can be considered actual intercessions for the dead; they are rather pious ejaculations, springing from sorrowing hearts moved with loving desire for their departed. There are others that must be admitted to be more directly in the form of prayers, as "Remember, O Lord Jesus, our child," "Give rest to the soul of Thy servant in the light, in the refreshment, in Abraham's bosom," "O Lord, let not this soul be brought into darkness." And yet little can be made of these, when it is remembered that it needed no fewer than six centuries to develop a natural heart-longing into a pious exclamation, and that again into a kind of prayer. The second and third centuries give evidence of the less objectionable form of the wish or the prayer for the departed, while even with the fifth and sixth we get no farther than the expressions just quoted. It is on such slender materials that the whole system of masses for the dead has been founded, doing dishonour, as it does, to the death of our Lord, keeping the faithful in terror while they live and their friends miserable after they die, and furnishing a very fruitful source of income to the Church which approves such teaching.

In regard to *prayers to the dead*, the dated evidence is feebler still. Out of the 1374 inscriptions with dates of the first six centuries, there is but one recorded prayer to the dead, that of an orphan girl in the hour of her bitter sorrow: "O pray for this, thine only child." If we add to this a few others without date we have the sum of the evidence from this source, on which the invocation of the saints rests. So much does the later custom appeal to the natural feelings of the bereaved and desolate, that it must have become, had it been held by the early Church, one of the most common sentiments expressed on the epitaphs.

Of the *use of the cross as a Christian symbol* in the catacombs, De Rossi could point to but one instance before the time of Constantine, and it remained exceedingly rare for more than a century thereafter. If the recent researches of Monsignor Wilpert, as summarised by him in an article of the Bulletin of Christian Archæology, have somewhat modified this decision, all that he claims is that up to the year A.D. 410, he can easily lay his hand on twenty illustrations. The most interesting of these is found in the Domitilla catacomb, where there is the figure of a large palm, and under it the name of the deceased, "Bictoria," while alongside of the name there is a Latin cross. This slab is considered by him to belong to the first half of the third century. Another is found in the same catacomb, in a gallery leading to the tomb of Ampliatus, the friend of St. Paul in all probability. Under the Greek cross there can be read "Gaudentius," with only one letter missing. Its age is given as not earlier than the second half of the third century. The other instances given in the same article are admitted to be of the third or subsequent centuries. After all, great reserve was manifested in the use of so important a symbol. Other symbols of an earlier date are to be found, with which the cross is combined. The earliest of these is "the anchor." In one case "the fish" is put with it and finds a place on each side of the anchor. But even this is placed no farther back than the middle of the third century. The most remarkable illustra-

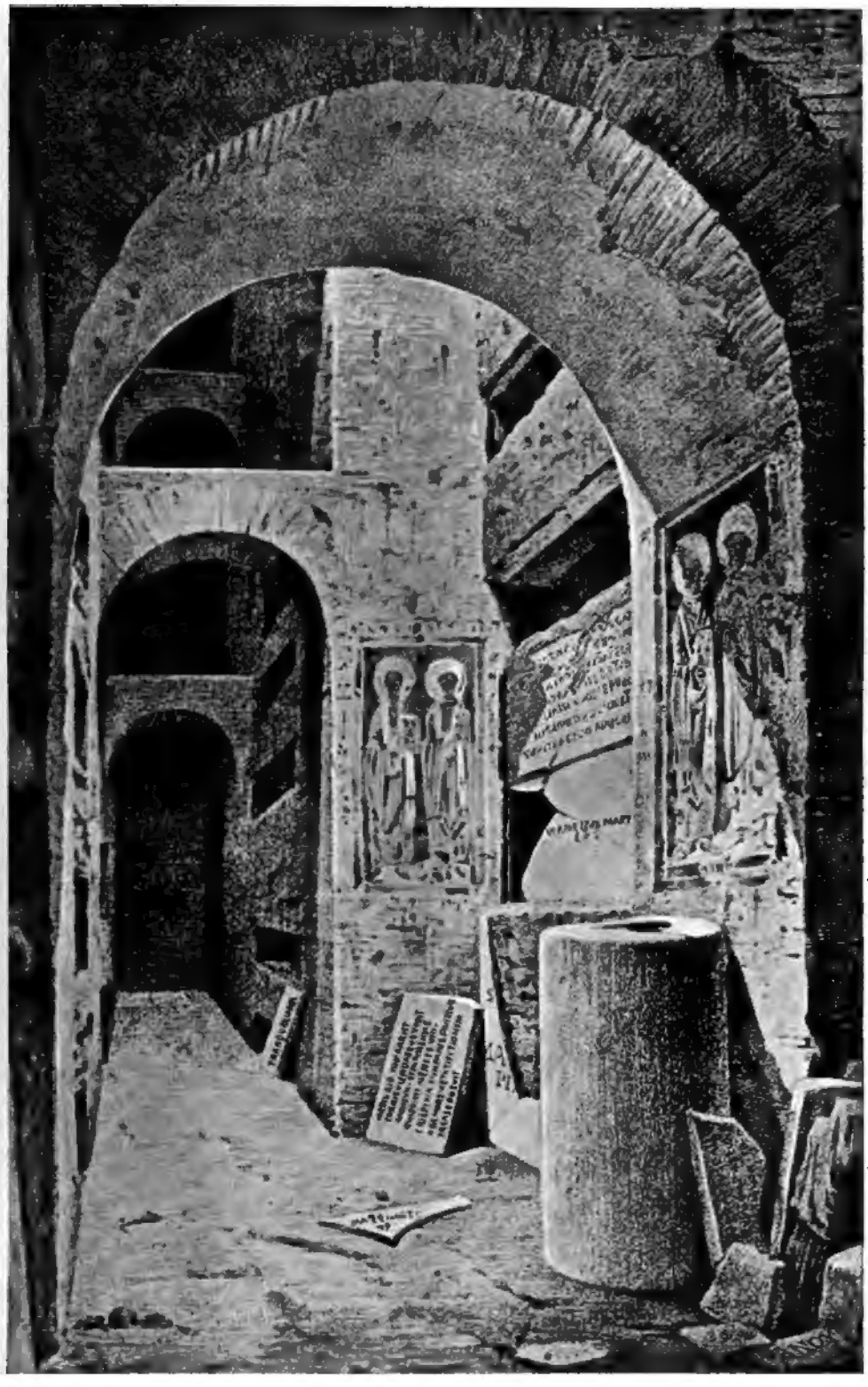
tion of this occult use of the cross is found in the celebrated monogram of the Constantinian period. Its modifications are well known: sometimes it was a cross within a square, sometimes within a circle, sometimes with the alpha and omega on each side of it. And as it is reasonable to suppose that the occult representations came before the others, we find in this only another proof that, the nearer we come to the age of the Apostles, the more strong was the aversion of the early Christians to every symbol that reminded them of the sufferings of the Lord. There need be no wonder felt on this account, as crucifixions were still common in the Roman Empire, and occasionally even a Roman citizen was exposed to such a death of ignominy.

The evidence against the early *use of the crucifix* is still more decisive. Even Monsignor Wilpert frankly admits that the crucifix is "entirely excluded from the art of the first four centuries." Dean Milman's words are thus amply confirmed, that "the catacombs of Rome, faithful to their general character, offer no instance of a crucifixion, nor does any allusion to such a subject of art occur in any early writing." The gradual transition from the cross to the crucifix is first seen in the fourth-century sarcophagus of the Lateran. The cross is there, but the sufferer is not lifted up on it; He is only bearing it: over His head is a crown of roses, not of thorns. In the fifth century the figure of a lamb takes His place, sometimes standing at the foot of the cross, sometimes bearing it, more rarely lying on it. The year A.D. 692 had to come before a Church Council decreed that the Christ in human form should take the place of the lamb in such cases. Even as late as the eighth century the lamb was still found instead of the Christ, and it needed a special injunction of Adrian to bring about uniformity.

This reserve of the Apostles and early witnesses has left its indelible mark on the frescoes of the catacombs. Nowhere can we see our Lord in the act of suffering. His sacrifice is presented to us in the ram substituted for Isaac, just as His death is seen in the swallowing of Jonah by the great fish, and His resurrection in the fish giving him up again after three days. No attempt even was made to portray the features of the Man of Sorrows. He was to them almost always the youthful shepherd with the lamb on His shoulder and the sheep looking towards Him, or waiting for His leading. There is ground for holding with Archdeacon Farrar that "during the first 400 years there is probably no representation of Christ as bearded, or as a worn and weary sufferer." One of the earliest representations of the Good Shepherd is found in the Lucina crypt of the Callistus cemetery, near the stair of Cornelius. He is the central figure in the vault of the chapel, and He is carrying a pail of milk in His right hand, while the lamb is borne on His shoulders. There can be no doubt as to the significance of "the milk." Instead of finding in it any allusion to penitence or the Eucharist, we have St. Peter's authority for applying it to "the Word"—"as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the Word." But the finest artistic representation of this subject of the shepherd is met with in the beautiful statue of the Lateran Museum. We search in vain among all those countless galleries for any illustration of His sufferings. The agony in the garden and the betrayal have no place given to them. Even in the case of the trials and mockings which He endured, the least repulsive features are selected, as "the washing of Pilate's hands in token of His innocence." No *ecce homo* with its pain-stricken look and its thorny crown appears anywhere on wall or slab. "The early Christians, when on their monuments they wish to recall the scenes of the Passion, choose those of which the representation would cause the least sense of horror" (Fleury).

Not less reserved were they in representing *their own sufferings for His sake.* Daniel among the lions, or the three Hebrew youths standing in the flames, sufficed to represent their bitter experiences throughout the sorest persecutions. If the beheading of a Nereus and Achilleus came to be actually shown on marble relief, that was the production of the fourth century. The much coveted letters MR. after the name of many a noble witness for the truth were all that remained as the proof of great suffering triumphantly endured.

Of *the Mother of our Lord* the prevailing representation is entirely scriptural: "Mary with the Child Jesus." Those female figures with outstretched hands, at first claimed as so many representations of the Madonna, are now rightly understood to be no other than symbolic of the persons whose remains lay in the adjoining tomb. They are a witness to the prayerful spirit which marked their lives, if they did not also point to their last act in commending their spirits into the hands of the heavenly Father. The favourite scene, in which the Virgin appears, is that which presents to us the adoration of the Magi, the number of wise men varying from two to six. The homage is seen to be paid, not to the mother, but to the Child. In the Domitilla catacomb the Child wears a small coat adorned with bands sewn on the shoulders. The Virgin has on her head a short veil such as a Jewish maiden of the period might have



CRYPT OF ST. CORNELIUS IN THE LUCINA CATACOMB

PLATE XIII

worn. The four wise men are seen in Roman tunics, presenting their gifts to the Child in large plates. That very simple head-dress of the Mother came to be developed, as in the fresco of the Ostrian catacomb, into a far richer veil with necklace of pearls, but we must come down to the fourth century for this departure from the primitive simplicity. Two remarkable frescoes have been found in which the Mother and Child are manifestly connected with the fulfilment of prophecy. The Domitilla fresco, with the city seen in the distance, is intended to bring before the mind Micah's prophecy concerning Bethlehem. The Priscilla one, distinguished by the star over the head of the group, has been claimed, without reason, as the earliest instance of the adoration of the Virgin. The figure on the right of the fresco is a prophet, as may be seen by his dress, and not one of the wise men, and he is pointing to the star, the promised "light" of prophecy, and finds its fulfilment in the Child born of the Virgin. Such is De Rossi's view of the scene, and this is in keeping with the other figures on the walls of the same chapel. The chief fresco is in the vault, and presents to us the Good Shepherd; a stucco relief of the same subject is found next to the group with the star, which occupies a small lunette in the corner of the chapel. Thus, in all the earliest frescoes there was no attempt to raise the Virgin out of the place given to her in Scripture; it is made clear that her chief glory was in her relation to the Child, who Himself was the object of adoration.

The place given to *the Apostles* is seen frequently in their being grouped round the Lord with no others in the same place of honour. That there was no thought in the earlier centuries of elevating St. Peter to the first place among them is evident from his being made to divide the chief place with St. Paul, who appears sometimes on the right hand of the Lord, while St. Peter is on the left. No single inscription is met with in which *ἱερεύς* (*sacerdos* in Latin) is found. The most usual title for the ministry of the Church is "presbyter." Even the celebrated chapel of Callistus, misnamed that of the Popes, contains no indication of a priestly order. The letters EIII or EIIIC, are all that the chief officers of the Church have after their names to distinguish them from simple presbyters, answering to *episcopus*.

In perfect keeping with this is *the non-existence of an altar*. Origen, in his reply to Celsus during the first quarter of the third century, made no attempt to roll away the pagan reproach, "no altars, no temples, no images." The pattern of the communion table was found in the ordinary table of the tablinum of the Roman house. It retained that simple and natural shape well into the fifth century. Hence the common name applied to it was *Mensa Domini*, or *Mensa Dominica*. These tables were constructed of boards, made perfectly portable from one place of meeting to another. It was the connecting of the table for the Eucharist with the martyrs' remains that led to the filling up of the space under the table, and converting it into a tomb, from which the crypt was an easy development. In front of the tomb of Sistus, in the chapel of the Episcopoi, we have evidence of the existence of a table with four supports, while room is left between it and the tomb for the officiating presbyter to stand facing those gathered in the chapel.

As for *the Eucharist* itself, the fact that most impresses us is that there is no actual reproduction of the Supper, as the Lord observed it with His disciples. The usual number set at table is seven, and He is not seen among them. The elements on the table and in front of it remind us far more of the miracle of the loaves than of the Passover meal in the upper room. The five barley loaves and the two fishes, with the baskets filled with loaves, are nearly always there. If there is the wine-cup also, it is the exception, as in the fresco *fractio panis*. Such are the main features of the supper-scene in the six cubicles of Callistus, three of which are believed to belong to the latter half of the second century. The Lucina crypt in the same catacomb adds the other element to the figure; through the wicker-work of the two baskets something like a glass of wine in the heart of the loaves can be detected. From a careful examination of all the frescoes on this subject it is made very clear that the Eucharist was treated as an essentially symbolic ordinance, in which the Lord is revealed to our faith as the living Bread through sensible signs, which are in no way altered in their character by being so used.

Where recent excavations in the catacombs have helped us most is in bringing out the fact that many more *families in high position* in the Roman world were brought under the power of Christianity than any secular history of the times has vouched for. An inscription found in the catacomb of Callistus has confirmed the view of Lightfoot, Ramsay, and others, that "the foreign superstition," with which Pomponia Græcina was charged, when she was judged and acquitted by her husband, Aulus Plautius, was no other than the Christian faith which she professed. The tomb of the Acilii Glabriones, discovered in the Priscilla catacomb in 1888, has connected one of the most famous families in Roman history with the Christian martyrs of the first century. Manius Acilius